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The correspondence of M. Tullius Cicero

arranged according to its chronological order

Cicero, Marcus Tullius

Dublin, 1906

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THE CORRESPONDENCE

OF

M. TULLIUS CICERO.

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THE CORRESPONDENCE

OF

M. TULLIUS CICERO,

ARRANGED ACCORDING TO ITS CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER;

WITH

A REVISION OF THE TEXT, A COMMENTARY,

AND

INTRODUCTORY ESSAYS.

BY

ROBERT YELVERTON TYRRELL, LITT.D.,

HON. LITT.D. (CANTAB.), D.C.L. (OXON.), LL.D. (EDIN.);

Senior Fellow of Trinity College, and sometime Regius Professor of Greek in the University of Dublin;

AND

LOUIS CLAUDE PURSER, LITT.D.,

Fellow of Trinity College, and sometime Professor of Latin in the University of Dublin.

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PREFACE.

In this Second Edition of the second volume of Cicero's Correspondence, we have endeavoured to avail ourselves of the considerable amount of work which has been done in this portion of Cicero's Letters during the last twenty years; but we are sensible how difficult it is to make sure that some, even important, contributions to the elucidation of the Correspondence have not escaped our notice. However, we have done our best, with the limited time at our disposal, to follow the literature of the subject. We have derived much advantage from several monographs, especially those by Sternkopf in *Hermes*, which have proved very helpful. We have added to the Introduction a chapter on 'The Egyptian Question,' in which we owe much to two articles by M. Bouché-Leclercq in the *Revue Historique*; and also a chapter on some points of epistolary style suggested by the learned and lucid work of M. Jules Lebreton, S.J. (*Études sur la langue et la grammaire de Cicéron*). We have omitted the chapter on the Harleian manuscripts, as they are sufficiently discussed in the Introduction to Vol. I^3 (pp. 96–98). We have made some statistics (pp. lxvi, lxvii) as to the applicability of

the interesting and now famous Law of the Clause-endings set forth by Professor Th. Zielinski, of St. Petersburg, in his work *Das Clauselgesetz in Ciceros Reden* (1904), and have found it to hold good to a remarkable degree in many of the more formal letters written by Cicero himself, but in no appreciable degree in the letters of his correspondents.

The difficulty as regards the order of the letters is the same as that noticed in the third edition of the first volume (1904). The order of our original edition is retained, though that order has in some cases been proved to be wrong; because alteration of it would render the references all through the succeeding volumes of our edition untrustworthy. The table given on pp. 302–304 will (it is hoped) in a measure remedy this defect, and enable students to discover without difficulty the approximate chronological order of the several letters.

We desire to thank Mr. Gibbs of the University Press for many useful corrections.

DUBLIN,
May, 1906.

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CORRIGENDA.

PAGE

8, *a*, line 3 from bottom, *for* '*perfeceram* 96' read '*perspexeram* 96, 1'.

28, *b*, l. 12, *for* 'in Cratander's margin' *read* 'of a scholar quoted by Orelli'.

34, l. 7, *for* '*cum*' (italics) *read* 'cum' (Roman).

52, *b*, l. 5, in lemma, *for* '*haberi*' *read* '*non siturum*'.

189, last line of text, *for* 'quam' *read* 'quom'.

205, *b*, l. 6, *for* 'you may' *read* 'you may not'.

INTRODUCTION.

I.—HISTORICAL.

§ 1. Cicero and the Triumvirate.

The period succeeding Cicero's restoration from exile has been seized on by his detractors as an opportunity for depicting him as a political apostate, or a time-serving trimmer. The whole pack of minor *feuilletonistes* follow in full cry the lead of the sovran *savant*, the prince of historical-epoch-makers, Theodor Mommsen. What may be thought of the outrage which he has perpetrated on the fame of Cicero has been already said. We will now try to trace the career of Cicero in the troublous times at which we have arrived, not in the spirit of the public prosecutor of a somewhat feeble criminal, but as the unbiassed spectator of the conduct of a great and good man under singularly difficult circumstances.

Even his admirers do not care to dwell on this epoch. 'Ce n'est pas,' writes Gaston Boissier, 'une belle époque de sa vie, et ses admirateurs les plus résolus la dissimulent le plus qu'ils le peuvent.' He is generally represented as vacillating between the aristocracy, his old party, and the coalition between Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus, which is commonly spoken of as the first Triumvirate. We will briefly review the relation of Cicero to the chief events of the period covered by Part iv. of the Correspondence, and to the chief actors who took part in this scene of the Tragedy of the Fall of the Roman Republic.

Cicero is said during this epoch to have continually halted between the Optimates and the Triumvirs. But it would be a mistake to suppose that two clearly defined parties presented

themselves to him that he might choose between them. Gaston Boissier well remarks that 'les questions ne se posent pas aux yeux des contemporains avec la même netteté qu'à ceux de la postérité.' The terms *Optimate* and *Triumvirate* have for us a *netteté* which misleads us when we contemplate their relation to the mind of Cicero. A few years before *Optimate* meant for him Pompey, or at least the union of Senate and Equites under the leadership of Pompey, the soldier-chief of a free Republic, another Scipio, to whom Cicero should play Laelius. At this time such a party can hardly be said to exist. When Cicero now speaks of the *boni*, he adds, 'I am not sure that they are not an extinct race,' *qui nescio an nulli sint*. During the coalition the Optimates, if not extinct, were at all events in a state of suspended animation, from which they were not thoroughly aroused but by the fall of Caesar. This is what Cicero deplores. He does not express regret for any defection from a party, though he deeply regrets that he must give up his old political sympathies.* Writing to Lentulus in 699 (55), he complains, 'You are sensible how difficult it is to lay aside one's political sympathies, especially when they are well grounded and deeply seated.'† And then he goes on to declare that the constitutionalists are extinct, and that his esteem for Pompey, and his natural bias toward him, make him regard all his policy as straightforward and fair.

Now, how does the Triumvirate present itself to Cicero? The Triumvirate, too, in the main, spells Pompey. In fact, from the Mithridatic War to Pharsalia, Pompey was the imposing figure to Roman eyes. His opinions, his principles, his relations to the parties, seemed the main factors in the political situation to every Roman—except, perhaps, Pompey himself. Cicero constantly complains that Pompey wrapped himself in mystery; *ut loquebatur*, he says,‡ must be our refrain, like the καὶ τόδε Φωκυλίδου of

* When Cicero tells us that Pompey has in 'the archives of his pocket-book as long a list of future consuls as the State records have of consuls past,' we feel that the Empire has already begun. Adhesion to the Optimate cause would at this time have been looked on as an act of insanity. 'How do you suppose I feel?' he writes (110, § 2); 'I am looked on as a madman if I say what duty bids; as a slave if I follow the dictates of expediency; and if I hold my peace, I am said to be brow-beaten and in thraldom.'

† 119, § 2.

‡ 122, § 1; cp. 90, § 2.

the old gnomic poet, whenever we speak of Pompey: again, *velit nolit scire difficile est* *: and, 'you know how slow and how silent he is.'† To Cicero he seems a perfect treasure-house of *haute politique*, carefully and deliberately shrouded by him in silence. The cynical Caelius takes a much lower view of this sphinx, when he writes to Cicero‡—

'If you have met Pompey, let me know what impression he gave you, how he spoke, what views he expressed—his real feelings are of course quite different from what he expresses; but then he has not sufficient adroitness (*neque tantum valere ingenio*) to conceal his thoughts.'

Probably the real reason why he never disclosed his opinions was that he had no opinions to disclose. But such was not the belief of his contemporaries in general, few of whom were so irreverent as Caelius. To Cicero, as I have said, the Triumvirate mainly meant Pompey. He does not use the words 'Triumvirs' and 'Triumvirate' at all: the nearest approach is Prov. Cons. 41, quoted on p. xii. (note †). Nor have they any consistent solidarity for Cicero. Sometimes he calls them *illi qui tenent*, or *qui tenent omnia*, or *populares*, or *dynastae*; sometimes the primacy of Pompey is more clearly expressed, as when he calls the Triumvirs *dominus* (Pompey) and *advocati* (Caesar and Crassus).§ Anon he speaks of the Triumvirate as if it were the autocracy of Pompey. Writing to Atticus (154, 2), he says: 'I feel no concern at seeing all the powers of the State in the hands of one man. Why? Because it is breaking the hearts of those who could not bear to see any power at all in mine.' Of course in process of time the coalition begins to look more like a party. Cicero speaks of it as *res* in 119, 1, and writes as if it were likely to be indefinitely prolonged, as, indeed, it might have been but for the deaths of two not very eminent people, Julia, the wife of Pompey, and the Triumvir Crassus, than whom, at this crisis, Rome could certainly have better spared a better man. His feelings towards the several members of the coalition are quite different. He speaks of Crassus in his private letters in the language of dislike and

* 159, § 4. † 104, 2 nosti hominis tarditatem et taciturnitatem.
‡ Fam. viii. 1, 3 (192).
§ Att. ii. 19, 3. It is most probable that this is the meaning of the passage.

contempt. *O hominem nequam** are the words which dismiss him on his journey to the province from which he was never to return. We have seen that he professes, at least, to enjoy carrying out the behests of Pompey; but he feels that the *palinode* in praise of Caesar 'looks a little ugly' (*subturpicula*). Yet he is repelled by the unsympathetic arrogance of Pompey, and fascinated by the generous courtesy of Caesar, from whom, however, he recoils as the natural enemy of the Constitutionalists. The coalition had not any such solidarity as would have justified Cicero in looking on it as a permanent Party; it was not much more than a temporary Cave. It was, indeed, a coalition which never fully coalesced. Cicero might himself have made it a Quattuorvirate, as he expressly tells us in the speech *De Provinciis Consularibus*.† The ties which held together the champion of the democracy, the leader of the aristocracy, and the great capitalist, were at different times drawn very tightly and almost entirely relaxed. It was a conspiracy of Genius, Position, and Capital, against the Law, which places bounds to all these three. How the ideal of Cicero became impossible, and how Pompey drifted into the lawless designs of Caesar, is excellently told by a careful student and brilliant exponent of this epoch of Roman history.‡ When Pompey returned, the idol of his victorious army at the conclusion of the Mithridatic War, he might have seized Rome and established a military despotism, as Caesar did afterwards. As we know, he refrained from such a treacherous and criminal act. The sequel is thus described in the essay to which we have referred:—

'Pompey believed that the highest place would be freely granted to him as soon as he had proved his loyalty by refusing to seize on it. He appealed to the honour of his countrymen not at least to refuse that which a few weeks before he could have commanded—the confirmation, namely, of his arrangements respecting his Asiatic conquests, and the redemption of his promise of grants of

* 130, 2. The letter to Crassus (131) is a somewhat official composition, and is not to be taken as a perfectly accurate expression of opinion.

† § 41 *me in tribus sibi coniunctissimis consularibus esse voluit.* Observe the vagueness of the words which mean the Triumvirate. For other proofs leading in this direction, see Att. ii. 1, §§ 6 and 7 (27); ii. 3, 3 (29). See also vol. I^3, p. 29, note ‡.

‡ Mr. J. L. Strachan-Davidson in *The Quarterly Review*, No. 296, October, 1879.

land to his victorious soldiers. With a short-sighted perversity of ingratitude the Senate refused both these requests. Pompey's disappointment was bitter; he was called to act in a situation where right and wrong were no longer so clear, and in which his want of political capacity and political training led him into fatal errors. A year and a half elapsed from Pompey's landing in Italy, and still the confusions of the situation showed no signs of clearing. The union of Senate and Equites under the leadership of Pompey, the ideal combination of which Cicero dreamed, failed to realize itself, owing to the selfishness and impracticability of the parties. At length, about the middle of the year 694 (60), Caesar, who had been absent for some months as pro-praetor in Spain, returned to Rome; and a very different solution presented itself in the famous coalition of Pompey, Crassus, and Caesar. Caesar promised, if he were made consul, and were duly backed up by his confederates, that he would obtain for them, legally or illegally, the measures which each desired. The Equites, with whom Crassus was leagued, were anxious for a remission of their contracts for the collection of the taxes; and this claim was now to be satisfied. Pompey's acts in Asia were to be confirmed, and his soldiers were to have their lands. Caesar in return bargained for a province and an army. The bribe was too tempting to be resisted. The patience of Pompey was worn out. He had not the magnanimity to submit to vexation and discomfiture rather than swerve from the straight path. He had virtue enough not to break the law himself, when he might have reaped all the advantages of the crime; he had not firmness enough to refuse to take advantage of the breach of the law by another, who professed himself willing to act in his behalf. In his short-sightedness he probably hardly recognized that his compact with Caesar was treasonable. This compact is the turning-point of Pompey's life. Henceforth he is no longer master of his own course; he is driven to a succession of forced moves. He, who would fain be the champion of legality, is obliged to defend the illegal acts of Caesar. He, who refused to bear arms against the State, provides with an army a rival who has no such scruple. In the interest of the coalition to which he has bound himself, he is obliged to undertake the task for which he is least fitted, that of guiding the turbulent politics of the city. His warlike achievements grow pale beside the fresh glories of Caesar. His efforts to obtain a compensating power elsewhere fail. In spite of misgivings, he is forced to renew the Triumvirate at the conference of Luca. He is doomed to work at building up, stone by stone, the edifice of his rival's greatness, only to find out too late that he has created a power which aims at the destruction of the Republic, and to perish at last in a desperate effort to undo the work of his own hands.

'Pompey's great fault is, that he aspired to a political career without any political creed or political principle. He belongs to no party; he represents no consistent idea. He never seems to have come to any conclusion on the main question of the day, the alternative of an aristocratical or a despotic government. In his youth his sword had helped Sulla to set up the authority of the Senate; and he drew the sword again in his old age in vain defence of that authority; yet, by

his restoration of the tribunician power in his first consulship, he struck a deadly blow at the polity which Sulla had established; and in his extraordinary commands and offices he traversed every rule of the aristocratic *régime*, and gave precedents for almost all the arrangements of the imperial system. Dean Merivale has some justification for beginning his "History of the Romans under the Empire" with the return of Pompey from the conquest of Mithridates. Throughout a long political life Pompey hardly ever ventured to initiate a policy or to originate a reform. He wished to be the leader of Roman politics, but had not the wit to see that a leader must needs accept responsibility. Because he is virtuous, Rome is to tolerate a physician who has no idea what is the disease of which the State is sickening, or what the remedy which he will prescribe.'

All credit is due to Pompey for refraining from the crime which Caesar committed when he made himself master of Rome by force of arms. Yet it may be doubted whether the face of history would have been greatly changed if Pompey had won the Battle of Pharsalia. The use which he made of his position as the sole remaining Triumvir on the departure of Crassus for Syria (the other, Caesar, being absent in Gaul) was certainly far from constitutional. His first design seems to have been to gain the dictatorship; but his characteristic *tarditas et taciturnitas* made him dissemble his ambition, hoping apparently that the greatness would be thrust on him which his 'flat unraised spirit' forbade him to achieve for himself.* His first act was to seek the support of Cicero. We must take a very brief retrospect, to show in what position the great orator now stood.

When Cicero returned from exile, he enjoyed an unmixed triumph in his reception by Rome and Italy. It is an incident unique in Roman history, and justifies the words in which he speaks of his return as 'an ascent into heaven, rather than a restoration to his country' (Pro Dom. 75). Indeed the glories of his return for a while eclipse in his mind, and supersede in his words, the triumphs of his consulate. Three days after his return

*A fine phrase of Pindar's excellently describes Pompey:—'There is whom, overmuch mistrusting his strength, a faint heart, dragging him back by the hand, hath robbed of his guerdon due'—

τὸν δ' αὖ καταμεμφθέντ' ἄγαν
ἰσχὺν οἰκείων παρέσφαλεν καλῶν
χειρὸς ἕλκων ὀπίσσω θυμὸς ἄτολμος ἐών.—Nem. xi. 30.

he proposed the investment of Pompey with the Commissionership of the corn-supply. This was merely a mark of gratitude for the part which Pompey had taken in his restoration; and no one looked upon it as a bid for the favour of the Triumvirs. The extraordinary warmth of his reception, the acquittal of Sestius, and many other circumstances, made Cicero hope for a revival of the Optimate party. The consuls for the year were *boni*. The Triumvirate seemed to be falling to pieces. Cicero began to think he might resume his old position as champion of the aristocracy. He was bold enough to announce on April 5, 698 (56), his intention of calling on the Senate to review, on May 15, the legislation of Caesar's consulate in 695 (59), especially the allotment of the Campanian land under the agrarian laws of that year. This was a direct challenge to Caesar, and would have revived the Optimate party by giving them a banner round which to rally. But Cicero ought to have perceived that his former position was not to be regained. The attacks made on the workmen who were engaged in rebuilding his house on the Palatine showed him that he had many active and bitter enemies (cp. especially Ep. 92). The aristocracy, for whom he had suffered so much, were offended by the enthusiasm displayed at the restoration of the *novus homo*; and the *scurra consularis* had a biting way of putting a grumbling aristocrat in the wrong. The light of his genius quenched the embers of Optimate enthusiasm, as the rays of the sun seem to extinguish a dying fire. They petted Clodius (153, 19),* and

* Mr. A. C. Clark, in his admirable Introduction to his edition of the *Pro Milone*, has an interesting sketch of Clodius. He says (pp. xvi, xvii):—'The story of Roman anarchy is inseparably connected with the name of Clodius. It is not here to the point to inquire what degree of credence should be given to the various charges brought against his private character. Our information largely comes from Cicero, who is a prejudiced witness. The orator was a good hater; and it was a necessity of his nature to have an enemy. Clodius may not have been so black as he is painted. . . . The Roman nobles, who were always ready to overlook peccadilloes in an aristocrat, petted Clodius, and evidently looked on him as an amusing person, not quite responsible for his actions. However, after making all possible allowances, it cannot be doubted that he was devoid of all conscience, and paraded his contempt for law, order, and morals in an unblushing manner. . . . As a politician his chief object was *s'encanailler*, and so successful was he in this that he is known to history, like his equally famous and more brilliant sister, not by his patrician name of *Claudius*, but by the popular pronunciation of the name. He had no serious end in

cut down to a minimum the sums which had been allowed as indemnification for the losses his fortune had incurred. As Cicero says himself, in his interesting way (153, 15):—

'And I am truly grateful that these men desired my restoration. But I would fain that they paid some attention not merely, like physicians, to my restoration to health, but also, like trainers, to my strength and complexion. Now, just as Apelles elaborated the head and breast of Venus with all the highest finish of art, but left the rest of the body just blocked out (*inchoatam*), so, in respect of my citizenship, certain persons have spent all their efforts on my head, but have left the rest of my body unfinished and in the rough (*rude*).'

And they thought that he should be humble and retiring, and should take no prominent part in affairs. 'Those who had clipped his wings,' as he says himself (91, 5), 'did not care to see them sprouting again.' Though Cicero thought that his conduct could not cause any offence (153, 16, 17), yet he could not escape jealousy (cp. 114, 7). It was bad enough that they should grudge to the *parvenu* consular a house which had belonged to a Catulus, forgetting that it was bought by him from a Vettius: but the treachery and stupidity of his former party reached the climax when they failed to conceal from him their pleasure at the prospect that by his motion of May 15 Cicero would irritate Caesar beyond hope of reconciliation, and probably alienate Pompey as well (153, 10). Accordingly we are not surprised to find that Cicero had not his whole soul in the project of attacking Caesar's legislation, and that he did not resist when Pompey sent him an express order to withdraw his motion (153, 10). About April 11, Pompey, without showing any irritation against Cicero —such was his almost culpable reserve, unless we suppose that he was really indifferent as regards Cicero's motion—had left Rome on a visit to Sardinia and Africa; but, before crossing the water, he met Caesar and Crassus at Luca. There the celebrated conference was held about April 18, when the Triumvirate was put on a firmer and more definite basis than before. It is not needful

view except to amuse himself by making government impossible; while his peculiar delight was to worry his sensitive enemy Cicero, or to reduce to impotence Pompey the Great.'

here to go into the details of the policy adopted by the Triumvirs; but as regards Cicero it was decided that his opposition to Caesar's proposals must be checked. Caesar was, of course, annoyed at Cicero's proposals, and had been further rendered indignant by certain representations, or misrepresentations, made by Crassus. It appeared, too, that Pompey, behind all his reserve, was also somewhat vexed with Cicero (153, 9). Pompey immediately sent one of his subordinates, Vibullius, with a command—the word is Cicero's own, *cum mandatis* (153, 10)—to Cicero to withhold his motion on the Campanian question until Pompey's return; and crossing over to Sardinia he had an interview with Quintus, in which he told Quintus that he must make Marcus desist from this opposition to Caesar. The interview could not be better told than in Cicero's own words (153, 9) when writing to Lentulus:—

'It appears that Pompey was very much annoyed at my proposal, as I heard from others, and learned explicitly from my brother. For when Pompey met him a few days after leaving Luca, he said, "You are the very man I wanted; nothing could have been more opportune; if you do not speak very seriously to your brother Marcus, you will have to pay up the undertaking you made on his behalf." To be brief, he complained bitterly, and recounted his many kindnesses; he reminded Quintus of the frequent discussions he had had with him about Caesar's measures, and the undertakings Quintus had made on my behalf, and called my brother to witness that all his measures for my restoration had been taken with the approval of Caesar; and in recommending to me his interests and position, he begged me at least not to attack them if I found myself unwilling or unable to speak in their defence.'

Acting on the order of Pompey and the representations of Quintus, Cicero dropped the proposal. To the latter he says, a day or two after the Ides of May, 'The debate on the Campanian land, arranged for the Ides and following day, did not come off. In this matter the flow of my plans is obstructed' (*In hac causa mihi aqua haeret*, 117, 2).

In a letter to his brother, Cicero had announced very curtly that the obnoxious motion was made on April 5, not, however, connecting his own name closely with the matter*; and in the

* *Eodem die vehementer actum est de agro Campano clamore Senatus prope contionali* (106, 1). He distinctly refers to himself as the author of the motion in 153, 8. The

allusive fashion noticed above he records that the motion has been dropped (117, 2). Rome's least mortal mind was, after all, but mortal still; and Cicero should have been more than mortal if he had repelled the overtures of the Triumvirs, and ruined himself and his brother by waving a banner which his former allies would not follow (153, 21), though they would fain have encouraged him to wave it still, because they saw that his enthusiasm would be his ruin. Cicero, therefore, can hardly be said to have broken with his party, for there was really no Optimate party now; or, at all events, in Cicero's opinion, its sentiments were entirely different from what they were nine months previously, when he returned (153, 17); but he definitely gave himself to do the bidding of Pompey (cp. 119, 2). He wrote what he calls his *palinode*, which has been supposed to be his speech, *De Provinciis Consularibus*, with the express intention of making his step irrevocable; *ego mehercule*, he writes to Atticus (108, 1),* *mihi necessitatem volui imponere huius novae coniunctionis*. And he was faithful to this *nova coniunctio*. He often bewails the old cause that is lost, but he never contemplates throwing off his allegiance to the Triumvirs. He confesses that he was a 'downright ass' to believe so long in the feeble and treacherous aristocrats who had sacrificed him once, and were now more than ever ready to sacrifice him again.† Of course the charge of inconsistency was raised against

question had been mooted by Rutilius Lupus, a supporter of Pompey, in the previous December; but it had been postponed, as Pompey was absent from Rome at the time (93, 1, 2). Mr. Strachan-Davidson seems to think that Pompey encouraged Cicero to make the motion of April 5 (*Cicero*, p. 264: cp. 260). At all events, he probably never discouraged him.

* See note there, where the question what the παλινῳδία was is discussed.

† When he makes the confession to Atticus (108, 1) that his 'palinode looked a little ugly,' he goes on to say, *sed valeant recta vera honesta consilia*. This is usually understood to mean 'good-bye to the right, just, and honourable (Optimate) policy.' Thus he is represented as bidding adieu to the policy which he knows to be right. Now, it is surely remarkable that, in Fam. i. 8, 2 (119), he applies two of these three adjectives to the policy of Pompey. The reader, on consulting that passage, may, perhaps, see reason to believe that Cicero is here referring to the policy of the Triumvirs, not of the Optimates. 'But,' he exclaims, 'good luck to the policy which is at least straightforward, fair, and honourable; you could hardly believe in the existence of such treachery as the leading Optimates are guilty of,' *sed valeant recta vera honesta consilia. Non est credibile quae sit perfidia in istis principibus*. In the word *principibus* he certainly refers to the leading Optimates, who had shown such treachery

him—the common charge made against those who engage in politics. Cicero answers it himself; and the passage (Balb. § 61) is one of such quiet dignity, and contains so large an element of general truth, that we make no apology for quoting it. We may contendī (says Cicero) if need be against our political enemies; but we should spare the friends of our enemies:—

'And if my influence should have any weight with them in this matter, especially when they see that I have learned the lesson by a varied experience in life, I would urge them to give up even these more serious contentions. I have always been of opinion that political opposition, when you are defending what you believe to be right, is the course which courageous and great men should adopt; and I never shrunk from this laborious duty and task. But opposition is only wise so long as some good is done the State, or at all events no injury is done her. We desired a certain course, we strove for it, we tried it, but failed to maintain it. To others it was a pain, to me sorrow and desolation. Why do we try to tear in pieces rather than to maintain what we cannot change? The senate honoured C. Caesar with a most complimentary kind of thanksgiving, lasting for an unprecedented number of days. It also, though the public finances were straitened, assigned pay to his victorious troops, appointed ten lieutenants for the General, and voted that he should not be superseded in accordance with the Sempronian law. I was the chief mover of these proposals; and I did not think that I should express agreement with my former divergent view, but should rather act in accordance with the present exigencies of the State, and the prevailing unanimity. Others think differently; they may be more steadfast in their opinions. I blame no one; but I cannot agree with them all; nor do I think it a mark of inconsistency to direct one's opinion like the course of a ship, according to the way the winds of politics may blow. But if there are any who once they have conceived an enmity persist in it to the end—and I see there are some such—let them join issue with the leaders, and not with their retinue and following.'

Devotion to the conquered cause is perhaps the course which the world is most inclined to praise; but it is certainly not the

and jealousy of the reviving eminence of Cicero. The same class are called *principes* in Q. Fr. iii. 9, 3 (160). It is true that in 110, 2, he refers to the Optimate cause as the one to which duty calls him; but he adds that it would be downright madness to embrace it. The Optimates are an extinct race. To espouse the cause one should first revive it. It must, moreover, be observed that, in 110, 2, he speaks of a projected attack on the Optimate policy, *commentor ut ista improbem*; and they are referred to as *isti* in Att. iv. 18, 2 (154): indeed, it would be hard to explain the use of *isti* or *ista* for the Triumvirs and their views in a letter to Atticus. It is maintained in a note on this passage that *ista* can hardly refer to the Triumvirs' policy.

course which it is most ready to adopt; and the gods, too, as the poet says, approve the victor.

But what rankled in the mind of Cicero was the jealousy and treachery of the nobles; and he could not account for it even on the theory that they despised his *novitas*. Writing to Lentulus (114, 8), he says: 'I see that it was not my want of hereditary distinction that made them jealous of my fame, for I perceive that they were as jealous of you, though of the noblest house.' The advice which he says he got from Atticus was, 'That he should enact the politician and play the safe game.'* The safe game was the cause of the Triumvirs. And Cicero, after once espousing it, shows no tendency to relinquish it, though he often deplores the high-handed acts of Pompey† and his colleagues, and 'the untimely work that is done under the sun'; and sighs for the good old times which were gone never to return.‡ 'In a word,' he writes to his brother, 'they are irresistible; *and they want to make this generally felt.*'§ The whole state of things is σκυλμός,‖ 'a piece of *tracasserie*.' Yet there is no choice. The Optimates are not what they were; they are virtually extinct. His sole ambition now is to fling away ambition, to keep out of politics, to turn his back even on his forensic career, and to devote himself to literature and to his family (cp. 160, 2). In this connexion it is interesting to notice the expressions *nostra Urania*, and *nostrum Iovem*, which he sometimes uses, and to remember that the counsel of Urania and Jupiter was probably that he should betake himself to the calm delights of study and literature.¶ His public speeches at this period are models of *finesse*, carefully constructed so as to give offence to nobody (cp. 153, 17). Borrowing a proverbial expression, perhaps from his contemporary Catullus, he calls himself *oricula infima molliorem* (141, 4).** In 153, 17, he writes: *neque vero ego mihi postea* (sc.

* 118, 4, where see note. † See 118, 2.

‡ Writing to Curio (176, 2), he says: 'I am afraid when you come you will find nothing here to interest you; public life is in such a state of syncope—indeed almost complete collapse' (*adflictam et oppressam*).

§ 120, 3. ‖ 130, 1. ¶ See note on 120, 1.

** *Mollior . . . imula oricilla*, Catull. 25, 2. He again seems to borrow a phrase from Catullus (31, 1), in the words *ocellos Italiae villulas*, Att. xvi. 6, 2 (775). But

after my restoration) *quidquam adsumpsi neque hodie adsumo quod quemquam malevolentissimum iure possit offendere.* But Cicero could not rest. In a letter to his brother, he says, 'I must be at something else; I cannot remain quiet.'* Cicero knew not what it was to rest. His nearest approach to rest was a change from one form of mental activity to another. But Cicero was not able to persuade himself to believe what he wished to believe. His eloquence was efficacious only with his hearers—'rather calculated to win the assent of others than of myself.'† That Cicero was not undecided—that he was not hovering between two rival policies—is made very clear not only by the passage we have quoted from the *Pro Balbo* (p. xix, above), but also by a letter to Quintus (152, 2, 3). Some of his friends had urged Cicero to act as prosecutor of Gabinius. He points out how this would have brought on him the hostility of Pompey without securing any good result. It would be like the fight between Pacideianus and Aeserninus—on the one side all the skill, on the other irresistible brute force.

Let us now observe the conduct of Pompey on finding himself the sole representative of the Triumvirate at Rome, and assured of the support of Cicero. In those days to have Cicero on one's side was a great matter. Pompey was in the position of a modern statesman who should have just secured the support of the greatest of the great London daily papers. This was seen by no one so clearly as by Caesar. Herein, as in other matters, he towered above the men of his time. When Cicero showed signs of assuming a hostile attitude, Caesar expressed the gravest concern, and at Luca probably urged the necessity of conciliating, or, if it must be so, crushing Cicero. He was ready for either alternative, though he infinitely preferred the former. Pompey was probably quite Olympian enough to think he could dispense with Cicero. When, on meeting Q. Cicero in Sardinia, he desired him to ask his brother 'not to attack Caesar if he would not or could not support him,'‡ we may be very sure that the appeal was made at the instance of Caesar; but the brusque

Cicero never mentions Catullus, and consistently avoids quoting from contemporary poets.

* 139, 1. † 141, 5. ‡ 153, 9.

wording of it was due solely to Pompey. Contrast with this the lofty courtesy of Caesar, who, on learning, or rather inferring, from a letter which could hardly be deciphered (owing to the action of water, in which it had been accidentally immersed), that Quintus proposed to join him in Gaul, was so overjoyed at the good feeling on the part of Marcus implied in this step, that he writes to a friend, 'I cannot make out for certain what you say about Cicero; my guess at the meaning gives, I am afraid, too good news to be true.'* We are not surprised to find that, in a letter written just after hearing this expression, Cicero says that he grapples Caesar to his soul with hoops of steel,† and declares that he is 'the one plank in the shipwreck of things' to which he clings with a sense of pleasure; while of Pompey, he exclaims, 'Gods! how fatuous he is! how single and concentrated his adoration of himself!‡

In the position in which Pompey now found himself there was much work to be done which could be done only by Cicero. One of the instruments of the Triumvirate was an aggressive but good-humoured rascal named P. Vatinius,§ on whom Cicero had already emptied the vials of his wrath and scorn, when he asserted that Cicero had become Caesar's friend owing to Caesar's extraordinary success and good fortune. This creature had been elected to the praetorship, the typically virtuous Cato being a defeated candidate. And in 700 (54) it became the duty of Cicero to defend Vatinius. He does not seem even to have asked Pompey

'Was it so nominated in the bond?'

He tells us (153, 19) that, in addition to the fact that he had been lately reconciled to Vatinius and had received an urgent appeal from Caesar, he felt a pleasure in defending him, because it galled the aristocrats who were petting 'the other Publius,' his old enemy,

* 133, 4.

† 158, 2 *cum Caesare suavissimam coniunctionem; haec enim me una ex hoc naufragio tabula delectat.*

‡ 159, 4 *O di! quam ineptus! quam se ipse amans sine rivali!*

§ For a full account of Vatinius, see vol. v., pp. xlvii ff. Cicero says (105, 1) *id quod ille (Sestius) maxime cupiebat, Vatinium, a quo palam oppugnabatur, arbitratu nostro concidimus dis hominibusque plaudentibus.*

Clodius. As to Crassus also, Cicero yielded to appeals from Pompey and Caesar, and was further influenced by ill-natured remarks of certain Optimates to the effect that, owing to a vigorous reply of Cicero to certain strictures which Crassus made on his conduct, Cicero and Crassus had irrevocably dissolved friendship. So he became reconciled with Crassus before that general left for the East.* Another client was Scaurus, the brother-in-law of Pompey, who, having spent all his means on the shows of his aedileship, naturally sought to recoup his shattered fortunes in his province. He returned from Sardinia in a position to buy the consulship. Happily for the Sardinians, a young man named Triarius wished to make his *début* in public life, else they might have long waited for a Roman of any position willing to make himself ridiculous by espousing the cause of a plundered province. Scaurus, though Cato was praetor, was acquitted.† Let us hope that the poor

* Yet the reconciliation was hollow. Almost immediately after the departure of Crassus he stigmatised him (130, 2) as a 'bad man' (*o hominem nequam*).

† The trial was held on the 2nd of September, 700 (54), and was a *cause celèbre*. It is such a striking example of the general nature of the trials of the day that it is necessary to speak about it at length. There was a very large bar, a very large number of witnesses to character (*laudatores*), and a very large display of the ordinary forensic mockery of woe. Asconius (pp. 18–29) has given a full account of it, which Mr. Long has thus reproduced (iv. 273, 274): "Scaurus relied on his father's great name, on the fame of his aedileship, and, as Asconius says, on Cn. Pompeius, for the strange reason that, when Pompeius put away his wife Mucia, who was suspected of adultery with C. Caesar, Scaurus married the woman, and now had a son by her. Scaurus was defended by six advocates (though it was hitherto very rare for anyone to be defended by more than four). Among these advocates were P. Clodius, Cicero, and Q. Hortensius. Nine men of consular rank gave Scaurus a character. Many of them were absent, and sent their testimonials in writing. Pompeius being a proconsul was of course not within the walls; and although he did not give Scaurus any aid in his trial, he sent his written testimonial in favour of his former wife's new husband. Scaurus had also the testimonial of his half-brother Faustus Sulla; for Caecilia, the mother of Scaurus, married the dictator Sulla after her husband's death, and had by him Faustus and Fausta. Scaurus also spoke in his own defence, and moved the jury greatly by his tears, his squalid appearance, the remembrance of his aedileship, the favour of the people, and his father's memory. His half-brother Faustus, by his abject behaviour and his tears, produced as great an effect on the audience as Scaurus. When the jury were voting, the scene in the Court was pathetic. The suppliants separated themselves into two parties (*bifariam*), who threw themselves before the knees of the jury. On the one side were Scaurus himself, M. Glabrio, his sister's son, C. Memmius, a son of Scaurus' half-sister Fausta, and others. On the opposite

Sardinians enjoyed the broad humour of the fact that they had come to Rome to look for justice; and that they recovered as wages for battery or murder some of the money of which they had been robbed. The profession of murderer was at this time a flourishing one in Rome; and a few stout Sardinians, derelict in a foreign city, would probably be as cheap as runaway slaves or gladiators. At all events they had this satisfaction: they spoiled the candidature of Scaurus for the consulate. Two of the other candidates, Domitius Calvinus and Memmius, now made a bargain (143, 7; 148, 16; 149, 2; 151, 2) with the existing consuls, Domitius Ahenobarbus and Appius Claudius, whereby the latter were to support the candidature of the former, who bound themselves in return under a fine to produce, if elected, absolutely and demonstrably perjured evidence, on the oath of three Augurs, to the existence of certain arrangements convenient for the outgoing consuls as to the allotment of the provincial governments. This disgraceful compact does not seem to have injured anyone appreciably, when Memmius divulged it. The only person who appears to have been shocked was Caesar, who withdrew his support from Memmius.* Memmius accordingly failed to obtain the consulate, but he had the prospect of something good from Pompey, if he should become Dictator, as seemed likely. His accomplice Domitius Calvinus was elected to the consulate for the following year, and was, no doubt, much respected. Of the outgoing consuls, Appius treated the matter as of no consequence. Domitius was weak enough to take it to heart. Cicero, in a passage in which he disavows complicity in the plot, remarks, however, that he is on very good terms with Memmius and Calvinus.†

side were Faustus Sulla, T. Annius Milo, whom Fausta had married a few months before, after being sent away by her husband, C. Memmius, the father, and C. Cato, who had been just acquitted after trial, with some others. The jury consisted of twenty-two senators, twenty-three equites, and twenty-five tribuni aerarii. Four senators voted against Scaurus, two equites, and two tribuni aerarii; and he was of course acquitted." We have a considerable number of fragments of the speech which Cicero delivered in the defence.

* It is hard to know why Memmius divulged the plot. Mr. Shuckburgh (*The Letters of Cicero*, i., p. 301) thinks it was "perhaps anger on finding his hopes gone, and an idea that anything that humiliated Ahenobarbus would be pleasing to Caesar."

† 148, 16.

A still harder task was imposed on Cicero when he was obliged to defend Gabinius, who, on his return from Syria, found himself confronted with three prosecutions, *de maiestate*, *de vi*, and *de ambitu*.* Gabinius obtained a favourable verdict on the first charge, when Cicero gave evidence against him; but was found guilty on the second, though Cicero, much against his will (cp. 152, 3; 160, 1), undertook his defence. Cicero refers to this transaction in two places. A comparison of the two will put in a very strong light the value of his private letters as a reflection of his real views which he used his speeches to conceal. In his speech for Rabirius Postumus (§ 33) he declares:—

'My reason for defending Gabinius was simply friendship. We had adjusted our difference, and shaken hands. If you think that I did it reluctantly to please Pompey, you are vastly mistaken [yet cp. 152, 2]. He would not have asked such a sacrifice of me, nor would I have given it. I am too clearly the champion of independence to resign it in my own actions.'

Writing to Atticus (154, 2) on the occasion of the acquittal of Gabinius, he says:—

'You will ask me, "And how do you take the matter?" Very easily; and on that I congratulate myself heartily. My dear Pomponius, the State has lost not only the sap and blood of its heart, but the very outward hue and haviour of its visage. There is no State in which to take any delight or with which to feel any satisfaction. "And do you take that so easily?" you will say. Even so. I remember how fair a thing was the Republic for a while when I was at the helm—and what was my reward? I feel no resentment that one man should have all the power; because those are bursting with envy who were sorry to see me with any. I have much to comfort me. And I am not travelling out of my proper sphere. I am going back to letters and research—the life for which I am best fitted by nature. I amuse myself with my house and my farms. I do not think about the height from which I have fallen, but the depth from which I have risen. If I have you and my brother with me, those aristocrats of yours may go to perdition for all I care; I can betake myself to my speculations in your company. I lack the gall now that once made oppression bitter.'

There is another passage (155, 4) in a slightly different tone, though his correspondent is his brother, whom he would not try to deceive:—

'I am dissociating myself completely from politics, and giving myself up to

* We have gone more minutely into the trials of Gabinius in the next section.

letters. But I must tell you one thing which I would fain have kept from you above all men. I am tormented, my dearest brother, tormented by the thought that the Republic is no more; that there is no law; that I who at my time of life ought to be in the zenith of a dignified senatorial career, am harassed with forensic toil, or kept alive by literature; that the darling motto of my whole life from boyhood—

πολλὸν ἀριστεύειν καὶ ὑπείροχον ἔμμεναι ἄλλων,

should be a thing of the past; that my enemies should be unassailed by me, or even defended; that my feelings, that even my indignation, should be held in a leash; that there should be but one—Caesar—to give me the love I want —or perhaps I should say, to want to love me.'

But, again, in writing to his brother (160, 1), he comments on the acquittal of Gabinius in a tone more like that which he had used to Atticus :—

'The shameful and disastrous issue of the trial I view with very little concern. I have one clear gain from it. The wrongs of the State and the effrontery that goes unchecked used to make me burst with rage; now I do not even feel them. Nothing could be more desperate than the state to which society has come.'

The year 701 (53) began without any magistrates. The only resource was an *interregnum*, and this lasted for six months. The government thus changed hands every five days. Everything seemed to point to a dictatorship.* But Pompey would not

* The first account we have of the proposal that Pompey should be dictator—for, of course, Pompey was the only man for the office—was in October, 700 (54). Cicero, writing to Atticus (144, 3), says, 'There is some inkling (*odor*) of a dictatorship, certainly much talk about it, which has helped Gabinius with certain weak-kneed jurymen.' In November Cicero writes to Quintus (159, 4):—'The talk about the dictatorship is displeasing to the aristocrats; but I am still less pleased at what they say. However, the whole matter is viewed with alarm, and is flagging. Pompey declares plainly that he doesn't want it; some time ago he did not, in conversation with me, deny that he wished it. Hirrus is likely to be the proposer. Gods! how fatuous Pompey is! how single and concentrated is his adoration of himself! . . . Whether he really wishes for it or not it is difficult to say. However, if Hirrus makes the proposal, he will not be able to convince people that he does not wish it. No other matter in politics is now being talked about; certainly nothing else is being done.' The matter still was hanging fire in December, when Cicero wrote to Quintus (160, 3):—'*En passant*: nothing has, after all, been done about the dictatorship up to the present. Pompey is away, Appius confusing things, Hirrus preparing, a number of tribunes counted on to veto, the people indifferent, the aristocrats opposed,

declare his desire for it, or rather distinctly affirmed that he did not covet the position, though he had owned privately to Cicero that he did (159, 5). Hirrus made a proposal to confer the dictatorship on Pompey. This was so resolutely opposed by Cato, that Pompey thought it wise to throw over Hirrus, and disavow that he had authorised the proposal. In July Calvinus and Messalla were elected to the consulship. Hardly had the new consuls entered on office when the news came of the disaster at Carrhae, and the death of Crassus. This untoward event must have forced on Pompey the reflection that it behoved him to strengthen his position. And circumstances lent themselves to him, as they often did. The death of Clodius deprived Milo of his chance of the consulate in the following year, and thus was paralyzed a great deal of influence which would have been used against the lawless designs of Pompey.

In the early part of the year Bibulus proposed in the Senate that Pompey should be made consul, without a colleague. The proposal was accepted, being supported even by Cato. Pompey was now invested with almost as absolute power as he might have achieved by a crime after the Mithradatic War. His position was altogether unconstitutional. The Senate had no right to confer it. It was a dictatorship in everything except name. But names have great weight with men like Pompey. He seems hardly to have understood the position in which he was placed. The Senate put him there to do the work of Sulla. He used his power merely to punish private enemies. His *senatus consultum* against bribery was made retrospective; and the trials became embarrassing by their number (182, 4). His subsequent acts of folly which provoked the Civil War need not be noticed here; that crisis in the history of the Republic does not come within the scope of the present volume. But when we learn that Pompey, in violation of his own law, procured an enactment which secured to him for five years more the Government of Spain, that he kept a portion of his army in Italy, and took from the State a

myself quiescent.' This is the last we hear in Cicero's letters of the proposal, which was finally carried through to all intents and purposes in 702 (52), when on the 24th of the intercalary month, Pompey, on the motion of Bibulus, seconded by Cato, was elected 'sole consul' (Asconius, 37).

thousand talents for its support, we feel that it was little more than chance which decided whether Caesar or Pompey should give the Republic its *coup de grâce*.

In taking a broad view of Cicero's political attitude during this epoch, we must remember that he was drawn to Pompey by old political sympathies and a kind of 'demonic' force (see note to 49, 2), and to Caesar by consistent courtesy and generosity on his part*; and that the Optimates deliberately effaced themselves, and their leaders tried to efface Cicero. Under these circumstances what Cicero really desired was cultured leisure, *cum dignitate otium* (153, 21). If at this period, through his desire for *otium*, he sacrificed somewhat of his *dignitas*, let us remember that after all he was really not so much a politician as a man of letters, forced to take part in politics by reason of the extraordinary and singular position in which his amazing literary gifts placed him, and at a time when the political atmosphere was terribly overcharged. Let us remember, too, that when the cause of Pompey seemed desperate, Cicero's whole heart went out to him. When Pompey left Brundisium and embarked for Greece, Caesar thought it would be a favourable time to secure the allegiance of Cicero. He hastened to communicate to him the news. But Cicero was not a man to espouse the winning side because it was victorious. It was the ruin of Pompey that drew Cicero to him closer than ever. 'I never wanted to share his prosperity; would that I had shared his downfall,' are his words to Atticus at this crisis.† And, above all, let us not forget, that if in this

* Once Cicero acquiesced in the rule of the Triumvirs, Caesar seems to have shown the utmost courtesy and interest in Cicero and his brother; and Cicero, who was always sensitive to sympathetic kindness, was never tired of 'singing Caesar's praises' (*iam pridem istum canto Caesarem* 135, 1): cp. 133, 4; 140, 1; 141, 1–3; 146, 2; 148, 9, 11, 17; 149, 7, 8; 153, 18, 21; 155, 3, 4 (*unumque ex omnibus Caesarem esse inventum qui me tantum quantum ego vellem amaret, aut etiam, sicut alii putant, hunc unum esse qui vellet* (158, 2; 159, 1–3). Dio Cassius (xliv. 19, 3) notices the courteousness of Caesar εὐπρόσοδος γὰρ καὶ φιλοπροσήγορος ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ἦν. In addition to Caesar's kindness to Quintus, and to his friendly correspondence with Marcus Cicero, the latter seems to have put himself under obligations to Caesar by accepting loans of money: cp. Att. v. 6, 2 (189), 10, 4 (198); vii. 3, 11 (294), 8, 5 (299); and, possibly, even gifts, Att. vii. 3, 3 (294) *nequaquam satis pro meis officiis, pro ipsius in alios effusione illum in me liberalem fuisse*.

† Att. ix. 12, 4 (368).

period of his anxious and troubled life Cicero seems to have sacrificed honour to tranquillity, the time came when he willingly resigned not only a life of ease, but life itself, to save his honour. Cato was not the only Roman in whose eyes the vanquished found more favour than the victorious cause.

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§ 2. The Egyptian Question.

On the death of Ptolemy Soter II. (Lathyrus) in 673 (81), his eldest daughter, Berenice, ruled for six months. After that time her stepson, Ptolemy Alexander II., the prince who had been captured at Cos by Mithradates, and treated by him with the respect due to his princely position, but who had afterwards escaped to Rome, was sent back by Sulla,* and was associated with her in the government and in marriage.† But the union was opposed to the wishes of Berenice; and the result was that Alexander murdered her nineteen days after his arrival, and was presently murdered himself by the indignant household troops.

Prior to the departure from Rome of this Alexander, he is stated to have made a will bequeathing his country to the Roman people, after the example of Attalus of Pergamus and Ptolemy Apion of Cyrene. That this will was not a regular will we may safely assume, for it was never produced; and Cicero certainly had not much belief in it (see the passage quoted below, p. xxxii).

* Appian Mithr. 23; Bell. Civ. i. 102.

† Doubtless with the approval of the Alexandrians, though against the will of Berenice; for Porphyrius of Tyre (*Frag. Hist. Graec.*, iii., p. 722, ed. Müller) says:—*οὗτος δὲ υἱὸς μὲν ἦν τοῦ νεωτέρου* Πτολεμαίου *τοῦ καὶ* Ἀλεξάνδρου . . . *καταμένων δὲ ἐν* Ῥώμῃ *τῆς ἐν* Αἰγύπτῳ *δυναστείας ἀνδρῶν ἐρήμου γενομένης μετάκλητος ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν* Ἀλεξανδρείαν *καὶ γήμας τὴν προειρημένην* Κλεοπάτραν [he should have said Βερενίκην] *παραλαβών τε παρ' ἀκούσης* [so Letronne corrected *ἑκούσης* of the mss from the Latin version *invitaque muliere*] *τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐννεακαίδεκα διαγενομένων ἡμερῶν ἀνεῖλεν αὐτὴν καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐνόπλων ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ διὰ τὴν μιαιφονίαν συνεχόμενος ἀπώλετο.* Cp. Cicero, *De Rege Alexandrino*, Frag. 9, ed. C. F. W. Müller. Trogus (xxxix. 5) seems to say he was expelled; but his account is very brief and confused.

M. Bouché-Leclercq* is probably right (p. 245) in supposing that Alexander II. may have signed at Rome, before becoming king, an engagement which the jurists knew well to be invalid in law, if it implied anything more than a promise of money. But whatever the document may have been (if it ever existed), it was useful that the idea should become prevalent that the Romans had a right to occupy Egypt, so that they could intervene when necessary. Meanwhile the optimates at Rome might be able to use it as a means to extort money from the occupant of the Egyptian throne. But the actual treasure which Alexander II. left behind him—it was at Tyre; he had not time to transport it to Alexandria, as he was killed a few weeks after his arrival there—this actual treasure the Romans at once appropriated.†

* In two interesting articles in the *Revue Historique* for 1902, vol. lxxix., pp. 241–265, and vol. lxxx., pp. 1–24, "La Question d'Orient dans le temps de Cicéron."

† It has been argued by some writers, e.g. Clinton (*Fasti Hellenici*, iii. 392), Orelli (ad Schol. Bob., p. 351), and Cless (in Pauly, vi. 226), that the Alexander who bequeathed Egypt to the Romans was not Alexander II., but another Alexander, whom they call Alexander III., a natural son of Alexander I.; and that this Alexander III. was set up as a rival of Ptolemy Auletes about 688 (66), and died at Tyre in 687 (65). This view seems to rest mainly on Suet. Iul. 11 *Conciliato populi favore temptavit per partem tribunorum ut sibi Aegyptus provincia plebi scito daretur, nanctus extraordinarii imperii occasionem, quod Alexandrini regem suum socium atque amicum a senatu appellatum expulerant, resque vulgo improbabatur. Nec obtinuit adversante optimatium factione.* The contention is that we must suppose some other than Auletes to be referred to in this passage, as it deals with the year 690 (64), the date of Caesar's aedileship; and Auletes was not declared a friend and ally of the Roman people until Caesar's consulship in 695 (59). But it is better to suppose that Suetonius made a mistake, and ante-dated the notorious affair of Auletes to the year 690 (64)—especially as, about that time, Egypt was distinctly an object of political interest to the democrats (cp. Cic. Leg. Agr., ii. 44)—rather than assume a king of whom we do not hear elsewhere. Nor need we lay much stress on *nuper* in the Schol. Bob. (p. 350, Orelli) on a Fragment of Cicero's oration *de Rege Alexandrino*, which scholion runs as follows:—*Ac primo quidem illo tempore quo pecunia repetita esse ab Tyro et advecta Romam videbatur, sepositа iam nuper ab Alexa rege*, when we remember what an elastic word *nuper* is. That oration, as far as we can judge from the obscure fragments, is more likely to have been composed in 689 (65), as Mommsen (R. H. iv. 166 Eng. Trans.) holds, than in 698 (56), as Clinton (*l.c.*), Lange (iii. 320), and Rauschen (p. 36) maintain: see esp. Frag. 7, ed. C. F. W. Müller. In Cicero's speeches on the Agrarian Law the king who is stated to have made the will is at one time (i. 1) called *Alexander*, and at another *Alexa* (ii. 41); cp. Schol. Bob. quoted above. But nothing can be argued from this, because *Alexa* was a familiar abbreviation of *Alexander* (see Wilmann's *Exempla*

That satisfied the Romans for the moment. They seized the treasure, and allowed a son of Ptolemy Lathyrus—whether legitimate or not is doubtful: it is possible that he was legitimate*—a Ptolemy who is styled in official language Neos Dionysos, Philopator, and Philadelphos, but who was (and is) popularly known as the Piper (Auletes)—to ascend the throne. His brother, another Ptolemy, became King of Cyprus.† They did not recognise Auletes, but they did not interfere with him. Ruling as he did on sufferance, his bribes furnished, as Mommsen says, a regular income to the political wire-pullers at Rome; and the senatorial leaders had no desire to put the business of annexing Egypt into the hands of any individual. In his settlement of the East, Pompey did not interfere at all in Egypt, whatever may have been the reason.‡ During all the democratical intrigues of 689 to 691 (65 to 63), the idea was rife of using the annexation of Egypt as a means of obtaining a military power for Crassus or Caesar which would counterbalance that of Pompey. Crassus as Censor in 689 (65) tried to have Egypt annexed, but was vehemently opposed by Catulus;§ and probably one of the chief aims of the promoters of the Agrarian Commission proposed by Rullus was to acquire for that Commission the administration of Egypt. This Cicero says very plainly in a passage which has been often quoted (Leg. Agr. ii. 41 ff.), but which is of such capital

Inscriptionum Lat., No. 396, cp. 378), just as *Mena* or *Menas* was of *Menodorus*, and *Artema* of *Artemidorus*; somewhat as our Henrys are at times called Harry or Hal.

* Cp. Mahaffy, *The Empire of the Ptolemies*, p. 427: "I cannot but think that the constant assertion of the illegitimacy of Egyptian princes and princesses was an invention of Hellenistic historians in the interest of the Romans."

† Mithradates (Appian, Mithr. 111) appears to have betrothed two of his daughters to these two kings; it is not certain when. This is a sign of his endeavours to draw Egypt into the net of his policy; cp. his conduct with regard to Alexander II., mentioned above, p. xxix.

‡ Cp. Appian, Mithr. 114 εἴτε δείσας μέγεθος ἀρχῆς ἔτι εὐτυχούσης, εἴτε φυλαξάμενος ἐχθρῶν φθόνον, ἢ χρησμῶν ἀπαγόρευσιν, εἴτε ἑτέροις λογισμοῖς, οὓς ἐξοίσω κατὰ τὰ Αἰγύπτια. Egypt was always a troublesome country to govern; and, as the Alexandrines were a very excitable populace, quite reckless of consequences in case of civil dissensions (cp. Dio Cass. xxxix. 58, 2), and accustomed from time immemorial to monarchical government, they would have made the occupation by the Roman oligarchical government a very arduous business.

§ Plut. Crass. 13 ἀλλά φασιν ἐπὶ δεινὸν ὁρμήσαντι τῷ Κράσσῳ πολίτευμα καὶ βίαιον Αἴγυπτον ποιεῖν ὑποτελῆ Ῥωμαίοις ἀντιβῆναι τὸν Κάτλον ἐρρωμένως.

importance that it must be quoted again. Cicero is describing the extraordinary extent of the authority assigned to the Commissioners; and after showing that all Asia is comprised in the terms of reference, continues:—

'Again, look at Alexandria and all Egypt, in what a corner it lurks, how hidden away, how surreptitiously it is handed over to the Commissioners! There is no one here who is ignorant that it is stated that by the will of King Alexa that kingdom has become the property of the Roman people. On this matter I, as consul of the Roman people, pass no judgment: I do not even state my opinion. The matter seems to me a very important one to settle or even speak about. I see that it may be maintained that the will was made and that the Senate claimed acceptance of the heritage when, on the death of Alexa, we sent officials to Tyre to recover for our state the money deposited by him. I am aware that Lucius Philippus often maintained this in the Senate: I see that almost all are agreed that the present occupant of the throne is neither of royal lineage nor royal dignity. It is stated, on the other hand, that there is no will; that the Roman people ought not to appear eager to appropriate all kingdoms; that Romans will emigrate to Egypt, the land is so fertile and the general abundance so great. On a matter of such vast moment is Rullus with the rest of his Commissioners to adjudicate? and which judgment will he give? For both the alternatives are of such great importance that neither can possibly be granted or tolerated. Suppose he will desire to win the favour of the Roman people; then he will assign them the country; and so in pursuance of his law he will sell Alexandria, he will sell Egypt, he will be found to be the judge, arbitrator, master of a very rich city and a very splendid country—in short, king of a most wealthy kingdom. Suppose he will not take so much upon himself, and will not be eager to appropriate the land: he will decide that Alexandria is the property of Ptolemy, and assign it away from the Roman people. Now, in the first place, are ten men to pass judgment on what is the inheritance of the Roman people when you have chosen that one hundred [the court of the *centumviri*] shall adjudicate upon private inheritances? In the next place, who will plead the case of the Roman people? where will the case be pleaded? who are those Commissioners who will assign the kingdom of Alexandria to Ptolemy without a consideration? But if Alexandria was their object, why did they not take the same course which they took two years ago, in the year of Cotta and Torquatus [689 (65)]? Why did they not openly as before, why did they not straight and plain, make for that country? Or, while those are quiet who formerly were not able to reach that kingdom by a straight course, have these men supposed that they will now arrive at Alexandria in murky gloom and darkness?'*

* The reading of the last clause is uncertain, though the meaning is tolerably plain. We have endeavoured to translate the reading of the mss *an quietis his*, supposing the

It is quite plain from this that Ptolemy's claims were not recognised by the Romans, that he held his throne on sufferance, and the condition was constant bribery. All his efforts* had failed to induce Pompey to protect him against the growing hostility of the Alexandrian people; and his fortunes seemed desperate, indeed, when in 695 (59) the most active leader of the democratic party, Julius Caesar, became consul—a man who had already endeavoured to wrest Egypt from his grasp. Ptolemy was between the upper and the nether millstone—the Romans and the Alexandrians. But Caesar wanted money; and he would require a really substantial consideration if he assigned the Kingdom of Alexandria to Ptolemy. So in concert with Pompey he demanded 6000 talents—about one and a half million of our money—from the king in return for the assignation of the kingdom to him.† It was paid; and in February, 695 (59), Ptolemy was, by a law of Caesar's, declared *socius et amicus populi Romani*, and the treaty was duly ratified in the Capitol.‡ "I thought," said Pompey in his lordly way, "that it was time some settlement was arrived at about the Alexandrine King" (*de rege Alexandrino placuisse sibi aliquando confici* Cic. Att. ii. 16, 2 (43)).§

The agreement was with the King of Alexandria: nothing was said about the King of Cyprus, a country which belonged to Egypt. So next year Clodius brought in and carried his

allusion to be to Crassus and his open proposal in 689 (65) to annex Egypt. But we confess to being attracted by the fine emendation of Gulielmus *an qui etesiis*, 'or have those who could not reach that kingdom with a fair wind and by a straight course supposed that they can now arrive at Alexandria in murky gloom and darkness?' The Etesian winds were favourable for a voyage *to* Alexandria; cp. Caesar, Bell. Civ. iii. 107, 1 *Ipse enim necessario etesiis tenebatur, qui navigantibus Alexandria sunt adversissimi venti.*

* Cp. Plin. H. N. xxxiii. 136 *Congerant excedentis numerum opes, quota tamen portio erunt Ptolemaei quem Varro tradit Pompeio res gerente circa Iudaeam octona milia equitum sua pecunia toleravisse, mille convivas totidem aureis potoriis mutantem ea vasa cum ferculis saginasse?*

† Cp. Suet. Iul. 54 *Societates ac regna pretio dedit, ut qui uni Ptolemaeo prope sex milia talentorum suo Pompeique nomine abstulerit.*

‡ Cp. Cic. Rab. Post. 6: Caes. B. C. iii. 108.

§ The question had been before the Senate at least eleven years before. Cicero in 684 (70) indignantly says: "Well, let Verres (Verr. ii. 76) return to the Senate, let him declare war against the Cretans, let him make Byzantium a free state, let him recognise Ptolemy as king" (*regem appellet Ptolemaeum*).

unscrupulous law which confiscated the property of this king, on the ground of his being a secret enemy of the Romans and of not having ransomed him (Clodius) from the pirates. The upright Cato was sent to carry out the confiscation. We need not delay over this iniquitous measure. Cicero justly attacked it two years later, and after ages branded it as a gross act of greed. Ptolemy of Cyprus committed suicide, his property was seized, and the island occupied by the Romans.*

Ptolemy of Egypt, delighted at his own secure position, did not raise his hand to save his brother, or even make a protest when the rich island was severed from the authority of Egypt. This roused the indignation of the opposing faction of the Alexandrians,† and Ptolemy thought it wise to withdraw. He may not have been actually driven out: Plutarch says he left Alexandria in anger after quarrelling with the citizens: but he was so unpopular that he did not care to go back.‡ In his celebrated

* Cic. Sest. 59–61; Amm. Marc. xiv. 8, 15 *nec piget dicere avidemagis hanc insulam (Cyprum) populum Romanum invasisse quam iuste.* Cyprus was attached to Cilicia until 707 (47), when Caesar (Dio Cass. xlii. 35) gave it to Arsinoe and Ptolemy, the sister and brother of Cleopatra: afterwards Antony gave it to the children of Cleopatra, *ib.* xlix. 32; 41. In 727 (27) it was made an imperial province, probably united with Cilicia; but in 732 (22) it was constituted a regular senatorial province.

† M. Bouché-Leclercq, with excellent learning, refers to Dio Chrysostom Or. xxxii., p. 383 (= 687 R), to show that Ptolemy was assailed by the Σιμαριστοὶ καὶ τοιαῦθ' ἕτερα ἑταιρειῶν (clubs) ὀνόματα. Dr. Mahaffy (*op. cit.* p. 432) thinks that "among the causes of Alexandrian indignation was the debasement of the silver coinage, which sank to a condition quite disgraceful among the issues of the Lagidae. In his second reign, after his return, there is a considerable improvement, in spite of the extortions of Rabirius. This must have been caused by the fear of a new revolt." See Mr. Reginald Stuart Poole, *The Coins of the Ptolemies*, pp. lxxx, lxxxi. Probably a reason why the coins were better during the administration of Rabirius was that they were to be used for foreign exportation to the Roman creditors of Ptolemy; and the financier Rabirius took care that they should be of good quality.

‡ The authorities nearly all speak of Ptolemy as being expelled; cp. Cic. Rab. Post. 4: Livy Epit. 104: Strabo 558, 796: Dio Cass. xxxix. 12. But M. Bouché-Leclercq (lxxix., p. 263) thinks that, as he left his family behind him, we should rather believe that he left Alexandria without any definite plan, thinking himself at liberty to return when he pleased; and that he conceived the idea of returning by force only when he found Alexandria shut against him; cp. Porphyry, p. 723, ἡ δ' ἐξῆς . . . διετία ἐς μόνην τὴν Βερενίκην ἕνεκα τοῦ τὸν μὲν Πτολεμαῖον εἰς Ῥωμην ἀπηρκέναι καὶ τοῦτον ἐκεῖ διατετριφέναι τὸν χρόνον, τὰς δὲ θυγατέρας [This is an error. Cleopatra Tryphaena was wife, not daughter, of Ptolemy; see the careful discussion

interview with Cato at Rhodes (Plut. Cato, 35), Cato reminded him of the happy and independent position he held, and warned him of the humiliations he would have to endure at Rome in cringing to the Optimates, and advised him to return home to Alexandria and be reconciled with his subjects, promising his own good offices in helping to arrange the differences. Ptolemy was inclined to follow his advice, but was over-persuaded by his friends, and passed on to Rome.

According to Dio Cassius (xxxix. 13, 1), the Alexandrians did not know where Ptolemy had gone to, and thought that he was dead. The government was carried on by Ptolemy's wife, Cleopatra Tryphaena, for a portion of the year succeeding his departure; and then his eldest daughter Berenice, who was about twenty years of age, assumed the government, as both Ptolemy's sons were too young to succeed. With the early efforts of the Alexandrians to get from the Seleucids a consort for Berenice we are not much concerned.* When these efforts failed, she associated herself with a man of vigour—Archelaus, the high priest of Comana. He was ambitious, and desired to share in the expedition which Gabinius was meditating against the Parthians. He was with the Roman army in Syria when Berenice's offer reached him.† He accepted the offer, and, about the early autumn of 698 (56), hastened to Egypt, it is not quite clear whether with or without the knowledge of Gabinius.‡ Under Berenice and Archelaus,

of M. Bouché-Leclercq (79, pp. 263-265). The famous Cleopatra was only about eleven or twelve at this time.] *ὡς οὐκέτ' ἐπανήξοντος τοῦ πατρὸς ἀντειλῆφθαι τῶν πραγμάτων συνεπισπωμένης ἑαυτῇ κατὰ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους τῆς* Βερενίκης *ἀνδράς τινὰς συγγενεῖς τοὺς συνάρξαντας.*

* We hear from the account of Porphyry (p. 716) of an Antiochus—probably the young prince whom Verres robbed (Cic. Verr. iv. 61–71)—who was solicited by the Alexandrians to share her throne, but he died before he reached Egypt. Also of a Philippus, to whom Gabinius, 'Pompey's prefect' (*ἔπαρχος ὢν τοῦ* Πομπηίου), refused permission to essay the task. Also of another reputed Seleucid with whom Berenice did share the throne; but he was a low, vulgar fellow—the Alexandrians called him the 'Fish-packer' (*κυβιοσάκτης*)—an abusive epithet which they rather affected, for they applied it to Vespasian in later times (Suet. Vesp. 19)—and Berenice strangled him after a few days.

† It was here that he formed a friendship with the famous M. Antonius, then a young man of about twenty-seven, in command of the cavalry of Gabinius (Plut. Ant. 3).

‡ Strabo (p. 796) says without the knowledge (*λαθὼν*) of Gabinius; but Dio Cassius

then, the Alexandrians determined to face the attack of the Romans, in case they should be hired by the wages of Ptolemy to restore him to his kingdom.

Ptolemy arrived at Rome probably during the first half of 697 (57), and was lodged by Pompey in his Alban villa. Here Ptolemy negotiated the loan of large sums of money. This was 'to bribe the Senate,' as the prosecutors of Rabirius Postumus roundly stated.* It seemed incumbent on the Roman Senate to restore a king who was 'an ally and friend'; and accordingly they decreed (about September) that Ptolemy should be restored by Lentulus Spinther, consul of the year, when, at the expiry of his office, he went to his province of Cilicia. Meanwhile the Alexandrians, learning that Ptolemy was in Rome, sent a very imposing embassy of no less than one hundred men, headed by Dio, the eminent Academician, to set before the Roman Government their complaints against Ptolemy and to answer his charges. Ptolemy appears to have hired bravoes and assassins to meet them even when they landed at Puteoli.† He bribed some, murdered others, and intimidated the rest.‡ The violence was so wholesale, notorious, and scandalous, that upright men like Favonius, who led the cause of honesty during the absence of Cato, clamoured for an inquiry; so that the Senate ordered that Dio should appear before them, to let them know the truth. But Dio was afraid to appear, and no mention was made of the murder of the ambassadors. Nothing could be more disgraceful. Anon Dio himself was murdered at the house of his host, L. Lucceius. Suspicion fell at first on P. Asicius, who, accused by Calvus and defended by Cicero, was acquitted. Then it was held that Caelius had instigated the slaves of Lucceius to

(xxxix. 57) says that Gabinius connived at his escape, as he knew Archelaus would cause trouble to Ptolemy; and thus he, Gabinius, would be able to exact heavier sums from Ptolemy for his aid in restoring him.

* Rab. Post. 6 *senatum corruptum esse dicunt.*

† Cp. Cic. Cael. 23 *de Alexandrinorum pulsatione Puteolana.*

‡ Strabo (p. 796) speaks very strongly: *τὸν Αὐλητὴν ἀφικόμενον εἰς Ῥώμην δεξάμενος Πομπήιος Μάγνος συνίστησι τῇ συγκλήτῳ καὶ διαπράττεται κάθοδον μὲν τούτῳ, τῶν δὲ πρέσβεων τῶν πλείστων, ἑκατὸν ὄντων, ὄλεθρον τῶν καταπρεσβευσάντων αὐτοῦ.*

do the deed; but in the trial of Caelius next year he was adjudged not guilty.* The scandal, however, became so alarming that Ptolemy left Rome towards the end of 697 (57), and took up his abode at Ephesus, to wait for developments, leaving his agent, Hammonius, to continue his dealings with the heads of the Roman Government (Dio Cass. xxxix. 16, 3).

The developments were interesting. The restoration of Ptolemy looked as if it would be a lucrative business, so that there was much competition for it. Pompey undoubtedly wished to get it; but he said he did not, for he wanted to be pressed to take it, to have it apparently forced upon him.† Crassus also may have desired to be appointed to effect the restoration. Pompey said he believed that Crassus was at the back of the aggressive and headstrong young tribune, C. Cato,‡ who had entered on his office in December, and the other leaders of the democratic opposition. No one except the extreme Optimates wished that Lentulus should have the business. C. Cato was especially opposed to him. Cicero was in favour of Lentulus, and acted with a certain amount of zeal on his behalf, from feelings of gratitude for the kindness of Lentulus in effecting his restoration from exile; but we think his heart was not in the business.

This was the state of affairs at the beginning of 698 (56), when suddenly it was announced that a statue of Jupiter Latiaris on the Alban Mount had been struck by lightning. The Sibylline books were consulted. According to Dio Cassius (xxxix. 15, 2), they declared: "If the King of Egypt comes to you for help, do not refuse him your friendship; but do not assist him with a multitude (*μὴ μέντοι καὶ πλήθει τινὶ ἐπικουρήσητε*), for if you do

* Cp. Cic. Cael. 23, 24, 51–55. Lucceius was the historian to whom Cicero wrote Fam. v. 12 (109). Dio had previously been the guest of Titus Coponius: see Mr. A. C. Clark's admirable restoration of Cael. § 24.

† Cp. 95, 3; 96, 3; 100, 3; Plut. Pomp. 49.

‡ For this C. Cato, cp. Q. Fr. i. 2, 15 (53) *adulescens nullius consili, sed tamen civis Romanus et Cato . . . in contionem escendit et Pompeium privatum dictatorem appellavit.* We are not at all sure that Pompey's surmise was right. We think that Cato was simply opposing the gross senatorial jobbery, and that that arch-intriguer Pompey could not or would not appreciate disinterested conduct.

you will have trouble and danger."* Contrary to all precedent, C. Cato published this oracle without the consent of the Senate; and, what was more, compelled the *quindecimviri* to recite the oracle to the people; and the oracle was translated into Latin, and publicly proclaimed. "In wonder at the appositeness of the oracle," says Dio Cassius,† "they rescinded all the resolutions which had been passed about Ptolemy, persuaded thereto by the tribune Gaius Cato." It is not apparent what those resolutions were: in point of fact, no such resolutions were ever passed;‡ but, at any rate, we may take it that the people expressed disapproval of the view that Lentulus, or, indeed, anyone else (cp. 98, 2), should forcibly restore Ptolemy.

As M. Bouché-Leclercq (80, p. 5) says, "The precision and rapidity of these manœuvres made it quite plain that they were premeditated." No one—at least no politician—was deceived. Cicero speaks plainly of it (98, 2) as 'the trumped-up appeal to religion' (*ficta religio*). Yet the *religio* had to be counted with. No one ventured to declare publicly and officially that it was a sham—a proof how strong formal respect for religion was still in the community. It was generally agreed that if Ptolemy was to be restored, force must not be used (95, 3). The question remained, Who (if anyone) was to restore him?

* This oracle became famous, and was regarded as not unworthy of the Cumean shrine: cp. Lucan, viii. 823-826:—

> Noxia civili tellus Aegyptia fato,
> Haud equidem immerito Cumanae carmine vatis
> Cautum, ne Nili Pelusia tangeret ora
> Hesperius miles ripasque aestate tumentis.

† xxxix. 15, 3 κἀκ τούτου τὴν συντυχίαν τῶν ἐπῶν πρὸς τὰ τότε γενόμενα θαυμάσαντες ἀπεψηφίσαντο πάντα τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ (Ptolemy) ἐγνωσμένα, Γαΐῳ Κάτωνι πεισθέντες δημάρχῳ.

‡ Similarly, Dio Cassius (xxxix. 55, 2) says that Gabinius, by restoring Ptolemy, violated τὰ ψηφίσματα τὰ τοῦ δήμου; and (56, 4) ἀπειρηκότος τοῦ δήμου τῆς τε Σιβύλλης μὴ καταχθῆναι τὸν ἄνδρα. But he has, as M. Bouché-Leclercq (lxxx., p. 9) has pointed out, probably taken seriously the *iussa populi* of Cicero Pis. 49. There Cicero, speaking "oratorie," as Long says, declares that Gabinius sold to the Egyptian King *se ipsum, fascis suos, exercitum populi Romani, numen interdictumque deorum immortalium, responsa sacerdotum, auctoritatem senatus, iussa populi, nomen et dignitatem imperi.* But the extravagance of this language renders it unnecessary that we should understand the words literally.

Such was the state of affairs when Cicero's correspondence with Lentulus begins in January, 698 (56). Lentulus had gone to Cilicia at the end of the previous year; and Cicero wrote him reports of the phases of the Egyptian Question during the first half of 698 (56). The first letter (95), written on January 13, gives an account of the meeting of the Senate held on January 12. The question was, Who was to restore Ptolemy without an army? Hortensius, Lucullus, and Cicero urged that the business should be given to Lentulus, as had been already arranged. But several senators thought that such an important affair ought not to be put into the hands of a single man; and so Crassus proposed that three Commissioners, chosen from among those who had the *imperium*, should be sent. Thus Pompey was not excluded; but his importance in the undertaking would by this arrangement be considerably less than if he were appointed alone. Bibulus thought it would be more advisable to send three Commissioners who had no *imperium*, and most of the consulars agreed with him. Servilius Isauricus was against restoring Ptolemy at all. Volcacius, Afranius, and the tribune Rutilius Lupus were for Pompey; and this view was, of course, backed by all the regular partisans of Pompey, such as Libo and Hypsaeus. "The affair," says Cicero (95, 4), "like a sore, has been inflamed by the King and the partisans of Pompey, and has been further irritated by the consuls, so that it has become in the highest degree odious to the people."

The sitting of January 13 was mostly wasted by an altercation between the consul Marcellinus and the tribune Caninius, who was in favour of Pompey. Cicero says he spoke in favour of Lentulus. On the 14th, when the motion of Bibulus came on, a demand was made that it be put as two separate motions (*ut Bibuli sententia divideretur*)—1°, That on force be used; 2°, That three Commissioners be sent. The first was formally agreed to; the latter negatived by a large majority. The motion of Hortensius was next brought forward; but Lupus, the tribune, claimed priority, and the rest of the sitting was spent in this wrangle about precedence.* The consuls were pleased; for they

* It is not very plain on what grounds Lupus, the tribune, claimed precedence. Cicero says (96, 2) *quod ipse de Pompeio rettulisset intendere coepit ante se oportere*

wanted the matter shelved, as the motion of Bibulus, which they favoured, had been negatived. Cicero tells us (96, 2) that the majority of the Senate were prepared to support by speech the proposal of Volcacius that Pompey should be appointed, but would, if a division were taken, vote with Hortensius in favour of Lentulus. We presume that they would have said: "Of course Pompey is the right man for the business; but it is not clear that he will take it (cp. 96, 3), and we can hardly spare him (cp. Plut. Pomp. 49); so we vote for the next best man, Lentulus."* The

discessionem facere quam consules. Mr. Watson suggests that Lupus may have made his proposal at the end of the previous year before Hortensius: but surely Cicero would have added some word like *prius* to indicate this? Mr. Watson also quotes Ross as urging that Lupus claimed that his question as that of a magistrate should be put before the motion of Hortensius, a private senator. But Bibulus was a private senator, and his motion came first of all. We think the view of Mommsen, advocated in our note on the passage, the least unsatisfactory explanation. It gives some reason why *trib. pl.* is added; and we must remember that the claim of Lupus was considered unfair and unprecedented, but not illegal. If this view, which accentuates *ipse*, is not accepted, perhaps it might be suggested that we should accentuate *Pompeio*. 'The question' (Lupus might say) 'now is, what individual person is to restore Ptolemy without an army? The names, as the meeting is aware, are Lentulus and Pompey. Both are equally eligible, for both have the *imperium*; but plainly Pompey is the greater man, and the discussion of his claims which I support ought to have precedence of those of Lentulus, which are advanced by certain eminent consulars, and will accordingly be put to the meeting by the consuls.'

* It was not until the early part of our Commentary was printed off that we became aware of the very able treatment of this passage by Sternkopf in *Hermes*, xxxviii. (1903), pp. 28–37. He punctuates and reads the passage thus *Consules neque concedebant neque valde repugnabant: diem consumi volebant, id quod est factum. Perspiciebant enim in Hortensi sententiam multis partibus pluris ituros, quamquam aperte, <ut> Volcacio adsentirentur, multi rogabantur, atque id ipsum consulibus invitis, nam ii Bibuli sententiam valere cupierunt.* By this arrangement *rogabantur* is not to be taken technically of the *perrogatio sententiarum*, but means simply that many were openly solicited by the partisans of Pompey to support Volcacius; and their open advocacy of Pompey is strongly insisted on in the previous letter (95, 3 *non obscura concursatio*). Though it is a little awkward that *consulibus* should be used when *consules* is the nominative to the sentence (we should have expected *atque id ipsis invitis, nam ii*, &c.), still this arrangement of Sternkopf's gets rid of the necessity of inserting *non*, and explains the appearance of the corrupt *vi* which appears in M after *aperte* (see Adn. Crit.). Sternkopf seems to take *id ipsum* as referring to the open and barefaced way (*aperte*) in which the supporters of Pompey solicited support; but even on this view *ipsum* is hardly required. Yet Sternkopf's arrangement of the passage is certainly masterly, and may well be right: but on the whole we think that the view advocated in our notes is preferable, viz., either to insert *non* before *invitis* (the omission of *non* being a frequent occurrence in the *codices*), or to read *neque id ipsum*.

Senate further passed a resolution that the question should not be brought before the people;* but this resolution was vetoed by C. Cato and Caninius, and so could only be published as an expression of opinion (*senatus auctoritas*, 96, 4). The next day these two tribunes declared that they would allow no law to pass until the elections for Aediles and Quaestors were completed. All this conduct of the tribunes Cicero stigmatizes as 'most infamous villainy' (*sceleratissimo tribunorum latrocinio*, 98, 2). But the main point was that the matter was postponed, and the popular party were virtually victorious.

Early in February Cicero wrote again to Lentulus to tell him of an 'atrocious proposal' (*nefaria promulgatio*) made by C. Cato to the people—to wit, that Lentulus be superseded in the government of Cilicia (99, 2); also of a motion of Caninius that Pompey, with two lictors, should restore Ptolemy.† Neither of these bills was carried by the end of March; for the consul Marcellinus nullified all comitial days by 'observing the heavens,' and using other devices for delay suggested by the State religion (105, 4); and he was supported by the tribune Racilius (114, 2). A resolution of the Senate was passed that no one should restore Ptolemy, and, as it was vetoed, could only be published as an *auctoritas*. By July the whole business had ceased to interest the public; and Cicero, in a long letter (114), gives Lentulus his own, and what he states was Pompey's, advice:—

'That whereas no decree of the Senate exists taking the restoration of the King of Alexandria out of your hands, and whereas the expression of opinion (*auctoritas*) drawn up on that subject (which, as you know, was vetoed), that no one at all should restore him, is of trifling importance, being dictated by angry party spirit rather than deliberate judgment, you, as governor of Cilicia and Cyprus, have it in your power to consider carefully what you can effect and accomplish; and, if circumstances seem likely to enable you to hold Alexandria and Egypt, the dignity of yourself and of our Empire admits of your placing the King at Ptolemais or some neighbouring place, while you proceed with fleet and army to Alexandria; so that when you have secured that city by establishing

* We presume that this means that, if anyone brought the matter before the people, the Senate would approve of a tribune's vetoing the proceedings, or another magistrate "observing the heavens": cp. note to 96, 4.

† Plutarch, Pomp. 49, calls the tribune Canidius.

peace and garrisons (*eam cum pace praesidiisque firmaris*), Ptolemy may return to his throne. Thus he will be restored by you as the Senate originally voted, and will be brought back without a "multitude," as scrupulous men say is the will of the Sibyl.' *

And then Cicero goes on to say that, however, the utmost care must be taken that the expedition, if attempted, should prove a success; that it should not be attempted if there is the least chance of failure; that a failure would be full of danger on account of the Senate's expression of opinion and the Sibylline oracle; and that Lentulus must remember that men will judge his whole action, not by the nature of his designs, but by the success of the undertaking (114, 5). But Lentulus had not the enterprise to take this shrewd, if somewhat Machiavellian, advice. He doubtless held that the decree of January 14 (see above, p. xxxix), formally forbidding the use of force, superseded the decree of the previous autumn; and he did not want to act unconstitutionally. When afterwards Gabinius acted as Cicero had advised Lentulus to act, and was successful, then Cicero, in righteous indignation, contrasts the upright and religious conduct of Lentulus with the unscrupulous insanity of Gabinius.†

During the remainder of the year this Egyptian Question rested. Affairs at Rome and in Gaul were too pressing for

* We wonder was this very carefully-worded paragraph actually drawn up by Cicero and Pompey in consultation.

† Cp. Cic. Pis. 50 *ille* (*Gabinius*) *si non acerrime fureret, auderet, quam provinciam P. Lentulus, amicissimus huic ordini, cum et auctoritate senatus et sorte haberet, interposita religione sine ulla dubitatione deposuisset, eam sibi adsciscere, cum, etiamsi religio non impediret, mos maiorum tamen et exempla et gravissimae legum poenae vetarent?* We owe this contrast to M. Bouché-Leclercq (lxxx, p. 11), who also reminds us (p. 20), as Lange also does (iii. 357), that during this deplorable time of Cicero's life he was composing the *De Republica*. We cannot, however, follow that eminent scholar (p. 17) in censuring Cicero for not having in the *Or. de Prov. Cons.* attacked Gabinius for his unconstitutional expedition to Alexandria. Cicero could not have done so, because the expedition had not occurred. The oration *de Prov. Cons.* was delivered about June, 698 (56), and Gabinius did not invade Egypt until the ensuing spring. And we think M. Bouché-Leclercq is also in error in his chronology (p. 18) in supposing with Dio Cassius (xxxix. 61, 1–3) that the inundation of the Tiber preceded the trials of Gabinius. Cicero's epistle to Quintus (156, 1) is decisive that the inundation was subsequent to the trial of Gabinius for *maiestas*, in which he was acquitted; and the inundation is regarded by Cicero as a token of divine indignation for this grievous miscarriage of justice.

Pompey and Caesar (who were principally interested in Egypt) to take active steps in reference to that country. They waited until they had been elected consuls in January, 699 (55). Then we hear* that Ptolemy arrived in the camp of Gabinius with letters from Pompey ordering Gabinius to effect his restoration. A pretext was easily obtained that Archelaus had prepared a fleet and assisted, or at least countenanced, the pirates.† The real reason was a promise of 10,000 talents, about two and a half millions of our money.‡ About the end of March or the beginning of April Gabinius proceeded down through Palestine to Egypt. He had settled Palestine the previous year with considerable success, and now received help from the philo-Roman party in that country, and especially from the Idumean Antipater.§ The march along the desert from the borders of Palestine to Pelusium was dangerous; but it was effected with success and vigour by Marcus Antonius—the celebrated Mark Antony—who was then in command of the cavalry of Gabinius.‖ The Jewish garrison before Pelusium allowed him to pass, and a battle was fought at Pelusium in which the Egyptians were defeated. Here, according to Plutarch, Ptolemy wished to commence his vengeance on his enemies, but Antony would not allow it. Afterwards on the Nile itself the Egyptians were again defeated both on land and water. Archelaus fell in the battle, and received a soldier's burial from his friend Antony.¶ This was about May.** The

* Dio Cass. xxxix. 56, 3.

† Cic. Rab. Post. 20. We hear a good deal about pirates in connexion with Gabinius, and may presume that there was a recrudescence of piracy in the Eastern Levant at this time. The enemies of Gabinius, the *publicani*, accused him of allowing piracy to gain such power that the taxes could not be collected.

‡ Cic. Rab. Post. 21: Plutarch, Ant. 3. Dio Cassius (xxxix. 57, 1) adds what we may consider a further reason, that Berenice, though fearing the Romans, did not act reasonably (ἐπιεικὲς μὲν οὐδὲν πρὸς αὐτὸν . . . ἔπραξε) towards Gabinius—which may mean that she did not bribe him.

§ Josephus, Bell. Iud. i. 8, 7.

‖ Plut. Ant. 3. Antony generally did well when called on to face the hardships of a soldier's life: cp. Plut. Ant. 17.

¶ Plut. Ant. 3. It was during this visit that Antony, who was then about twenty-eight, first saw Cleopatra, who was about fourteen; and, as Appian says, his eyes received the sting of desire (B.C. v. 8 λεγόμενος δ' ἐς ταύτην καὶ πάλαι παῖδα ἔτι οὖσαν ἐρέθισμά τι τῆς ὄψεως λαβεῖν).

** Cp. 121, 1. *Puteolis magnus est rumor Ptolemaeum esse in regno*, writes Cicero on

country was secured by the establishment of peace and garrisons, as Cicero would have said (114, 4). A body of Roman infantry with Celtic and German cavalry was located in the city; and these *Gabiniani milites*, to use the words of Mommsen, "took the place of the native praetorians, and otherwise emulated them not unsuccessfully."* Ptolemy executed his daughter Berenice and many of the richer Alexandrians: and as he was deeply indebted to Gabinius and to the superiors of Gabinius, Pompey and Caesar, doubtless at their order he put the management of his revenues into the hands of a Roman financier, one Rabirius Postumus.

We know a good deal about this Rabirius Postumus from a speech of Cicero's on his behalf. But we must first relate the story of the trials of Gabinius, as there is no subject in Cicero's correspondence during 700 (54) to which reference is more frequently made.

Gabinius had restored Ptolemy by May, 699 (55), but is stated to have sent home no despatch dealing with the expedition.† However, by the autumn all about it was well known, as we may gather from Cicero's invective, *In Pisonem*. In addition to the odium which attached to Gabinius owing to the Egyptian expedition, complaints were laid against him by the *publicani* that they had been hampered in the collection of taxes by the attacks of pirates, which could not be repulsed, because he had withdrawn all his forces for the invasion of Egypt. In the debates in the Senate on the subject, Crassus seems to have defended Gabinius, and, in the course of the defence, to have made an attack on Cicero, to which Cicero replied with warmth and vigour (153, 20). But nothing important resulted, except that the Triumvirs urged Cicero to become reconciled with Crassus; and he did so before November, when Crassus left for Syria. The *publicani* returned to the attack on February 13 of 700 (54).‡ L. Lamia, who had been 'relegated'

May 22. News could come from Egypt in about ten days. Gabinius seems to have sent home no official report of the Egyptian expedition (Dio Cass. xxxix. 59, 1).

* Cp. Caes. B.C. iii. 4, 4; 110, 2; Dio Cass. xlii. 38, 1; Val. Max. iv. 1, 15.

† Dio Cass. xxxix. 59, 1.

‡ Cp. 135, 2. The *publicani* themselves were accused by the Tyrians of harsh dealing. (If *Tyriis* is the correct reading, and we do not alter with M^2 to *Syriis*, we must suppose that the *publicani* had somehow extended their extortions even to the

by Gabinius in 696 (58), at their head (135, 2). The matter was postponed until March by certain points of constitutional law raised by Appius Claudius the consul (135, 3). About that month it was announced that Gabinius had refused to give up the province to a lieutenant of Crassus, and it was agreed that the Sibylline books should be consulted as to what punishment should be inflicted on Gabinius. No punishment was found specified; however, indignation was so keen against Gabinius that it was decided that the severest penalties should be meted out to him.*

On September 19 Gabinius approached the city, and after some days, finding that it was futile to expect a triumph, entered Rome by night on the 27th. On October 7 he appeared in the Senate to give his report, and was assailed by Cicero.† Gabinius was accused of *maiestas* under Sulla's law, for leaving his province and waging war on the Egyptians. The accuser was L. Lentulus, son of the flamen Martialis;‡ and in the very first steps of the case the unpopularity of Gabinius was clearly evinced (148, 24). He was also arraigned for extortion by several accusers, and there was much competition as to who should have the privilege of prosecution. The selection of accuser (*divinatio*) was tried before Cato, and C. Memmius was chosen (148, 15; 150, 1, 2).§ Further, Gabinius was accused of bribery: again a *divinatio* ensued, and P. Sulla (the Sulla who had previously been defended by Cicero) was chosen (151, 3; 154, 3).

About October 23 the trial for *maiestas* was held before C. Alfius, who was a firm man (151, 3); and Gabinius was acquitted by six votes in a panel of seventy jurors (152, 1). Cicero attributes this flagrant miscarriage of justice, which amounted,

free city of Tyre.) We can thus see a good reason for the hostility of the *publicani* to Gabinius—viz., that the latter had protected the provincials from their extortions.

* Dio Cass. xxxix. 60, 61.

† 150, 2 *cum a me maxime vulneraretur*. For the unpopularity of Gabinius cp. 148, 15, 24. On what occasion Cicero delivered his speech *In Gabinium*, which was known to the ancients (cp. Quintil. xi. 1, 73; Trebell. Poll. xxx. Tyr. 22, 11; Serv. ad Verg. Georg. i. 120), is doubtful—whether at the meeting in 699 (55), in which he replied to Crassus, or at the meeting in March, 700 (54), or at this meeting on October 7th. We incline to think the latter is the most probable occasion.

‡ Cp. Att. ii. 24, 2 (51), and Philippic iii. 25.

§ We have a story of extravagant harshness exhibited by Memmius in this connexion, related by Val. Max. viii. 1, 3.

he said, to an Amnesty Act for all crimes (160, 3 *Gabini absolutio lex impunitatis putatur*), to the incompetence of the accuser,* the corruption of the jurors, the fear of a dictatorship, and the influence of Pompey (151, 3; 152, 1; 154, 1–3).† Cicero gave evidence against Gabinius,‡ but otherwise he did not take any prominent part in the trial. The people were wildly indignant at the result of the case, and, according to Dio Cassius (xxxix. 63, 1), nearly slew the jurors. Anon followed grievous floods, owing to an overflow of the Tiber. Cicero professed to regard them as a divine vengeance for the acquittal of Gabinius; and, with a fine literary reminiscence, quoted Homer's view (Il. xvi. 385) that the heavy autumn rains were the punishment of those "who judge crooked judgments forcefully in the assembly, and drive justice out, and reck not of the vengeance of the gods." Cicero says he was delighted at the middle course which he adopted (*Ego vero hac mediocritate delector*); but it was severely criticised by his friends, such as the outspoken Cn. Sallustius, who thought Cicero ought to have either accused or defended Gabinius (152, 2, 3; cp. 150, 2 fin.): and, indeed, Cicero himself seems to have been sorely vexed that he did not accuse him.§ He gives the reasons (150, 2) which impelled him to the course he adopted —unwillingness to quarrel with Pompey, especially as Milo's canvass for the consulship would soon be beginning; the worthlessness of the jurors, the ill-feeling of certain men, and the general fear of a *fiasco*.

The trial for extortion did not take place until December. Even in December Cicero spoke with repugnance of the idea of

* This was so glaring that he was suspected of collusion (154, 1).

† Lange (iii. 301) notices that Gabinius appears to have had an *imperium* conferred upon him by the law of Clodius, which exempted him from the provisions of the Lex Cornelia and the Lex Julia de Repetundis, and allowed him to wage war outside his province (cp. De Domo 55, 60, 124), and that this legal point may have told in his favour.

‡ He does not state what the nature of that evidence was, but it cannot have been very serious or bitter; for Gabinius asked him no questions, and said he would always feel gratitude to Cicero for his action on the occasion (152, 3). Possibly, too, Gabinius wished to conciliate Cicero, knowing that Pompey would urge Cicero to defend him if a subsequent trial should take place.

§ 155, 4 *angor . . . inimicos a me partim non oppugnatos* (Gabinius), *partim etiam esse defensos* (Vatinius).

defending Gabinius;* but when the trial came on, he was persuaded by Pompey and Caesar, and undertook the defence. Cicero does not appear to have published his oration; but an interesting fragment is recorded from the notes (*commentarii*) which he made for that speech.† This action of Cicero's is hard to justify. He declares that he defended Gabinius because he had been reconciled with him, and not because Pompey put pressure on him. "I am never sorry," he says finely, "that my enmities are mortal, my friendships undying."‡ But there is no doubt that the defence of Gabinius (as Dio Cassius says, xxxix. 63, 5; cp. xxxvi. 44, 2, and xlvi. 8) made more marked the application of the term 'deserter' to Cicero. However, Valerius Maximus (iv. 2, 4) mentions this reconciliation with, and defence of, an old enemy as a signal instance of right feeling (*humanitas*). Pompey appears to have held a meeting outside the walls, in which he spoke in favour of Gabinius, and read a letter of Caesar's to the same effect (Dio Cass. xxxix. 63, 2–4). At the trial evidence from Pompey was read (for, as holding the *imperium*, he could not enter the city), which stated that the King of Egypt had informed him by letter that he had given no money to Gabinius except for military purposes (Rab. Post. 34). Gabinius was condemned;§ and at the *litis aestimatio* he was fined 10,000 talents (about two and a half millions of our money), the amount which he was stated to have received from Ptolemy (cp. above, p. xliii). As Gabinius could not pay it, he went into exile; and he did not return till 705 (49), when all

* 160, 1 τότε μοι χάνοι. In September Cicero had said to Quintus (148, 15) *Pompeius a me valde contendit de reditu in gratiam* [sc. cum Gabinio] *sed adhuc nihil profecit nec, si ullam partem libertatis tenebo, proficiet*; and in October he declared (152, 3) his defending Gabinius would be a *sempiterna infamia.*

† See the *Fragments of Cicero*, p. 291, ed. C. F. W. Müller: *Ego cum omnis amicitias tuendas semper putavi summa religione et fide, tum eas maxime quae essent ex inimicitiis revocatae in gratiam, propterea quod integris amicitiis officium praetermissum imprudentiae vel, ut gravius interpretemur, neglegentiae excusatione defenditur, post reditum autem in gratiam si quid est commissum, id non neglectum sed violatum putatur nec imprudentiae sed perfidiae assignari solet.*

‡ Rab. Post. 32 *neque me vero paenitet mortalis inimicitias, sempiternas amicitias habere.*

§ Owing, says Dio Cassius (*l. c.*), to popular indignation, and to his not bribing sufficiently; but, as Mr. Long (iv. 281) says, it is possible that the judges considered the evidence sufficient.

the exiles (except Milo) were restored by Caesar. The trial for bribery (cp. above, p. xlv) was, of course, dropped.*

The trial of Rabirius Postumus (see above, p. xliv) forms the Epilogue or Appendix (*appendicula*), as Cicero calls it (Rab. Post. 8), to the trial of Gabinius for extortion. When Gabinius had been condemned, and was unable to pay the fine assessed against him, it was supposed that some of the extorted money had found its way into the pockets of Rabirius; and he was accordingly accused, by the C. Memmius who had also accused Gabinius, on this ground—*quo ea pecunia pervenerit*, as the formula ran.† He had endeavoured to extract from the Egyptian taxpayers some of the two and a half millions promised by Ptolemy to Gabinius, and, doubtless, some of the vast sums which Ptolemy had borrowed from himself and other Roman financiers. Cicero spoke in defence of Rabirius, as he had done in defence of Gabinius. Rabirius had stood by Cicero and his family during his banishment; so that Cicero, who hardly ever was wanting in gratitude, was willing enough to do what he could on his behalf, thus acting as well for personal reasons as because Pompey wished it. Cicero argues that, on certain legal grounds, Rabirius, a Roman knight, was not amenable to the charge of extortion; but, passing by that plea, he takes the case on its merits. Rabirius, he says, was a financier who lent money to Ptolemy in the first instance, and then kept on advancing money in hopes of recovering his original loan; but he has not succeeded, and is now a ruined man. He was very reckless, very foolish, to lend money to the king; but business speculations do fail at times. He was appointed Superintendent (διοικητής) of the Alexandrian Exchequer, and in that capacity certainly did assume Alexandrian dress: otherwise he would not have been able to do his business at all.‡ Ptolemy treated him

* As far as we know, there is only one more mention of Gabinius. After the Battle of Pharsalia he was sent by Caesar to Illyricum to reinforce Q. Cornificius. Near Salona, at a place called Synodium, he suffered a very severe defeat from the natives, and had to throw himself into Salona. Here he defended himself for some time against M. Octavius; but finally, worn out by hardships and difficulties, was seized by a fatal illness, which carried him off about the end of 706 (48); cp. Bell. Alex. 42, 4; 43; Dio Cass. xlii. 11: Appian. Illyr. 12, 27.

† Rab. Post. 8: cp. Cluent. 116; Caelius ad Fam. viii. 8, 2 (223).

‡ This adoption of Alexandrian dress seems to have brought much odium on Rabirius,

very badly. He put him in prison, and finally Rabirius had to disguise himself and fly for his life.* At any rate, says Cicero, Rabirius is ruined, and could not appear in Roman business circles were it not for the extraordinary liberality and generosity of his friend Julius Caesar; and then follows a long panegyric on Caesar's virtues.† Rabirius is but a shadow and a phantom of what he was; and he owes his preservation to the loyal assistance of Caesar. So far Cicero. Caesar always stood by his business friends, and, doubtless, did stand by Rabirius; for the money lent by Rabirius to Ptolemy, we may be very sure, passed in a great measure over to Caesar. That the two and a half millions promised to Gabinius by Ptolemy were really promised to Caesar and Pompey, we may perhaps infer from what Caesar is reported to have said when he went to Alexandria in 707 (47), that Ptolemy Auletes owed him a vast sum (it was equal to £1,700,000 of our money); that he remitted the £700,000, but required the million for the support of his army (Plut. Caes. 48). The other creditors of Pompey appear to have fared with signal ill-success. In October, 700 (54), Cicero consoles Trebatius (146, 1) for not having made a rapid fortune by telling him that others, who had Egyptian bonds, though they went to Alexandria, have not been able to get a penny of their money so far. We do not know what was the end of the trial of Rabirius; but as the case of Rabirius was obviously a poor one, and as Cato was the president of the

and Cicero is at great pains to exonerate him in the matter (cp. § 25). "He wore the pallium at Alexandria in order that he might afterwards wear his toga at Rome; if he retained his toga, he would have had to renounce all his fortunes." Roman dignity appears to have required that the Romans should be not only *rerum dominos*, but *gentemque togatam* (cp. Verg. Æn. i. 282).

* Rab. Post. 39. Dr. Mahaffy (*The Empire of the Ptolemies*, p. 438) rightly suggests that the extortions of Rabirius roused the quick-tempered and reckless Alexandrians to acts of violence, and that his life was saved only by his being put under some kind of police protection by the King. Further, touching the appointment of Rabirius as Superintendent of the Exchequer, Dr. Mahaffy remarks: "I do not think the real significance of this curious concession has been appreciated by historians. It was then without precedent, but has in recent times its parallel in the cession of Turkish taxes made by the Sultan to secure the interest of their loans to his foreign creditors."

† Rab. Post. 41–44: *Verum autem, iudices, si scire voltis, nisi C. Caesaris summa in omnis, incredibilis in hunc eadem liberalitas extitisset, nos hunc Postumum iam pridem in foro non haberemus. . . . Umbram equitis Romani et imaginem videtis, iudices, unius amici conservatam auxilio et fide.*

court, and as we hear no more of Rabirius until after the restoration of the exiles in 705 (49),* we may consider it in a measure probable that Rabirius met the same fate as Gabinius, and was condemned; but we cannot be certain, for Cicero tells us (Cluent. 116) that juries were sometimes very lax in subsidiary cases of this kind, after having shown great severity in the principal case.

Such was the end of the Egyptian business, which was a rather disgraceful one. Ptolemy reigned until May, 703 (51), and died of disease at the age of about forty-five.† No one has a good word for him.‡ He may be described in the words with which Tacitus (Hist. v. 9) has branded Felix, as one who, "practising every kind of cruelty and lust, exercised the powers of a king with the mind of a slave" (*per omnem saevitiam et libidinem ius regium servili ingenio exercuit*). Cicero, indeed, speaks of him as *blandus* and *benignus* (Rab. Post. 5), but that was only when Ptolemy wanted to raise a loan. Egypt does not appear again in any prominence in Roman history until after the Battle of Pharsalia.

II.—LITERARY.

§ 1. Cicero and his Correspondents.

Whatever may be said about the political aspect of Cicero during the years between his restoration and his departure for his province, Cilicia, it cannot be denied that as a *littérateur* his charm is irresistible. Amidst all his political anxieties we are constantly finding the happy quotation, the epigrammatic phrase, the apt literary and historical allusion. The heavy rains that followed the acquittal of Gabinius remind him (156) of the sublime passage of Homer (Il. xvi. 385), when he tells how Zeus 'sendeth down exceeding great rain on men, for that he

* In the Bell. Afr. 8, 1 we hear that Caesar in 707 (47) sent Rabirius Postumus to Sicily to bring over a second convoy of troops into Africa.

† Cael. ap. Fam. viii. 4, 5 (206); Strabo, 796.

‡ Mahaffy, op. cit., p. 439.

is wroth because they judge crooked judgments forcefully in the assembly, and put righteousness utterly away, and reck not of the vengeance of the gods.' The reserve of Pompey makes it necessary to qualify every statement about his views with *ut loquebatur*, which suggests to him the refrain of Phocylides, καὶ τόδε Φωκυλίδου. In arguing Trebatius out of his home-keeping proclivities he refers to a celebrated speech of Medea to the dames of Corinth, 214 ff., and gives a strange interpretation to the Euripidean passage, or rather the Ennian version of it. Some of his quotations from lost plays are quite unintelligible to us now, as, for instance, his allusion to the Σύνδειπνοι Σοφοκλέους in 147, 3; but no doubt they are as apt as those which we understand. In telling how he played off his Publius (Vatinius) against the senate's Publius (Clodius), he makes a most happy use of Gnatho's advice in the *Eunuchus*; and he defends his conduct by clever, but rather strained, appeals to Plato. His quotations from Homer and the old Roman poets are very numerous, and always singularly appropriate.

Many happy phrases of this chief of phrase-mongers have already been quoted, or will be quoted in the sequel. The following are good examples of his lighter vein—we refer to the pages of this edition to promote facility of reference:—

'I am tired of surgery; I am beginning a treatment by *régime*,' p. 16. 'A letter does not blush,' 61. 'He was so attached to his country, that I think it was the mercy of God which spared him the sight of its holocaust,' 67. 'Since Tyrannio arranged my books my house seems to be no longer chaos,' 73. 'Pompey has in the archives of his pocket-book as long a list of consuls to be as of consuls that have been,' 86. 'The Sicilian is a writer of the first rank, terse, sagacious, concise, almost a Thucydides in little,' 136. 'If the election comes off without bribery, it will show that the influence of Cato outweighs the Statute Book and the Bench together,' 147. 'You are too impatient. You want to make your fortune, and return from Gaul at once. One would think my letter of introduction to Caesar was a draft on him payable at sight,' 160. 'The house, in its present unadorned state, is like some sober moralist placed there to reproach the other villas for their frivolity,' 168. 'The place is so clothed with ivy that the statues between the columns seem to have taken to fancy gardening, and to be telling us to admire the ivy,' 168. 'The acquittal of Gabinius is regarded as a general Amnesty Act,' 226. 'Your most formidable rival is the magnificence of the hopes formed of your future,' 253.

For whole letters of rare finish and skill we would recommend especially those to Lucceius (109), to Marius (127), to Caesar (134); and for the more jocose vein all the letters to Trebatius, though the constant play on judicial terms, such as *cavere*, *respondere*, *sapere*, and the facetious references to Britain, become tiresome.

The letters of Part IV. present to us a most vivid picture of Roman life during the closing scenes of the Republic. This was an epoch at which there began to exist something like what we now call society. The old Roman lived at home, or in the Forum. Now we begin to see the dawn of the *beau monde*. It is an era of *salons*, dinner-parties, *bons mots*, intrigues. At the same time the streets are the arena of daily conflicts,* one might almost say massacres, which would seem incompatible with even the rudest form of civilization. 'You remember,' says Cicero (*pro Sest.* § 77), 'how the Tiber was full of corpses, and the public sewers choked, and how the blood had to be swabbed up with sponges (*spongiis effingi*) in the Forum'; and much more to the same effect. Not only a gay Curio or Caelius, on his way to an evening of gambling or drinking at the house of Clodia, or her lover Catullus, but a staid consular, on his way to the Senate, would, if he valued his life, arm himself to the teeth, and call out his gang of gladiators (*operae*, *manus*, λόχος), to force his passage through the streets. A man would seem to have to take as much precaution about his arms and his bodyguard in going from the Forum to the Palatine as would now be needed in preparing for an expedition into the interior of Africa. On November 11, 697 (57), as Cicero was walking along the *Via Sacra*, an attack was made on him, which might have proved fatal to him had he

* As regards rioting at Rome, there is a learned and interesting account in Mr. A. C. Clark's Introduction to his edition of the *Pro Milone* (pp. xiv, ff.). For examples of riots and violence we may add to that quoted from the *pro Sestio* Epp. 92, 2, 3 : 102, 2 : also Asconius *in Mil.*, pp. 47, 48 Or. Mr. Clark thinks the reason why more stringent measures were not taken to suppress this mob-law was the exaggerated respect for the freedom of the Roman citizen and the consequent enfeeblement of the executive. Roman anarchy is chiefly associated with the name of Clodius. His gangs (*operae*) were composed of (1) freedmen, whom he constantly proposed to enrol in all the tribes; (2) slaves, especially those enrolled in the *Collegia Compitalicia* (see vol. iii., pp. 293, 294), which were legalized in 696 (58), and soon became splendidly organized.

not been attended by an unusually strong gang of ruffians. Cicero observes (92, 3) that his followers, without difficulty, repelled the roughs of Clodius, adding 'Clodius might easily have been killed, but I am tired of surgical treatment; I am beginning to try *régime*.' He seems to think it necessary to explain why he did not let his followers proceed to extremities. In the same letter he prophesies that Clodius will fall by the hand of Milo, as he afterwards did in the fray which he merrily calls 'the battle of Bovillae' and 'the battle of Leuctra.'* Clodius, we are told, when he goes about the streets, has with him 'picked troops of runaway slaves' (92, 4). On one occasion they raised such a tumult on the steps of the *Curia* that the Senate was obliged to adjourn (93, 3). On another the Clodian gang 'began to spit on our followers' (102, 2). In the same letter (§ 3) we find Pompey hinting pretty broadly in the Senate that Crassus had formed a plan to take his life. Indeed, such an act seemed at this time a very natural way of emphasizing a difference of opinion. When Talleyrand was told of the assassination of the Emperor Paul, he said, 'I understand that is the constitutional mode of abdicating in Russia.' And at Rome at this period to assassinate a political opponent seemed a far simpler method than to endeavour to convert him to one's views. Cicero speaks (102, 4) of the operations against Clodius in words which would be suitable to the description of a regular campaign—'Pompey is getting hands from the country. Clodius is strengthening his gangs too. A force is being organized for the struggle of the 17th. But we are much better prepared for it than he is; and we are expecting a strong reinforcement from Picenum and Gaul, to resist Cato's motions about Lentulus and Milo.' Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the wordy warfare in the Senate ran high. No one seems to have thought it indecorous in Cicero to use such terms as 'swine,' 'ordure,' 'carrion,' about his political opponents, as, for example, Piso.

And the pastimes of the people furnished but a *replica* of the

* Att. v. 13, 1 (203): vi. 1, 26 (252). For more than two years Milo had been 'looking for Clodius,' as they say in Texas: 92, 5.

bloody scenes of the Forum. Bloodshed was the play, as well as the work, of Rome. Pliny tells us (viii. 20, 21) that Pompey, in the dedication of his theatre and the temple of Venus Victrix, delighted the people with spectacles on a scale of more than common magnificence. The most interesting feature was, as usual, the *venatio*, or man and beast fight. On this occasion five hundred lions and twenty elephants were killed. It seems that the courage and skill of the elephants, and then their piteous bearing and terrified trumpeting, when they found escape impossible, touched even the callous mob in the circus so much, that 'forgetful of the *Imperator* and the great munificence of the show, they rose up in a body, and, with streaming eyes, cursed Pompey.' Cicero, in a remarkable letter to Marius (117),* condemns and sneers at these performances. He commends his friend for preferring the country.

'You, in your study, with your books about you, enjoyed the distant view of Misenum, and all the beauties of the Bay of Naples; those who came to Rome for the show had a very near view indeed of farces that they nodded over. We are at the mercy of Lord Chamberlain Tarpa, and have to put up with any rubbish that he calls a play. Then, as to the beast-baiting, what pleasure can a man of any culture feel in seeing a helpless human being mangled by a mighty beast, or a fine brute spitted on a lance. The show, whatever may be one's opinion about the *morale* of such spectacles, at all events had no novelty about it. The last day was reserved for the elephants. The mob were greatly astonished, but did not enjoy it. Indeed, a sense of the pathetic character of the scene prevailed, and a feeling that the huge beast has a kind of kinship with man.'

Writing of the same event, Dio Cassius (xxxix. 38) says:—

'In five days five hundred lions were used up (ἀναλώθησαν), and eighteen elephants were put to fight with armed soldiers. Some of the elephants were butchered on the spot, but some were spared to die of their wounds. For, much to the surprise of Pompey, some of them touched the hearts of the spectators. When they were wounded so badly that they had to give up the fight, they went round the arena, raising their trunks to heaven, and uttering cries so piteous as to make it seem that they were not without meaning, but were intended as appeals to the gods for vengence for the broken vows, on the

* The other letter in this volume which Cicero wrote to Marius (182) is merely an explosion of joy at the condemnation of Cicero's enemy T. Munatius Plancus Bursa.

faith of which they had crossed over from Libya. The story is, that they would not embark without a pledge on oath from their drivers that they should not be ill-treated. Whether this is true or not I cannot say. It has been stated before now, that they not only understand the language of their native country, but are so cognizant of the movements of the heavenly bodies, that at the time of the new moon, before the crescent becomes visible, they betake themselves to running water, and there perform a solemn ablution.'

Perhaps it was some such ignorant superstition that moved the mob, usually so callous to scenes of blood. We cannot fail to call to mind the extravagant sentiment which was many years ago evoked among the lower classes in London by the rational-seeming demeanour of a huge elephant called Jumbo which appeared loth to leave England for America, and the romantic tales that were told of the creature's constancy and affection. Cicero has been commended for his condemnation of these brutalizing spectacles—and justly, though we previously held that we should regard the letter merely as a piece of clever rhetoric on a thesis propounded to him, rather than as the expression of his real opinion, owing to its concluding words :—

'I have made this a longer letter than usual, not because I have plenty of leisure, but by reason of my love for you. You gave me a kind of challenge (*subinvitaras*) if you remember, in a letter of yours, to write you something to make you not regret having missed the games. If I have succeeded in this, I am glad of it; if I have failed, then I have at least this consolation: you will come to the games next time, and then you will see me, and not leave your chance of getting amusement out of the games at the mercy of a communication from me.'

But the letter is probably both an essay and a true expression of Cicero's opinion. He never shows interest in the games of the Circus; and his high culture and love of refinement must have rendered the brutal sports distasteful to him. But we fancy that it was the vulgarity and brutality which influenced Cicero in his repugnance to the sports rather than humanitarian considerations.

The letters to Quintus, the two remaining books of which are included in this instalment of the correspondence, are full of interest, and are not so familiar to most readers as those to Atticus and to his friends at large. He says he likes to let his letters to his brother ramble on (*alucinari*), just as their talk did when

they were together. We read, for instance, in 132, 2, that the people of Tenedos petitioned for Home Rule. The refusal of the Senate was peremptory. 'Tenedian Home Rule,' says Cicero, 'was cut down by a Tenedian axe.' The 'Tenedian axe,' which in that island was immediately applied to the condemned, was proverbial for any 'short, sharp, and decisive' measure. Every little piece of gossip which may serve as a peg on which to hang a joke or a smart phrase finds a place in his correspondence with his brother and his more intimate friends. Hence great difficulties encounter us in these epistles. We need not be surprised that some of these puzzles still defy the sagacity of commentators, when we know that Cicero himself sometimes failed to interpret a dark saying in a missive from Atticus, and sometimes has to own that he had himself employed such a covert phrase that he could hardly have expected his correspondent to decipher his meaning. This caution is especially observable in his correspondence with his brother and Atticus. In 143, 7, in hinting at the infamous compact in which the candidate consuls and existing consuls engaged in the end of the year 700 (54), he writes, 'What the compact is I dare not trust a letter to tell.' He says to his brother (148, 21): 'My letters to you as a rule contain nothing which could cause us any embarrassment if they fell into the hands of anyone else.' In 159, 2, he writes:—

> 'Again I must warn you not to trust to a letter any communication which might make trouble for us. Many and many a thing I would rather not hear of at all than risk a danger in order to hear of it.'

And he also hints to Curio (176, 2) the danger of entrusting to letters details of political affairs. Accordingly, when he deals with delicate matters, Cicero often clothes his thoughts in enigmatic phrase, which we know sometimes puzzled even those to whom his letters were addressed. It is really amazing that there are so few absolutely inexplicable passages in them, when we remember that we have to interpret them almost always without even possessing the letters which replied to them, or to which they were replies.

In a very interesting letter to his brother (141, 5), in which he assures him that things 'are in a condition of profound calm, but

it is the calm of decrepitude, not repose' (*summum otium forense sed senescentis magis civitatis quam acquiescentis*), he shows how, in the hopeless condition of public affairs, he finds his only consolation in his correspondence with Caesar:—

'I have received,' he writes to his brother (141, 1), 'a letter from Caesar full up of (*refertis*) courtesy, sympathy, and kindness, in which he assures me that he is delighted to have you with him in Gaul, and that it will be his business to make me, in all my regret for being parted from you, feel glad that, as you are away, you are with him rather than with anyone else.' 'Perhaps,' Cicero goes on to say, 'my case will be like that of the traveller who, having overslept himself, makes such good speed that he reaches his destination before those who were up betimes.'

It is amusing to read (147, 4) how he fears the dangers which may await his brother in attempting to effect a landing on the 'rampired' (cp. *muratos*, 149, 7) coast of savage Britain,* and how he tells Atticus (149, 7) that 'there is not a scruple of silver in the whole island, and no prospect of booty except in the way of slaves, and these quite illiterate, and ignorant of music.' Not a chance of a Dionysius or a Phemius—mere savages! And the whirligig of time has so brought in his revenges that the remote descendants of these savages now feel perhaps a greater interest in these very letters than was felt even by Quintus, Atticus, or Trebatius, when they received them.

During a portion of the period embraced in this part of the correspondence Quintus was in Sardinia, but for most of the time he was with Caesar in Gaul. His splendid defence of his camp against an apparently irresistible force is a notable incident in Roman history. The disaster which overtook Cotta and Sabinus, and the heroism of the troops under Quintus Cicero, remind the reader forcibly of Isandula and Rorke's Drift. We quote the narrative of Mr. Froude, which is characteristically powerful as a piece of writing, and would indeed be perfect if he could have resisted the unworthy sneer at Marcus conveyed in the last words:—

'If one Roman camp was taken, Induciomarus calculated that the country would rise; the others could be separately surrounded, and Gaul would be

* Quintus appears to have spoken very sensibly about the expedition into Britain. 148, 10 *De Britannicis rebus cognovi ex tuis litteris nihil esse nec quod metuamus nec quod gaudeamus.*

free. The plot was well laid. An entrenched camp being difficult to storm, the confederates decided to begin by treachery. Ambiorix was personally known to many of the Roman officers. He sent to Sabinus to say that he wished to communicate with him on a matter of the greatest consequence. An interview being granted, he stated that a general conspiracy had been formed through the whole of Gaul to surprise and destroy the legions. Each station was to be attacked on the same day, that they might be unable to support each other. He pretended himself to have remonstrated; but his tribe, he said, had been carried away by the general enthusiasm for liberty, and he could not keep them back. Vast bodies of Germans had crossed the Rhine to join in the war. In two days at the furthest they would arrive. He was under private obligations to Caesar, who had rescued his son and nephew in the fight with the Aduatuci, and out of gratitude he wished to save Sabinus from destruction, which was otherwise inevitable. He urged him to escape while there was still time, and to join either Labienus or Cicero, giving a solemn promise that he should not be molested on the road.

'A council of officers was held on the receipt of this unwelcome information. It was thought unlikely that the Eburones would rise by themselves. It was probable enough, therefore, that the conspiracy was more extensive. Cotta, who was second in command, was of opinion that it would be rash and wrong to leave the camp without Caesar's orders. They had abundant provisions. They could hold their own lines against any force which the Germans could bring upon them, and help would not be long in reaching them. It would be preposterous to take so grave a step on the advice of an enemy. Sabinus unfortunately thought differently. He had been over-cautious in Brittany, though he had afterwards redeemed his fault. Caesar, he persuaded himself, had left the country; each commander therefore must act on his own responsibility. The story told by Ambiorix was likely in itself. The Germans were known to be furious at the passage of the Rhine, the destruction of Ariovistus, and their other defeats. Gaul resented the loss of its independence. Ambiorix was acting like a true friend, and it would be madness to refuse his offer. Two days' march would bring them to their friends. If the alarm was false, they could return. If there was to be a general insurrection, the legions could not be too speedily brought together. If they waited, as Cotta advised, they would be surrounded, and in the end would be starved into surrender.

'Cotta was not convinced, and the majority of officers supported him. The first duty of a Roman army, he said, was obedience to orders. Their business was to hold the post which had been committed to them, till they were otherwise directed. The officers were consulting in the midst of the camp, surrounded by the legionaries. "Have it as you wish," Sabinus exclaimed, in a tone which the men could hear; "I am not afraid of being killed. If things go amiss, the troops will understand where to lay the blame. If you allowed it, they might in forty-eight hours be at the next quarters, facing the chances of war with their comrades, instead of perishing here alone by sword or hunger."

'Neither party would give way. The troops joined in the discussion.

They were willing either to go or to stay, if their commanders would agree; but they said that it must be one thing or the other; disputes would be certain ruin. The discussion lasted till midnight. Sabinus was obstinate; Cotta at last withdrew his opposition, and the fatal resolution was formed to march at dawn. The remaining hours of the night were passed by the men in collecting such valuables as they wished to take with them. Everything seemed ingeniously done to increase the difficulty of remaining, and to add to the perils of the march by the exhaustion of the troops. The Meuse lay between them and Labienus, so they had selected to go to Cicero at Charleroy. Their course lay up the left bank of the little river *Geer*. Trusting to the promises of Ambiorix, they started in loose order, followed by a long train of carts and wagons. The Eburones lay, waiting for them, in a large valley, two miles from the camp. When most of the cohorts were entangled in the middle of the hollow, the enemy appeared suddenly, some in front, some on both sides of the valley, some behind, threatening the baggage. Wise men, as Caesar says, anticipate possible difficulties, and decide beforehand what they will do if occasions arise. Sabinus had foreseen nothing, and arranged nothing. Cotta, who had expected what might happen, was better prepared, and did the best that was possible. The men had scattered among the wagons, each to save or protect what he could. Cotta ordered them back, bade them leave the carts to their fate, and form together in a ring. He did right, Caesar thought; but the effect was unfortunate. The troops lost heart, and the enemy was encouraged, knowing that the baggage would only be abandoned when the position was desperate. The Eburones were under good command. They did not, as might have been expected, fly upon the plunder. They stood to their work, well aware that the carts would not escape them. They were not in great numbers. Caesar specially says that the Romans were as numerous as they. But everything else was against the Romans. Sabinus could give no directions. They were in a narrow meadow, with wooded hills on each side of them filled with enemies whom they could not reach. When they charged, the light-footed barbarians ran back; when they retired, they closed in upon them again, and not a dart, an arrow, or a stone missed its mark among the crowded cohorts. Bravely as the Romans fought, they were in a trap where their courage was useless to them. The battle lasted from dawn till the afternoon, and though they were falling fast, there was no flinching and no cowardice. Caesar, who inquired particularly into the minutest circumstances of the disaster, records by name the officers who distinguished themselves; he mentions one whose courage he had marked before, who was struck down with a lance through his thighs, and another who was killed in rescuing his son. The brave Cotta was hit in the mouth by a stone as he was cheering on his men. The end came at last. Sabinus, helpless and distracted, caught sight of Ambiorix in the confusion, and sent an interpreter to implore him to spare the remainder of the army. Ambiorix answered, that Sabinus might come to him, if he pleased; he hoped he might persuade his tribe to be merciful; he promised that Sabinus himself should suffer no injury. Sabinus asked

Cotta to accompany him. Cotta said he would never surrender to an armed enemy; and, wounded as he was, he stayed with the legion. Sabinus, followed by the rest of the surviving officers, whom he ordered to attend him, proceeded to the spot where the chief was standing. They were commanded to lay down their arms. They obeyed, and were immediately killed; and with one wild yell the barbarians then rushed in a mass on the deserted cohorts. Cotta fell, and most of the others with him. The survivors, with the eagle of the legion, which they had still faithfully guarded, struggled back in the dusk to their deserted camp. The standard-bearer, surrounded by enemies, reached the fosse, flung the eagle over the rampart, and fell with the last effort. Those that were left fought on till night, and then, seeing that hope was gone, died like Romans on each other's swords—a signal illustration of the Roman greatness of mind, which had died out among the degenerate patricians, but was living in all its force in Caesar's legions. A few stragglers, who had been ut off during the battle from their comrades, escaped in the night through the woods, and carried the news to Labienus. Cicero, at Charleroy, was left in ignorance. The roads were beset, and no messenger could reach him.

'Induciomarus understood his countrymen. The conspiracy with which he had frightened Sabinus had not as yet extended beyond a few northern chiefs; but the success of Ambiorix produced the effect which he desired. As soon as it was known that two Roman generals had been cut off, the remnants of the Aduatuci and the Nervii were in arms for their own revenge. The smaller tribes along the Meuse and Sambre rose with them; and Cicero, taken by surprise, found himself surrounded before he had a thought of danger. The Gauls, knowing that their chances depended on the capture of the second camp before assistance could arrive, flung themselves so desperately on the entrenchments that the legionaries were barely able to repel the first assault. The assailants were driven back at last; and Cicero despatched messengers to Caesar to Amiens, to give him notice of the rising; but not a man was able to penetrate through the multitude of enemies which now swarmed in the woods. The troops worked gallantly, strengthening the weak points of their fortifications. In one night they raised a hundred and twenty towers on their walls. Again the Gauls tried a storm, and, though they failed a second time, they left the garrison no rest either by day or night. There was no leisure for sleep; not a hand could be spared from the lines to care for the sick or wounded. Cicero was in bad health; but he clung to his work till the men carried him by force to his tent and obliged him to lie down. The first surprise not having succeeded, the Nervian chiefs, who knew Cicero, desired a parley. They told the same story which Ambiorix had told, that the Germans had crossed the Rhine, and that all Gaul was in arms. They informed him of the destruction of Sabinus; they warned him that the same fate was hanging over himself, and that his only hope was in surrender. They did not wish, they said, to hurt either him or the Roman people; he and his troops would be free to go where they pleased, but they were determined to prevent the legions from quartering themselves permanently in their country.

'There was but one Sabinus in the Roman army. Cicero answered, with a spirit worthy of his country, that Romans accepted no conditions from enemies in arms. The Gauls might, if they pleased, send a deputation to Caesar, and hear what he would say to them. For himself, he had no authority to listen to them. Force and treachery being alike unavailing, they resolved to starve Cicero out. They had watched the Roman strategy. They had seen and felt the value of the entrenchments. They made a bank and ditch all round the camp, and, though they had no tools but their swords with which to dig turf and cut trees, so many there were of them that the work was completed in three hours. Having thus pinned the Romans in, they slung red-hot balls and flung darts carrying lighted straw over the ramparts of the camp on the thatched roofs of the soldiers' huts. The wind was high, the fire spread, and amidst the smoke and the blaze the Gauls again rushed on from all sides to the assault. Roman discipline was never more severely tried, and never showed its excellence more signally. The houses and stores of the soldiers were in flames behind them. The enemy were pressing on the walls in front, covered by a storm of javelins and stones and arrows, but not a man left his post to save his property or to extinguish the fire. They fought as they stood, striking down rank after rank of the Gauls, who still crowded on, trampling on the bodies of their companions, as the foremost lines fell dead into the ditch. Such as reached the wall never left it alive, for they were driven forward by the throng behind on the swords of the legionaries. Thousands of them had fallen before: in desperation, they drew back at last.

'But Cicero's situation was almost desperate too. The huts were destroyed. The majority of the men were wounded, and those able to bear arms were daily growing weaker in number. Caesar was 120 miles distant, and no word had reached him of the danger. Messengers were again sent off, but they were caught one after another, and were tortured to death in front of the ramparts, and the boldest men shrank from risking their lives on so hopeless an enterprise. At length a Nervian slave was found to make another adventure. He was a Gaul, and could easily disguise himself. A letter to Caesar was enclosed in the shaft of his javelin. He glided out of the camp in the dark, passed undetected among the enemies as one of themselves, and, escaping from their lines, made his way to Amiens.

'Swiftness of movement was Caesar's distinguishing excellence. The legions were kept ready to march at an hour's notice. He sent an order to Crassus to join him instantly from Montdidier. He sent to Fabius at St. Pol to meet him at Arras. He wrote to Labienus, telling him the situation, and leaving him to his discretion to advance or to remain on his guard at Lavacherie, as might seem most prudent. Not caring to wait for the rest of his army, and leaving Crassus to take care of Amiens, he started himself, the morning after the information reached him, with Trebonius's legion to Cicero's relief. Fabius joined him, as he had been directed, at Arras. He had hoped for Labienus's presence also; but Labienus sent to say that he was surrounded by the Treveri, and dared not stir. Caesar approved his hesitation, and with but

two legions, amounting in all to only 7,000 men, he hurried forward to the Nervian border. Learning that Cicero was still holding out, he wrote a letter to him in Greek, that it might be unintelligible if intercepted, to tell him that help was near. A Gaul carried the letter, and fastened it by a line to his javelin, which he flung over Cicero's rampart. The javelin stuck in the side of one of the towers, and was unobserved for several days. The besiegers were better informed. They learnt that Caesar was at hand; that he had but a handful of men with him. By that time their own numbers had risen to 60,000, and, leaving Cicero to be dealt with at leisure, they moved off to envelop and destroy their great enemy. Caesar was well served by spies. He knew that Cicero was no longer in immediate danger, and there was thus no occasion for him to risk a battle at a disadvantage to relieve him. When he found the Gauls near him, he encamped, drawing his lines as narrowly as he could, that from the small show which he made they might imagine his troops to be even fewer than they were. He invited attack by an ostentation of timidity, and having tempted the Gauls to become the assailants, he flung open his gates, rushed out upon them with his whole force, and all but annihilated them. The patriot army was broken to pieces, and the unfortunate Nervii and Aduatuci never rallied from this second blow. Caesar could then go at his leisure to Cicero and his comrades, who had fought so nobly against such desperate odds. In every ten men he found that there was but one unwounded. He inquired with minute curiosity into every detail of the siege. In a general address he thanked Cicero and the whole legion. He thanked the officers man by man for their gallantry and fidelity. Now for the first time (and that he could have remained ignorant of it so long speaks for the passionate unanimity with which the Gauls had risen) he learnt from prisoners the fate of Sabinus. He did not underrate the greatness of the catastrophe. The soldiers in the army he treated always as friends and comrades in arms; and the loss of so many of them was as personally grievous to him as the effects of it might be politically mischievous. He made it the subject of a second speech to his own and to Cicero's troops, but he spoke to encourage and to console. A serious misfortune had happened, he said, through the fault of one of his generals, but it must be borne with equanimity, and had already been heroically expiated. The meeting with Cicero must have been an interesting one. He and the two Ciceros had been friends and companions in youth. It would have been well if Marcus Tullius could have remembered in the coming years the personal exertion with which Caesar had rescued a brother to whom he was so warmly attached.'

Two other interesting correspondents of Cicero make their first appearance in Part IV.* These are Trebatius and Curio.

*Publius Sittius was an exceptionally interesting man; see Introd. Note to 179. But that epistle is a most commonplace example of the common *consolatio*.

Trebatius was a rising young jurisconsult.* But, as *responsa* were given gratuitously in Rome, the profession of a jurisconsult was not a royal road to fortune. Cicero, whose interest in young men of promise is not the least pleasing among many charming qualities, thought that he could not do better for his friend than send him to Caesar. The unknown countries which Caesar was opening up seemed to his contemporaries an El Dorado, and appealed to the imagination of young Romans as America did to the more enterprising spirits of the sixteenth century. Trebatius seems, from certain hints dropped by Cicero, to have been by no means of a martial temperament (173, 1); so we are not surprised to find that he was not enamoured of his experiences in the camp of Caesar, and that he wrote very snappy and foolish letters at first (157, 1, *rabiosulas sat fatuas*).† We have already referred to the admirable letter in which Cicero puts Trebatius out of his hand into the hand of Caesar, that hand 'unrivalled whether it is heavy on the foe, or firm in the clasp of friendship' (134, 3). This

'Truest friend and noblest foe'

was not unmindful of him whom Cicero recommended. There is reason to believe that Trebatius returned to Rome a rich man (167, 1), though it required all the resources of Cicero, in persuasion and bantering, to induce him at first (cp. 136, 1; 140, 1; 146, 1) to stay in that cold country which the Atrebates and Nervii were so very well disposed to make warm enough for him (161, 2); though later on Trebatius appears to have been very well content to stay (171, 2; 173, 1; 174, 1). Cicero was destined soon to learn for himself how hard it was for a Roman to act on the advice which he gives his friend, 'Do conquer that weak hankering after the city and its life.' Cicero, in Cilicia, pines for Rome, as a modern Frenchman for Paris. 'I cannot express to you,' he writes to Atticus (v. 11, 1 (200)), 'how I am consumed with

* Trebatius was about thirty-five years of age. When Cicero calls him *vetule* in 157, 16, the expression is playful, like 'old boy'; or perhaps it is designed to convey that he had an old head on young shoulders—a view which the context seems to favour; and perhaps he was somewhat of a weakling physically.

† We owe the translation 'snappy' to Mr. Shuckburgh.

longing for the town, and how intolerably insipid is this provincial life.'

The burthen of his advice to Trebatius is—

'Home-keeping youth have ever homely wits';

but he does not fail to impress on him how necessary it was that he should make the best of his opportunities, if they are at all lucrative; and how very ignominious it would be to stay away for a long time, and to return empty-handed—Laberius would make a farce on the *British Barrister*, and Trebatius' rival Valerius would crow over him. It must, indeed, be confessed that one gets wearied with Cicero's chaff on Trebatius' learning, or want of learning, in the law; but it seems to have amused Cicero, for he directs exactly the same sort of chaff against Valerius also (162). Trebatius lived through the troublous times of the Civil War, and afterwards enjoyed the friendship of Horace (Sat. ii. 1), who addresses to him one of his Satires. He forms, as M. Gaston Boissier remarks, a sort of link between the Ciceronian and Augustan age. 'Il pouvait parler de Lucrèce à Virgile, de Cicéron à Tite-Live, de Catulle à Properce.'

C. Scribonius Curio was at this time Quaestor to C. Claudius in Asia. He was a young man of great brilliancy and promise—a Roman Alcibiades. 'You have a serious rival,' says Cicero to him (175, 2; cp. 176, 2; 166, 2), 'in the magnificence of the hopes formed about your future.' We read in a former letter (Att. i. 14, 5 (20)) that Curio was the mainstay of the Optimates. It is strange that his conspicuous profligacy (Cicero nicknames him *filiola Curionis*) does not prevent the future author of the *De Officiis* from addressing him in the language of esteem and affection. He is to be the saviour of society (176, 2). Velleius Paterculus (ii. 48) says that with Curio profligacy was a fine art (*ingeniosissime nequam*). Lucan, on the other hand, writes of him (iv. 814)—

Haud alium tanta civem tulit indole Roma
Aut cui plus leges deberent recta sequenti;

and again,

Momentumque fuit mutatus Curio rerum.

He lavished such vast sums of money on public spectacles—from

which we find Cicero earnestly dissuading him (169, 1)*—that he plunged himself in hopeless difficulties, from which he emerged only by selling his support to Caesar, who paid his debts. He died in 705 (49), in an engagement with the troops of Juba and P. Attius Varus in Africa.

§ 2. M. Lebreton's Studies on Cicero's Language.

We regret exceedingly that the most able and learned work of M. Jules Lebreton, S.J. (*Études sur la langue et la grammaire de Cicéron*, Paris, 1901) has only comparatively recently come into our hands: for his wealth of learning, lucid exposition, and wise judgment are helpful at every turn. In this section we propose to give a few remarks taken from M. Lebreton's work, which have especially interested us, and which exhibit some of the minute and subtle points of Ciceronian style and grammar, which the unwearied labour of the author and his fine feeling for language have enabled him to establish.

At the outset of his work the author strongly deprecates the view we have taken as to the appearance of the language of the comic stage in the epistolary language of Cicero and his correspondents. But we think that while M. Lebreton has shown that some few usages which we considered to belong wholly to conversational language can be as abundantly paralleled from the more formal language of the Orations and Philosophical works, still the main difference between us is one of degree; and we are not unwilling to allow that it is only in the more familiar letters—those to Atticus, to Quintus, Tiro, Paetus, &c.—that the more familiar style of ordinary conversation, such as we know it in Terence and Plautus, should be appealed to rather than the more literary language of Cicero's other works. So that in the passage (vol. i., p. 64, ed. 2; p. 83, ed. 3) which M. Lebreton criticises severely—'In the criticism of Cicero's letters, we may go further and say that to quote an analogous usage in Plautus or

* Compare Cicero's remarks on Milo's extravagance in respect of games (159, 5; 160, 2). Cicero says of the shows *quorum neque facultatem quisquam admiratur—est enim copiarum, non virtutis—neque quisquam est quin satietate iam defessus sit* (169, 1).

Terence is far more relevant than to quote an analogous usage from the Oratory or Philosophy of Cicero himself'—if we add the words 'more familiar' before 'letters', we shall not be much at variance with M. Lebreton's own views. Thus, on p. 345, after adducing all the examples of *cum . . . tum* marking successive actions (a fine collection), he says that this usage seems frequent only in the 'familiar style'; out of twenty-eight examples, eighteen he says are taken from the Correspondence. Again, p. 305, he notices that prohibitions of the form *ne feceris* (as being somewhat more absolute than *noli facere*) are more frequent in the 'familiar style'; thus out of forty-three examples in Cicero, twenty-six he says are found in the Correspondence: cp. also p. 248, where the 'epistolary style' is made responsible for some slightly unusual alternations of tenses. And of course we agree with M. Lebreton that the Correspondence is far from homogeneous. The letters to Lentulus, to Appius, to Plancus, for example, are written in most literary language; formal works like the first epistle to Quintus, the celebrated letter to Lucceius, Fam. v. 12 (109), the various letters of consolation, are hardly (if at all) written in a more familiar style than the speeches and dialogues in which now and then colloquialisms occur (e.g. Tusc. iii. 77 *eum nihil hominis esse*, quoted by M. Lebreton).*

*M. Lebreton appeals once or twice to metrical considerations (Introd., p. x: cp. p. 313) based on M. Bornecque's work (*La Prose métrique dans la Correspondance de Cicéron*, 1898). This earnest and laborious, but somewhat arbitrary, treatise has been criticised elsewhere (*Hermathena*, 1905, pp. 289, ff.), and is at present overshadowed by the famous law of the clause-endings in Cicero's Orations, which has been recently set forth with such remarkable vigour and ingenuity by M. Zielinski (*Das Clauselgesetz in Ciceros Reden*, 1904); see also Mr. A. C. Clark in the *Classical Review*, 1905, pp. 164–172. The results in this book are almost universally allowed to be the highest point to which studies in Ciceronian rhythm have yet attained. It is worth noticing that the more formal and carefully composed letters of Cicero seem, in a remarkable manner, to conform to this law; and we think that the law deserves, in parts of the Correspondence, to be made an instrument of criticism. We have endeavoured to compile some statistics as to the working of this law in the Correspondence; and we give the results in the subjoined table. But we cannot feel sure that we have always selected such clausulae as would have been chosen by M. Zielinski; or that we have not at times, from uncertainty as to the extent to which accent should play a part, erroneously classified certain clausulae. In such cases we have almost always given the decision in favour of the better kind of clause-endings (i.e. to V or L); especially so in Q. Fr. i. 1 (30), the rhythm of which,

But that is no reason why emphasis should not be laid on the utility of appealing to Plautus and Terence for support in the criticism of the letters of less formal and more unstudied cast.

We allow that M. Lebreton (p. xi) has shown that *tam* with an adjectival substantive is common in all the writings of Cicero (cp. Orat. 161 *tam artifex*; Rep. iii. 45 *tam tyrannus*); but we still think that the use of the present indicative in place of the deliberative subjunctive is hardly met in Cicero's more formal compositions, except in such common expressions as *quid ago? quid dicimus? ecquos ... arbitramur?* N.D. i. 80; *quid loquor?* Fin. v. 63. We do not know of any such case as, e.g., Att. xiii. 40, 2 (660) *Etsi quid mi auctor es? Advolone an maneo?* which is surely an example of the vividness of the familiar style, not unlike Juvenal's (iii. 296) in qua te *quaero* proseucha? and (iv. 130) quidnam igitur censes? *conciditur?* There cannot be any doubt that *quid mi auctor es* is a colloquialism when one considers how often it occurs in comedy (Plaut. Cist. 249, Poen. 410, 721, Pseud. 1166). This phrase *auctor esse* is used by Atticus (Att. ix. 10, 5 (365)), with the unusual construction of the infinitive ego quidem tibi non

on the whole, hardly seems to us as good as it looks from the statistics of the clause-endings which we have collected. We cannot hope, however, to give more than *an indication* of the extent to which the law of the clause-endings seems to be observed in certain portions of the Correspondence: but it certainly seems to us very striking.

	Fam. i. 1–10, including 9.	Fam. i. 9.	Fam. ii. 1–6.	Fam. v. 12.	Fam. v. 16–18.	Fam. vii. 1.	Fam. viii. 1–2, Caelius.	Q. Fr. i. 1.	Cicero to Plancus.	Plancus to Cicero, and the Senate.	Fam. xvi. 1–7.	Cicero to Caecina, Fam. vi. 6.	Caecina to Cicero, Fam. vi. 7.	Att. iv. 1–10.
V(erae) Clausulae,	112	58	28	20	23	9	4	57	66	42	10	13	3	62
L(icitae) ,,	60	36	7	13	6	3	2	32	21	27	6	7	3	22
	172	94	35	33	29	12	6	89	87	69	16	20	6	84
M(alae) S(electae) and P(essimae) Clausulae,	29	7	7	5	1	2	14	7	23	56	18	8	12	49
TOTAL, .	201	101	42	38	30	14	20	96	110	125	34	28	18	133

sim auctor, si Pompeius Italiam relinquit, *te quoque profugere*. Something similar is Att. vi. 1, 8 (252) nec vero pauci *sunt auctores* Cn. Flavium scribam fastos *protulisse*.

As to the use of abstract substantives in the plural, the exhaustive collection of them in Cicero is one of M. Lebreton's finest efforts in his book (421–427). We assent to his conclusion that this usage is more extended in the Philosophical works than in the Epistles. But in the former their employment is natural, owing to the nature of the subject treated; whereas in the familiar style of the letters their use is rather dictated by the same reasons as it was dictated to the comic writers, in whom, especially Plautus (as M. Lebreton, with a long array of passages (p. 33), proves), this usage is very frequently found.

The phrase *ne puerum perditum perdamus* (Fam. xiv. 1, 5 (82)) is much less usual than such ordinary examples of the 'figura etymologica' as *dicta dicere* 'to make jokes,' *facinora facere* 'to do a deed' (whether good or bad). It is analogous to the *actum agere* of common language, and is to be paralleled by such usages as Plaut. Curc. 540 nec tu me quidem umquam subiges *redditum* ut *reddam* tibi; Capt. 441 Serva tibi in perpetuom amicum me atque hunc *inventum inveni*.

As to *absque* for *sine*, we can only refer our readers to our note on the passage Att. i. 19, 1 (25), from which it would appear that scholars of eminence are divided as to whether it should be retained or not. But we cannot help seeing in such a use of *nullus* as *Corumbus nullus adhuc* in Att. xiv. 3, 1 (705) a much more colloquial note (cp. Plaut. Asin. 408; Rud. 143, 323) than in such a phrase as Rosc. Am. 128 haec bona in tabulas publicas *nulla redierunt* ('did not revert at all'); and in *scelus hominis* in Att. xi. 9, 2 (423), if we take it in the sense of *pestes hominum* in Fam. v. 8, 2 (131), there is surely a comic vigour more analogous to the examples quoted by our note on 131, 2 than to such a sedate phrase as Sest. 88 huic *gravitati hominis* videbat ille gladiator se . . . parem esse non posse, though formally they are much the same.

We still adhere to our view of retaining the ms reading in

*The dictionaries compare Ovid Met. x. 83, so that perhaps the construction belongs to poetical language.

Att. v. 11, 7 (200) Quae tibi epistulae redditae sunt sine mea, tum *videlicet* datas—a colloquialism found also in Lucretius i. 210, as is a similar use of *scilicet* in Sallust, Jug. 4, 6; 113, 3. But we are prepared to admit that we made an overstatement in saying that the ethical dative is far more common in the letters and in comedy than elsewhere in classical literature. It occurs very frequently in the Orations, where the language becomes vivid and familiar. Four out of the ten passages quoted by M. Lebreton are taken from the *Pro Murena*. And we now consider that the example of inverse attraction in Fam. vii. 1, 1 (127) is doubtful; see Introd. to Vol. I. (ed. 3), p. 82, and note on the passage itself.

As regards M. Lebreton's converse proposition, that there are many archaic constructions in Plautus and Terence which are not found in the Epistles, of course we readily allow it. Cicero's colloquialisms may be defended from the comic writers; and when we find the same construction in both, we may infer that the usage had not varied between the ages of the comic writers and Cicero; but that does not prove that no variation occurred in the interval, or that some archaic constructions may not have failed to commend themselves to Cicero, even in familiar prose, though they were retained by other authors. One cannot expect an author to use every kind of colloquialism. Thus Cicero does not appear to use *quippe qui* with the indic., though it is often used by Livy (see Weissenborn on iii. 6, 6); nor does he use the inf. after a verb of motion, as Vergil, Æn. i. 527, and Horace, Carm. i. 2, 8.* For the use of substantives and adjectives such as *ratio*, *occasio*, *copia*, *consilium*, *avidus*, *audax*, *memor*, with the infinitive in classical authors, especially poets; compare Madvig, Lat. Gram., 417, Obs. 2 and 419, and Dr. Kennedy's remarks on the 'Prolative' infinitive (Lat. Gram., § 180). These Greek constructions, natural to writers closely modelling their style on Greek originals, did not impress themselves so strongly on the more independent and Latin style of Cicero. But that Cicero, in his more intimate and less studied letters, largely availed himself of the ordinary language of conversation we still hold; and as that language of

* See a vast number of instances of this construction in the 4th ed. of Munro's *Lucretius*, note on iii. 895. In that collection, Mr. Duff quotes Wilmann's Inscriptions, 2566, *Vade in Apolinis lavari.*

conversation is mainly to be found in Plautus and Terence, reference to those authors must frequently be made in the criticism of Cicero's familiar Letters, rather than to the more elaborate and literary works of Cicero himself.

The following points of Ciceronian usage, especially as found in the Letters, we owe to M. Lebreton's book, which is undoubtedly one of the most learned, judicious, and attractive works on Latin style we have ever read.

When the names of things and the names of persons have a common attribute, the agreement is generally made with the nearest subject, e.g. Q. Fr. 1, 1, 1 (30) Non dubitabam quin epistulam multi *nuntii*, *fama* denique esset ipsa sua celeritate *superatura*: ib. 13 Tibi omnium *salutem*, *liberos*, *famam fortunas* esse *carissimas*. Add Fam. iii. 10, 10 (261), xvi. 12, 1 (312); Att. ix. 7, 5 (362), ix. 10, 3 (365). But there are two exceptions in the Correspondence—Att. iv. 15, 7 (143) *Coitio* consulum et *Pompeius* obsunt (but there *coitio consulum* virtually means *consules coniuncti*); and Fam. x. 11, 2 (848) a letter of Plancus, De proelio facto *Brutoque* et *Mutina* obsidione liberatis, where *Mutina* virtually means *Mutinensibus*.

In Att. i. 16, 12 (22) we find *Catone et Domitio postulante*. This concord is elsewhere found in the nom., e.g. Att. iv. 17, 3 (149) *Messalla* noster et eius *Domitius* competitor liberalis in populo valde fuit: cp. § 2 and Att. vii. 3, 10 (294); but the use in the abl. is rare. M. Lebreton (p. 16) compares Phil. xiii. 37 *Nucula et Lentone collega*.

It is very rare to find two subjects acting separately having the verb in the plural. M. Lebreton (p. 20) quotes two—Att. xv. 9, 1 (742) Ut *Brutus* in Asia, *Cassius* in Sicilia frumentum emendum et ad urbem mittendum curarent; and Tusc. i. 89 *pater Decius . . . filius . . . nepos . . . obiecissent*.

There are two examples in Cicero's Letters of agreement of the attribute with the more remote subject—Fam. x. 25, 1 (880) Istam *operam* tuam, *navitatem*, *animum* in remp. celeritati praeturae *anteponendam* censeo; and Fam. v. 21, 5 (458) Praeter *culpam* ac *peccatum*, *qua* semper caruisti—though perhaps here *ac peccatum* is a later addition.

M. Lebreton's fine chapter (pp. 32–74) on abstract substantives calls for little remark. We do not feel sure that *Chresti compilationem* in (Fam. ii. 8, 1 (201)) can mean 'compilation'—a sense which we have not found elsewhere in classical authors. It rather points to some actual robbery. In Q. Fr. i. 1, 12 (30) Ex domesticis *convictionibus* aut ex necessariis *apparitionibus*, the abstracts must be retained, though the early editions altered to *convictoribus* and *apparitoribus*.* He rightly says that *negotia et lenta et inania* in Att. v. 18, 4 (218) is not necessarily to be reckoned as an example of *negotium* applied to a person. For the use of *honor* = 'honorarium' in Fam. xvi. 9, 3 (292) Landgraf refers to Verr. i. 38 *habuit honorem* ut proditori, non ut amico fidem; also Rosc. Am. 108, 137. It seems to be generally used with *habere*. For *fortuna* in the singular used for 'goods,' 'property,' reference is made to Fam. xiii. 5, 2 (673), where see our note; and to 13 (454). For the use of *salus* (= 'saviour') found in Att. i. 16, 5 (22) cum ego sic ab iis ut *salus* patriae defenderer, M. Lebreton quotes an interesting parallel, Verr. v. 129 Me suam *salutem* appellans, te suum carnificem nominans.

In reference to the possessive pronoun taking the place of an objective genitive, among a number of examples, M. Lebreton quotes (p. 99) Habe *meam* rationem. Habe tu *nostram*: cp. Fam. xvi. 12, 3; Off. i. 139; Verr. i. 126, which seem to show that this usage is common (if not constant) in the special phrase. A very good parallel he adduces from Att. i. 14, 3 (20) in *Pompeiana* laude. In Fam. v. 12, 3 (109) amorique *nostro* plusculum etiam quam concedet veritas largiare, he thinks we should translate 'to our mutual affection' rather than 'to your affection for me'—perhaps rightly.

As regards the substitution of the demonstrative for the relative in such a case as Fam. xii. 23, 2 (792) legionibus . . . *quas* sibi conciliare pecunia cogitabat *easque* ad urbem adducere (see our note), M. Lebreton institutes a most careful induction (pp. 100–

* The reading in this passage is a correction of Victorius. The mss give *coniunctionibus* . . . *apparationibus*. The new Thesaurus (s.v. apparitio) gives *conventionibus* for the former word, we do not know in what sense. This use of *apparitio* does not appear to be found again until the third century. We have both *convictio* and *convictor* in young Cicero's letter, Fam. xvi. 21, 4, 5 (786), but in their normal significations.

105), and establishes these three conditions for such a usage—(1) the co-ordinate relatives must be united by a conjunction; (2) the antecedent must precede; (3) the two pronouns must refer logically to the same subject. There appear to be only twenty examples in Cicero (four from the Epistles), and none in Caesar or Sallust. In Cicero the relative is repeated eighty-four times (about ten times in the Epistles).

In the difficult passage Att. xii. 28, 3 (564) Si Castricius pro mancipiis pecuniam accipere volet eamque *ei* solvi ut nunc solvitur, *ei* is undoubtedly an error, and probably should be altered into *ita*; or *dissolvi* should be read for *ei solvi*.

We believe now—see our note on Fam. xiii. 70 (509)—that *tribuere* can be used absolutely; and in Fam. xiii. 9, 2 (237), we should not have followed Kayser in adding *plurimum*. M. Lebreton quotes (p. 165) Caes. B. G. i. 13, 5 ne ob eam rem suae magnopere virtuti *tribueret*. Somewhat similar omissions of the object are to be found in Cael. 2 and Prov. Cons. 47.

For the use of *intercedere pro* ('to go security for a person'), governing the accusative of the thing (e.g. *pecuniam*), in addition to Att. vi. 1, 5 (252), we may refer to Phil. 2, 45 tantum enim se pro te *intercessisse* dicebat.

In Att. xvi. 7, 8 (783) cum Pompeianum *accederem*, perhaps *Pompeianum* is regarded as a town, like *accedere Rhodum* (Fam. ii. 17, 2 (272)). In other writers of the Ciceronian age, we find the preposition omitted—e.g. Varro R. R. i. 7, 8 aliquot *regiones accessi*; and Sall. Frag. 3, 92 *radicem montis accessit*. In Att. i. 14, 5 (20) Hic tibi rostra Cato *advolat*, we might perhaps justify the omission of the preposition by the poetical and vivid rush of the language: cp. Claudian, Cons. Olyb. et Prob. 174 velox iam nuntius *advolat* urbem.

M. Lebreton (pp. 194–200) vindicates the future signification in the imperative in *-to* by twenty-seven examples from the Orations, twenty-four from the Letters, and eight from the other writings of Cicero, in which that form is found with a subordinate future—e.g. Q. Fr. ii. 15 (16), 1 (147) cum acceperis, *iudicato*; Att. iv. 8*b*, 4 (118) ubi nihil erit, id ipsum *scribito*; viii. 2, 4 (332)

animadvertito . . . ubi erit; xi. 25, 3 (436) si videbitur, *loquitor*. These fifty-nine examples stand against eleven cases (four from the Epistles) in which the present imperative is found—e.g. Att. vii. 10 (303) Crebro ad me *scribe* vel quod in buccam venerit; Fam. iii. 12, 2 (275) Si facile inveneris quid dicas, *noli* ignoscere haesitationi meae; xvi. 7 (291) Cum commode navigare poteris, ad nos *veni*; Att. viii. 2, 2 (332) Si qua erunt, *doce* me quomodo μέμψιν effugere possim. The use of this form in *-to* in laws and maxims is well known, and points to an original future signification.

Yet, on the other hand, when there are two imperatives marking two successive actions, such as Att. x. 14, 2 (400) Quidquid habes ad consolandum *collige* et illa *scribe*, we do not seem to find the form in *-to* unless *tum* precedes—e.g. Cluent. 124; Fam. xvi. 17, 2 (653) Valetudo tua me valde sollicitat: sed *inservi* et *fac* omnia. Tum te mecum esse, tum mihi cumulatissime satis facere *putato*. This latter example, however, is not very conclusive; for *putato* and such terms as *tecum habeto*,* *scito*, and *facito*† are generally used in a command to be executed immediately. Yet, even allowing these exceptions, there is little doubt that the future signification, though becoming weak in classical times, had not disappeared, except in a few words of very common usage.

The use of the future-perfect indicative for the simple future has often been noticed as an example of familiar style—e.g. Madvig, § 340, obs. 4, and Palmer on Amph. Prol. 53.‡ It is extremely common in *videro*, a note of familiar language which has established itself in the most correct style. M. Lebreton (pp. 201, 202) quotes from Cicero some twenty examples of other future perfects used for the future simple, nine of which come from the Epistles, generally where the tone is somewhat *empressé*. See also our Index, s.v. 'future tense.'

In discussing the consecution of tenses in subordinate propositions, M. Lebreton (p. 227) makes this interesting remark:—"Especial note is to be taken of negative relative clauses which

* Fam. vii. 25, 2 (668); Att. iv. 15, 6 (143). † Att. ii. 20, 5 (47).

‡ Cp. Prof. Dougan on Tusc. i. 74 vir sapiens . . . in illam lucem *excesserit*, "The idiom arises from an exaggerated mode of speaking: if the deity gives the order, the wise man will have departed—i.e. will instantly depart, 'no sooner said than done.' And from this comes the notion of *assurance*."

depend on a principal verb which is itself negative or interrogative: in such clauses the use of the perfect tense is well-nigh obligatory"; and he adduces these passages among others:—Fam. xii. 19, 3 (671) Litteras ad te nunquam habui cui *darem*, quin *dederim*. (The clause *cui darem*, being affirmative, has the ordinary consecution; but the clause *quin dederim*, being negative, takes the perfect.) Similarly, Fam. iii. 10, 8 (261) Quid in consulatu tuo frustra mecum egisti quod me aut facere aut sentire *voluisses*? (affirmative clause): quid mihi mandasti in quo non exspectationem tuam *vicerim*? (negative clause). He notices one example of the imperfect—De Div. i. 95 Quis rex umquam fuit qui non *uteretur* praedictione? We may add Verr. i. 19, v. 121.

The consecution, at first sight strange, in Fam. xiii. 5, 2 (673) Is *habet* in Volaterrano possessionem, cum in eam tamquam e naufragio reliquias *contulisset*, is to be explained from the past idea in the substantive *possessionem*, 'he holds land of which he took possession (*quo potitus est*) after sinking in it all that he saved from the shipwreck of his fortunes.' M. Lebreton (p. 247) gives other illustrations of this use, such as Fam. ii. 16, 2 (394) Quod est igitur meum triste *consilium*? Ut *discederem* fortasse in aliquas solitudines ('the plan I formed'); Att. xv. 15, 2 (748) *Superbiam* autem ipsius reginae, cum *esset* trans Tiberim in hortis, commemorare sine magno dolore non possum ('the pride Cleopatra displayed').

He mentions (p. 248) some other passages from the Letters in which the consecution of tenses deserves notice—e.g. Att. viii. 12, 1 (345) Huius autem epistulae non ea causa *est* ut ne quis a me dies *intermittatur*, sed etiam haec iustior ut a te *impetrarem* ut *sumeres* aliquid temporis, where we have explained the latter clauses as a reversion to the 'epistolary'* style, which projects the writer into the time at which the letter will be read. It is possible, perhaps, also to interpret *haec iustior* by a kind of sense-construction as virtually meaning, 'but I had also this better reason when I determined to write to you.' Somewhat similar

* We wish M. Lebreton would write a monograph on the so-called 'epistolary' use of the perfect (e.g. *misi*, 'I am sending') for the immediate present, and the analogous uses of past tenses, and endeavour to discover the conditions of its employment. There is no scholar more eminently competent to do so.

would be Fam. xiii. 47 (928) sed tamen ut *scires* eum a me non diligi solum verum etiam amari, ob eam rem tibi haec *scribo* ('my object in writing was'); Fam. x. 25, 2 (880) *Video* Planco consule, etsi etiam sine eo rationes expeditas *haberes*, tamen splendidiorem fore petitionem tuam, si modo ista ex sententia confecta *essent*, where *video* = 'the course of events has led me to the view'; Att. iv. 16, 1 (144) Paccio . . . *ostendi* quid tua commendatio ponderis haberet: itaque in intimis *est* meis, cum antea notus non *fuisset*, where *in intimis est meis* = 'I treated him from that time as a close friend,' the past signification being assisted by *ostendi* in the preceding clause. In Att. xiii. 19, 4 (631) Puero me hic sermo *inducitur* ut nullae esse *possent* partes meae, M. Lebreton well explains the imperfect ("ita ut *cum scriberem* nullas mihi partes tribuere possem").

In maintaining against Elmer that the ordinary rule about prohibitions (viz., that you can say *ne feceris* and *noli facere*, but not *ne facias*), M. Lebreton (p. 305) notices that *noli facere* is the more polite form; so that we are not surprised to find in the familiar style of the letters *ne feceris* the more common form. There are forty-three examples of *ne* with the perfect subjunctive in Cicero; of these twenty-six are in the Letters, six in the Orations (three in Muren. 65), ten from the Philosophical works, and one from the Brutus.

Almost the only cases in which the indicative is found with restrictive relatives are those in which either the verb *posse* occurs, or the verb *attinere*—e.g. Fam. xiv. 4, 6 (62) Cura, *quod potes*, ut valeas; Att. i. 4, 1 (9) Nunc vero censeo, *quod* commodo tuo facere *poteris*, venias; Rosc. Am. 90 omnes, *quod* ad me *attinet*, vellem viverent. There is no certain example of the subjunctive with these verbs. In Q. Fr. i. 1, 45 (30) the subjunctive is due to the oratio obliqua.

One of the most interesting chapters in M. Lebreton's book is that on the use of the indicative in subordinate clauses of the oratio obliqua. Though he does not profess to set forth all the examples in Cicero of this usage, yet the five pages (367-372) of closely printed illustrations show the frequency of this usage, and are a fine monument of M. Lebreton's research. Perhaps the

most interesting passages from the Letters which he quotes are those in which he produces exactly similar sentences in which the subjunctive is found. Thus, Att. vii. 5, 5 (296) Ego is sum, qui illi concedi *putem* utilius esse quod *postulat* quam signa conferri may be contrasted with Att. vii. 6, 2 (297) Nec adhuc fere inveni qui non concedendum *putaret* Caesari quod *postularet* potius quam depugnandum. Again, Att. vi. 3, 7 (264) Eum futurum esse *puto* qui esse *debet* may be contrasted with Att. i. 5, 2 (1) Testis erit tibi ipsa quantae mihi curae *fuerit* ut Quinti fratris animus in eam esset is qui esse *deberet*. With a further reference to De Div. ii. 19, M. Lebreton notes that the indicative is more frequently used after a principal verb in the present than after one in the past. The variety in the usage of the moods without any variety in signification may be seen from Att. i. 10, 5 (6) De fratre confido ita esse ut semper *volui* et *elaboravi*; and Att. i. 5, 2 (1) Confido ita esse omnia ut et *oporteat* et *velimus*.

The following are the examples from the Letters given by M. Lebreton:—Relative clauses—Brut. i. 3, 3 (844) *ceperunt*; Fam. ix. 8, 1 (641) *locuti sumus*. Temporal clauses—Fam. xvi. 24, 2 (806) *est dictum*. Comparative clauses—Fam. v. 12, 3 (109) *sentis . . . concedet*; Att. xiv. 5, 1 (707) *volumus*, cp. vi. 7, 1 (270). Conditional clauses—Fam. vii. 3, 5 (464) *fuerunt . . . est*; Att. vii. 9, 3 (300) *obtinet*; Fam. xii. 17, 2 (493) *probabis*; ii. 6, 5 (177) *impetraro*; iii. 2, 2 (183) *intellexero* (see our note, where many passages are quoted); xvi. 1, 2 (285) *intellegis*; 2 (286) *videro*; Att. vii. 3, 11 (294) *dixero*; viii. 12c, 2 (329) *veniet*.

These are only a few of the many interesting points which M. Lebreton discusses. Almost every one of his 'Studies' is deserving of careful attention.

PART IV. — fin.

SED EGO DIAETA CURARE INCIPIO, CHIRURGIAE TAEDET.

PART IV.

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF CICERO, FROM HIS RETURN FROM EXILE TO HIS APPOINTMENT AS GOVERNOR OF CILICIA.

EPP. 90–182.

A. U. C., ... 697–702

B. C., ... 57–52

AET. CIC., ... 49–54

LETTERS
OF THE TWELFTH YEAR OF CICERO'S CORRESPONDENCE (LAST FOUR MONTHS).

EPP. 90–94.

A. U. C. 697 ; B. C. 57 ; AET. CIC. 49.

COSS. P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS SPINTHER, Q. CAECILIUS METELLUS NEPOS.

THE Letters of the latter part of this year detail the circumstances of Cicero's return from exile, with the incidents which were the consequences of his exile, and describe the position in which Cicero found himself on his restoration, and the confused and disorderly state of politics at the time. This was the year of the speeches *Post reditum in Senatu*, *Post reditum ad Quirites*, and *De domo sua*. Their authenticity has been questioned, not on sufficient grounds, except as regards the speech *ad Quirites*, which was almost certainly not delivered in the form in which it is extant. Owing to the violence of Clodius and his gangs, Cicero found great difficulty in having his house rebuilt. Cicero, about November, was mainly instrumental in having a motion carried which decreed a *supplicatio* of fifteen days in honour of Caesar's victories in Gaul.

CICERO'S CORRESPONDENCE.

90. TO ATTICUS, IN EPIRUS (ATT. IV. 1).

ROME; SEPTEMBER (MIDDLE), A. U. C. 697; B. C. 57; AET. CIC. 49.

M. Cicero Attico de reditu suo, ad quem conficiendum ille tantum contulerat, gratulatur et quae ipsius condicio sit et quid post reditum suum egerit exponit.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Cum primum Romam veni fuitque cui recte ad te litteras darem, nihil prius faciendum mihi putavi quam ut tibi absenti de reditu nostro gratularer. Cognoram enim, ut vere scribam, te in consiliis mihi dandis nec fortiorem nec prudentiorem quam me ipsum nec etiam pro praeterita mea in te observantia nimium in custodia salutis meae diligentem, eundemque te, qui primis temporibus erroris nostri aut potius furoris particeps et falsi timoris socius fuisses, acerbissime discidium nostrum tulisse plurimumque operae, studi, diligentiae, laboris ad conficiendum reditum meum contulisse. 2. Itaque hoc tibi vere adfirmo, in maxima laetitia et exoptatissima gratulatione unum ad cumulandum gaudium conspectum aut potius complexum mihi tuum defuisse, quem semel

1. *recte*] 'safely': cp. Att. v. 5, 2 (188); ix. 4 (361).

Cognoram] 'I felt certain,' i. e. during my exile; *cognovi* = 'I am certain.'

nec etiam . . . observantia] This is the reading of Bosius for *nec etiam propter meam in te observantiam* of the mss, which can hardly be right. It is harsh to suppose that *observantiam* is here used for '*lack of* respect,' like Att. i. 5, 3 (1) *de litterarum missione*: iii. 15, 7 (73) *si tuam fidem accusarem*. It would be simpler to read *inobservantiam* with Madvig. It is not difficult to see how *propterita* may have passed into *propter*, and then would follow the alteration to the accusative.

eundemque] It is the clause beginning with this word that explains *enim*. The thought of Cicero set forth logically is: 'I was eager to congratulate you on my return, *for* I felt certain that, in spite of your shortcomings as an adviser before my exile, *yet* you felt deeply our separation, and were active in procuring my restoration.' *Eundemque* is strongly adversative. The words mean: 'I felt that, considering my past attentions to you, you were not very energetic in saving me from exile.' *Nimium* is used in quite the same way in Fam. xii. 30, 7 (899) *non nimium probo*, and very frequently in Plautus and Terence. *Idemque* means 'and yet' in Att. iii. 12, 1 (69). For reproaches of Atticus by Cicero, cp. Att. iii. 15, 4 ff. (73).

nactus si umquam dimisero ac nisi etiam praetermissos fructus tuae suavitatis praeteriti temporis omnis exegero, profecto hac restitutione fortunae me ipse non satis dignum iudicabo. 3. Nos adhuc in nostro statu, quod difficillime recuperari posse arbitrati sumus, splendorem nostrum illum forensem, et in senatu auctoritatem et apud viros bonos gratiam magis quam optaramus consecuti sumus. In re autem familiari, quae quem ad modum fracta, dissipata, direpta sit non ignoras, valde laboramus tuarumque non tam facultatum, quas ego nostras esse iudico, quam consiliorum ad colligendas et constituendas reliquias nostras indigemus. 4. Nunc, etsi omnia aut scripta esse a tuis arbitror aut etiam nuntiis ac rumore perlata, tamen ea scribam brevi quae te puto potissimum ex meis litteris velle cognoscere. Pridie Nonas Sext. Dyrrhachio sum profectus ipso illo die quo lex est lata de nobis. Brundisium veni Nonis Sext. Ibi mihi Tulliola mea fuit praesto natali suo ipso die, qui casu idem natalis erat et Brundisinae coloniae et tuae vicinae Salutis: quae res animadversa a multitudine summa Brundisinorum gratulatione celebrata est. Ante diem III. Id. Sext. cognovi cum Brundisi essem litteris Quinti

2. *si umquam*] So Meutzner: the mss have *tumquam* or *numquam*: hence some scholars propose to read *numquam dimisero*; but we should have expected *dimittam*, though we find elsewhere a remarkable admixture of futures: see Fam. xiii. 65, 2 *ornaris . . . feceris . . . capies . . . adfeceris*.

suavitatis praeteriti] 'if I do not exact to the full all arrears of delight in your sweet companionship in the past' (Jeans). For the double genitive cp. Fam. ix. 8, 2 (641) *superiorum temporum fortuna reip.*; there is a triple gen. in Caes. Bell. Gall. ii. 17, 2 *eorum dierum consuetudine itineris nostri exercitus*. Cp. also Att. iv. 4*b*, 1 (107).

3. *Nos adhuc*] 'as regards my political position, I have attained (what I thought would be very hard to regain) my old leadership at the Bar; and my authority in the senate, and influence with the optimates, [I have gained] in fuller measure than I could wish' (because these very advantages might again bring on him such jealousy as had recently brought about his exile). The conjecture *optaramus* seems necessary. Observe that *quod difficillime*, &c., refers only to *splendorem forensem*, while *magis quam optaramus* is closely connected with *in senatu auctoritatem et apud bonos viros gratiam*.

4. *ea scribam*] See Adn. Crit.

natalis] This was the *commemoration day* of Brundisium, the day on which the foundation of the colony was celebrated. It was also the birth-day of Tullia, and the foundation-day of the temple of Salus, which stood near the house of Atticus on the Quirinal Hill (Nepos 13, 2). *Salus* = *aedes Salutis* by a common Latin idiom. Cp. Juv. i. 116 *Quaeque salutato crepitat Concordia nido*.

III] So O. E. Schmidt (*Der Briefwechsel*, p. 202) reads for VI, as letters took from seven to nine days to reach Brundisium from Rome. Sternkopf retains VI, and mentions this as an exceptionally rapid transmission of news. He thinks it confirmed by the words *cum Brundisi essem*, which he believes were added to indicate that Cicero had not, as the dates might seem to indicate, already proceeded on his way towards Rome; and the mood of *essem* perhaps points in that direction. But the alteration of Schmidt's is so slight, and so common (see note to 840, 1), that we have not hesitated to accept it.

cum Brundisi essem] See Adn. Crit.

mirifico studio omnium aetatum atque ordinum, incredibili concursu Italiae legem comitiis centuriatis esse perlatam. Inde a Brundisinis honestissimis ornatus iter ita feci ut undique ad me cum gratulatione legati convenerint. 5. Ad urbem ita veni ut nemo ullius ordinis homo nomenclatori notus fuerit qui mihi obviam non venerit praeter eos inimicos, quibus id ipsum, se inimicos esse, non liceret aut dissimulare aut negare. Cum venissem ad portam Capenam, gradus templorum ab infimo plebe completi erant, a qua plausu maximo cum esset mihi gratulatio significata, similis et frequentia et plausus me usque ad Capitolium celebravit, in foroque et in ipso Capitolio miranda multitudo fuit: postridie in senatu, qui fuit dies Nonarum Septembr., senatui gratias egimus. 6. Eo biduo cum esset annonae summa caritas et homines ad theatrum primo, deinde ad senatum concurrissent, impulsu Clodi

honestissimis] This is an unusual form of expression. We should have expected *viris* to be added; or *Brundisinorum* for *Brundisinis*. Orelli adds *decretis*. Perhaps *sententiis* (*sniis*) might have more readily fallen out. But it is best either to retain the mss reading with its unusual construction, or alter with Faernus to *honestissime*.

ita . . . ut] The force of this phrase (the use of which in the letters has been illustrated, vol. I[3], p. 84) is well brought out by Mr. Jeans in his rendering of this and the next sentence:—'I could not pursue my journey without deputations from every place meeting me with congratulations. When I came near the city, this went so far, that not a soul of any rank who was known to my attendant failed to come and meet me, except,' &c.

5. *infimo*] This is the emendation of Lehmann; *ab infimo* means 'from the very bottom'; of course the higher steps, as affording a better view, would be occupied first. We find *ab imo adclivis* in Caes. B. G. iii. 19, 1; and *ab infimo adclivis* ib. vii. 19, 1; 73, 3. The assimilation of *infimo* to *plebe* in gender would be one of the commonest of copyists' blunders. This reading has met with very general acceptance. However, a case could be made for *ab infima plebe*. For we know that Cicero was by no means regardless of the opinions held by the *infima plebs*: cp. Att. i. 16, 11 (22); iv. 2, 3 (91); xiv. 16, 2 (721); 17*a*, 7 (722), and elsewhere. The prep. *ab* brings forward the force of their spontaneous action more prominently. Boot says that if Cicero had intended to express the view advocated by Lehmann, he would have said *ab imo ad summum*.

dies Nonarum] This is what Draeger (i. 466) calls the *genitivus appositionalis*; cp. *abietis arboribus*, Liv. xxiv. 3, 4; *oppidum Antiochiae*, Cic. Att. v. 18, 1 (218); so *Pachyni promontorium, familia Scipionum, vox voluptatis* ('that term *voluptas*'). Cp. *dies erat adscripta Nonarum Aprilium*, Fam. iii. 11, 1 (265); but, on the contrary, we find *is dies fuit Nonae*, Fam. xvi. 3, 1 (287).

6. *Eo biduo*] 'two days afterwards'; cp. Caes. B. C. i. 41, 1; 87, 4; *illo biduo* means 'two days before.'

ad theatrum] The high price of corn had been of some duration. It existed at the beginning of July, and a similar demonstration was then made in the theatre: cp. Asconius in Milonianam 38 (= p. 48 Or.) *L. Cornelius Rufus . . . fuit <praetor> P. Lentulo Spinthere et Q. Metello Nepote consulibus quo anno Cicero restitutus est. Is cum faceret ludos Apollinares* (July 6–13), *ita infima coacta multitudo annonae caritate tumultuata est ut omnes qui in theatro spectandi causa consederunt pellerentur.* The price fell when, in July, the decree of the Senate was passed in the temple of Jupiter in favour of the recall of Cicero: cp. De Domo 14 *Cum de mea dignitate in templo Iovis Optimi Maximi senatus frequentissimus uno isto dissentiente decrevisset, subito illo ipso die carissimam annonam necopinata vilitas consecuta est.*

mea opera frumenti inopiam esse clamarent, cum per eos dies senatus de annona haberetur et ad eius procurationem sermone non solum plebis, verum etiam bonorum Pompeius vocaretur idque ipse cuperet multitudoque a me nominatim ut id decernerem postularet, feci, et accurate sententiam dixi. Cum abessent consulares, quod tuto se negarent posse sententiam dicere, praeter Messallam et Afranium, factum est senatus consultum in meam sententiam, ut cum Pompeio ageretur ut eam rem susciperet lexque ferretur: quo senatus consulto recitato continuo *cum* more hoc insulso et novo *populus* plausum meo nomine recitando dedisset, habui contionem: omnes magistratus praesentes praeter unum praetorem et duos tribunos pl. dederunt. 7. Postridie senatus frequens et omnes consulares nihil Pompeio postulanti negarunt. Ille legatos quindecim cum postularet, me principem nominavit et ad omnia me alterum se fore dixit. Legem consules conscripserunt, qua Pompeio per quinquennium omnis potestas rei frumentariae toto orbe terrarum daretur: alteram Messius, qui omnis pecuniae dat potestatem et adiungit classem et exercitum et maius imperium in provinciis quam sit eorum qui eas obtineant. Illa nostra lex consularis nunc modesta videtur, haec Messi non ferenda. Pompeius illam velle se dicit, familiares hanc. Consulares duce Favonio fremunt, nos tacemus et eo magis quod de domo nostra nihil adhuc pontifices responderunt. Qui si sustulerint religionem, aream praeclaram habebimus, superficiem consules ex senatus consulto aestimabunt:

mea opera] Because it was Cicero's return which brought the unusual numbers to Rome.

decernerem] 'that I should vote for that measure' (Watson); *feci*, 'I did so.'

continuo cum more] Man. reads *contio* for *continuo*, but this is very harsh before *contionem*. It is better to supply as the missing subject *populus* or *plebs* with Boot; written *pl.* either would very easily have fallen out before *plausum*. Baiter adds *cum* before *more*.

recitando] There is nothing objectionable in this use of the gerundive; we find *cum immolanda Iphigenia Calchas tristis esset*, Orat. 74: *quod cum dicendo tum singulis appellandis rogandisque perfeceram*, 96. See Draeger ii. 815. Süpfle gives a good example *partis* honoribus eosdem in foro gessi labores quos *petendis*, Phil. vi. 17.

dederunt] sc. *contionem*, 'invited me to speak': cp. 91, 3. The praetor was Appius Claudius, the two tribunes Q. Numerius Rufus and Sextus Atilius Serranus.

7. *alterum se*] 'his *alter ego*.'

nostra] because the law which was brought forward by the consuls had been sketched by Cicero: cp. § 6.

sustulerint religionem] 'declare the consecration by Clodius null' (Watson).

superficiem] 'the building' which had stood upon the *area* or 'site,' that is, Cicero's house. *Superficies* is 'whatever stands above the ground,' *cum aedes ex duabus rebus constant, ex solo et superficie*, Dig. xli. 3, 23.

sin aliter, demolientur, suo nomine locabunt, rem totam aestimabunt. 8. Ita sunt res nostrae—

ut in secundis fluxae, ut in advorsis bonae.

In re familiari valde sumus, ut scis, perturbati. Praeterea sunt quaedam domestica, quae litteris non committo. Quintum fratrem insigni pietate, virtute, fide praeditum sic amo ut debeo. Te exspecto et oro ut matures venire eoque animo venias ut me tuo consilio egere non sinas. Alterius vitae quoddam initium ordimur. Iam quidam, qui nos absentis defenderunt, incipiunt praesentibus occulte irasci, aperte invidere. Vehementer te requirimus.

91. TO ATTICUS, IN EPIRUS (ATT. IV. 2).

ROME; OCTOBER (LATTER HALF), A. U. C. 697; B.C. 57; AET. CIC. 49.

M. Cicero Attico excusat litterarum raritatem, dein de oratione de domo apud pontifices habita, de contione P. Clodii, de rebus actis in senatu Kal. Octobr., de senatus consulto postridie eius diei secundum causam suam facto et ad Atticum cum his litteris misso, de aestimatione aedium et villarum suarum iniqua, de cogitatione reliqua sua et domesticarum et forensium rerum.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Si forte rarius tibi a me quam a ceteris litterae redduntur, peto a te ut id non modo neglegentiae meae sed ne occupationi

sin aliter] 'but if they decide otherwise (if they decide that the consecration of the site by Clodius holds good), then they will pull down his building, contract for a new temple in their own name (whereas in the former case the money would be given to Cicero, and he would settle with the contractor for the building, as appears from the first person *habebimus*), and estimate the cost of the whole thing'; that is, they will put a slight upon Clodius by not allowing his building to stand; but if the Pontiffs hold that the consecration was good, they cannot use the site save for a temple. The estimate of the compensation money to Cicero would then have to include the sum requisite for the purchase of a new site, together with the cost of erecting a new house. The word *demolientur* may possibly be out of place, and should perhaps be placed after *religionem*. If the word is retained in its present position, there is some difficulty as to what buildings it can refer to. Hardly to the temple; for, ex hypothesi, the consecration is supposed to be held valid, and, that being so, there is no reason why the temple should be destroyed. Nor to the other buildings probably erected by Clodius on the site which he had appropriated (cp. De Domo 116): for no consecration ever attached to them.

8. *ut in*] This is, no doubt, a quotation from some old play, as its metrical character shows. It is used again in the next letter and in Brut. i. 10, 2 (897). Mr. Shuckburgh translates the verse by the line of Milton (P. L. ii. 224):—

'For happy though but ill, for ill not worst.'

vitae quoddam initium] He calls this παλιγγενεσίαν, Att. vi. 6, 4 (276).

1. *non modo*] = *non modo non*, when followed by *ne quidem*, and when the predicate of both clauses is the same and that predicate is placed in the second clause: cp. Fam. x. 1, 1 (787).

quidem tribuas: quae etsi summa est, tamen nulla esse potest tanta ut interrumpat iter amoris nostri et offici mei. Nam ut veni Romam, iterum nunc sum certior factus esse cui darem litteras, itaque has alteras dedi. Prioribus tibi declaravi adventus noster qualis fuisset et quis esset status atque omnes res nostrae quem ad modum essent—

ut in secundis fluxae, ut in advorsis bonae.

2. Post illas datas litteras secuta est summa contentio de domo. Diximus apud pontifices pridie Kal. Octobris. Acta res est accurate a nobis, et si umquam in dicendo fuimus aliquid, aut etiam si numquam alias fuimus, tum profecto doloris magnitudo vim quamdam nobis dicendi dedit. Itaque oratio iuventuti nostrae deberi non potest, quam tibi, etiam si non desideras, tamen mittam cito. 3. Cum pontifices decressent ita, SI NEQUE POPULI IUSSU NEQUE PLEBIS SCITU IS, QUI SE DEDICASSE DICERET, NOMINATIM EI REI PRAEFECTUS ESSET NEQUE POPULI IUSSU AUT PLEBIS SCITU ID FACERE IUSSUS ESSET, VIDERI POSSE SINE RELIGIONE EAM PARTEM AREAE MIHI RESTITUI, mihi facta statim est gratulatio—nemo enim dubitabat quin domus nobis esset adiudicata:—cum subito ille in contionem escendit quam Appius ei dedit; nuntiat iam populo pontifices secundum se decrevisse, me autem vi conari in

2. *aliquid*] cp. *ego quoque aliquid sum*, Fam. vi. 18, 4 (534); so *nihil esse*, as *te nihil esse cognosceres*, Fam. vii. 27, 2 (476).

doloris magnitudo] See Adn. Crit.

deberi] 'to remain an unpaid debt to the rising generation': cp. *tibi hoc video non posse deberi*, Tusc. ii. 67: De Orat. iii. 18; Fam. vii. 19, 1 (776). The speech is one of much vehemence; but we are surprised at the high estimate Cicero formed of it.

3. POPULI IUSSU] cp. De Domo 136.

AREAE MIHI] The reading of the mss. is *arae emi* or *aree emi*. Ursinus altered to AREAE M. T., i.e. Marco Tullio: but we should have expected *Marco Tullio Ciceroni* if the exact words of the decree were quoted; and if we once leave the exact words, there is no reason why Cicero should not have said MIHI, as he does below, § 4; but the conjecture of Ursinus is, all the same, most ingenious. The judgment of the Pontiffs appears to have been based on a Lex Papiria; cf. De Domo 127. This law can be hardly identical with that mentioned in Livy ix. 26, but may have supplemented it.

in contionem escendit] cp. Gellius xviii. 7, 5 *contionem tria significare, locum suggestumque unde verba fierent . . . item significare coetum populi adsistentis, item orationem ipsam quae ad populum diceretur.*

iam] 'so he announces,' like *οὖν* or *νυν*. Kayser and other edd. accept *inani*, the conj. of Bosius. For other conjectures see Adn. Crit.

secundum se] Possibly Clodius held that the people, by the Lex Clodia, did give him power to consecrate the temple: cp. De Domo 51 *Quid? hoc ipsum, quod nunc apud pontifices agis, te meam domum consecrasse, te monumentum fecisse in meis aedibus, te signum dedicasse, eaque te ex una rogatiuncula fecisse, unum et idem videtur esse atque id quod de me ipso nominatim tulisti?*

possessionem venire: hortatur ut se et Appium sequantur et suam Libertatem vi defendant. Hic cum etiam illi infirmi partim admirarentur, partim irriderent hominis amentiam—ego statueram illuc non accedere, nisi cum consules ex senatus consulto porticum Catuli restituendam locassent—Kal. Octobr. habetur senatus frequens. 4. Adhibentur omnes pontifices, qui erant senatores, a quibus Marcellinus, qui erat cupidissimus mei, sententiam primus rogatus quaesivit quid essent in decernendo secuti. Tum M. Lucullus de omnium collegarum sententia respondit religionis iudices pontifices fuisse, legis senatum: se et collegas suos de religione statuisse, in senatu de lege statuturos cum senatu. Itaque suo quisque horum loco sententiam rogatus multa secundum causam nostram disputavit. Cum ad Clodium ventum est, cupiit diem consumere, neque ei finis est factus, sed tamen, cum horas tris fere dixisset, odio et strepitu senatus coactus est aliquando perorare. Cum fieret senatus consultum in sententiam Marcellini, omnibus praeter unum adsentientibus, Serranus *intercessit*. *De* intercessione statim ambo consules referre coeperunt. Cum sententiae gravissimae dicerentur, senatui placere mihi domum restitui, porticum Catuli locari, auctoritatem ordinis ab omnibus magistratibus defendi si qua vis esset facta, senatum existimaturum eius opera factum esse qui senatus consulto intercessisset, Serranus pertimuit et Cornicinus ad suam veterem fabulam rediit:

suam Libertatem] 'his statue of Liberty,' which he had erected on the site of Cicero's house; De Domo 108, 110.

infirmi] 'the weak-kneed': cp. *quorum vocibus et concursu terrentur infirmiores*, Caes. B. C. i. 3, 5. But perhaps ed. Iens. is right in reading *infimi*.

illuc non accedere] 'not to go near the place till the consuls had contracted for the rebuilding of Catulus's portico. Q. Lutatius Catulus had erected on the site of the house of M. Fulvius Flaccus, and close to the dwelling of Cicero, a portico out of the proceeds of the Cimbric War. This the Clodians had, partially at least, destroyed. Cicero resolved not to set about the work of restoring his own house until this portico should be taken in hands by the government: De Dom. 102.

4. *Adhibentur*] 'are consulted': cp. *non adhibemur*, 'we are not consulted,' Fam. iv. 7, 6 (486).

Marcellinus] Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, the consul elect.

secuti] 'what was the purport, aim, of their decision,' 'what line they had taken.'

M. Lucullus] the brother of L. Lucullus, the general. He gave judgment because Caesar, who was Pontifex Maximus, was in Gaul at this time.

odio] 'persistent outcry'; often 'tediousness': cp. Hor. Sat. i. 7, 6; Ter. Ph. v. 6, 9 (849).

unum] sc. Clodium.

Serranus] Sextus Atilius Serranus, a tribune who had opposed the return of Cicero: cp. Sest. 72, 74.

intercessit. De] These words were added by Victorius.

pertimuit] 'showed fear'; the absolute use of this verb is found elsewhere only in Plautus.

Cornicinus] Gnaeus Oppius Cornicinus was the father-in-law of Serranus. On

abiecta toga se ad generi pedes abiecit. Ille noctem sibi postulavit: non concedebant. Reminiscebantur enim Kal. Ianuar. Vix tandem tibi de mea voluntate concessum est. 5. Postridie senatus consultum factum est id quod ad te misi. Deinde consules porticum Catuli restituendam locarunt: illam porticum redemptores statim sunt demoliti libentissimis omnibus. Nobis superficiem aedium consules de consili sententia aestimarunt HS. viciens: cetera valde illiberaliter: Tusculanam villam quingentis milibus: Formianum HS. ducentis quinquaginta milibus. Quae aestimatio non modo vehementer ab optimo quoque sed etiam a plebe reprehenditur. Dices 'quid igitur causae fuit?' Dicunt illi quidem pudorem meum, quod neque negarim neque vehementius postu-

the kalends of January, when Serranus opposed the restoration of Cicero, Cornicinus threw himself at his son's feet, and implored him to withdraw his veto; Serranus asked for a night's reflection; this was granted, but he persevered in his veto. Cornicinus now re-enacted his old rôle; Serranus again made his former request, which was refused, as concession had before proved abortive: Sest. 74.

tibi] This is the reading of the Medicean (changed to *sibi* by an obvious blunder in M^2). It is idle to strike out *tibi*, and write with some edd. *illi*, *homini*, *id ei*, or any other word or words which, while satisfying the sense, do not account for the corruption. Moreover, *tibi* really admits of an excellent explanation. It is the *ethical dative*, which is used far more largely in Cicero than elsewhere, save only the comic drama. 'After all at last, *lo and behold you*, with my consent the point was conceded.' The emphatic exclamation is justified by the *unexpected* announcement that Cicero was for conceding the request of Serranus. Cp. *hic tibi in rostra Cato advolat*, Att. i. 14, 5 (20); *at ille tibi pergit Brundisium*, viii. 8, 2 (339); *alter tibi descendit de Palatio*, Rosc. Am. 133. We find *ecce tibi* in Att. vii. 19 (317), *ecce tibi* iv. *Non. Febr. mane accepi litteras tuas.* In a quite unimpassioned passage, Rep. vi. 17, we have *novem tibi orbibus . . . conexa sunt omnia.* For further, see Adn. Crit.

5. *misi*] 'I send.' Boot remarks that this must be an epistolary perf.; for Cicero must have sent the S. C. with this letter; he would not have sent the S. C. without a letter; and this is certainly the first letter in which he describes the debate in the senate concerning his indemnification. Cicero gives the substance of the decree in Harusp. Resp. 13 *domum meam iudicio pontificum religione liberatam videri.*

porticum] Catulus had erected out of the Cimbrian spoils a portico on the site of the house occupied by M. Flaccus, the associate of C. Gracchus. This portico (as would appear from De Domo, 102, 103) Clodius knocked down, and built another which united Cicero's house with the site of that of Flaccus. Cicero, in the speech De Domo, 103 (delivered Sept. 29), vehemently calls for the demolition of this Clodian portico; and it is to this Clodian portico that he is referring in the passage before us. Clodius also erected a statue to Liberty. In De Domo, 111, Cicero traces the past history of this statue of Liberty, and finds that the figure which Clodius made to do duty as a statue of Liberty was really the statue of a Greek prostitute which had been erected on her tomb near Tanagra, and had been annexed and carried to Rome by an aedile, a friend of Clodius. Hence Gronovius ingeniously suggested *illam πόρνην* or *illud πορνίδιον*. However, this suggestion, as well as the conjecture that possibly *statuam* fell out before *statim*, or should take the place of *statim*, is not required when it is perceived that Clodius did erect some sort of portico.

superficiem aedium] 'the buildings of my house': the genitive is added because an *aedes* consists of two things *solum* and *superficies*, cp. note to 90, 7.

postularim] 'pressed my claim vigorously.'

larim. Sed non est id: num hoc quidem etiam profuisset? Verum iidem, mi T. Pomponi, iidem inquam illi, quos ne tu quidem ignoras, qui mihi pinnas inciderant, nolunt easdem renasci. Sed, ut spero, iam renascuntur. Tu modo ad nos veni: quod vereor ne tardius interventu Varronis tui nostrique facias: 6. Quoniam acta quae sint habes, de reliqua nostra cogitatione cognosce. Ego me a Pompeio legari ita sum passus ut nulla re impedirer. Quod nisi vellem mihi esset integrum ut, si comitia censorum proximi consules haberent, petere possem, votivam legationem sumpsissem prope omnium fanorum, lucorum. Sic enim nostrae rationes utilitatis meae postulabant. Sed volui meam potestatem esse vel petendi vel ineunte aestate exeundi, et interea me esse in oculis

num . . . profuisset?] 'would this (violent expostulation on my part) have done any good?' We read *num* for *nam*. Boot, who saw that the ordinary reading *nam hoc quidem etiam profuisset* gave no meaning, read after Seyffert *nam hoc quid etiam profuisset?* But the text is a slighter change. Pluygers made the same correction in Att. iv. 19, 1 (198) *num* (for *nam*) *Vestorio dandi sunt dies?*

pinnas] The old grammarians draw a distinction. They say *pennas avium, pinnas murorum*. But the mss give *pinnas* here. Keller reads *pinna* of the wing of a bird in Hor. Epp. i. 20, 21: ii. 2, 50: Carm. ii. 2, 7.

interventu] Varro was on a visit with Atticus in Epirus.

6. *a Pompeio*] Madvig would omit *a*; but cp. *legari ab Caesare*, Att. xiv. 13, 4 (718). The senate appointed the *legati*; but in almost all cases adopted the recommendation of the commander-in-chief. The constructions are *aliquis aliquem sibi legat*; *aliquis aliquem alicui legat* (143, 9); *aliquis ab aliquo legatur*, as here.

impedirer] 'I have suffered myself to be appointed legate to Pompey (cp. 90, 7) only on the understanding that I am not to be hampered by the appointment in any respect.' Cp. *ne forte qua re impediar atque alliger*, Att. viii. 16, 1 (352).

Quod nisi] *Quod* is merely connexive; as in *quod si*.

esset integrum] The omission of *ut* is one of the many coincidences between the diction of the letters of Cicero and that of the comic drama: 'were I not desirous to reserve to myself the possibility of becoming a candidate.'

votivam legationem] See on 45, 3.

prope . . . lucorum] One feels much disposed to obelise these words with Ern. Yet it is hard to account for their presence in the mss if they are not sound. They must mean that Cicero could have got a *legatio* of almost unlimited extent, one which allowed him to visit almost every usual place of pilgrimage. Orelli suggests to read *pro P. R.* for *prope*.

nostrae . . . meae] 'our plans for my interest.' This reading *utilitatis* for *utilitates* which is found in the Codex Landianus (H) is rightly adopted by Sternkopf: 'the plans we formed for my interest.' Otherwise we must bracket *utilitates meae* as a gloss.

exeundi] as *legatus* to Pompey. The whole meaning of this passage, which has been much misunderstood, is:—'I should have preferred a *legatio votiva* as being more respectable than a *legatio* to an individual, and as affording a chance of meeting you; but my legation to Pompey, on the conditions on which I have accepted it, will leave me the power of leaving Rome when I like, which a *libera legatio* would not do.' The best comment on this passage is to be found in two places in Att. xv., viz. 8, 1 (741) *honestior est votiva*; xv. 11, 4 (744) *habent, opinor, liberae legationes definitum tempus lege Iulia nec facile addi potest; aveo genus legationis ut cum velis introire, exire liceat; quod nunc nihi additum est.* The *genus legationis* which he had then accepted was a *legatio* to Dolabella. In the passage just before the words last quoted, the *votiva legatio* is classed as a species of *libera legatio*.

civium de me optime meritorum non alienum putavi. 7. Ac forensium quidem rerum haec nostra consilia sunt, domesticarum autem valde impedita. Domus aedificatur; scis quo sumptu, qua molestia: reficitur Formianum, quod ego nec relinquere possum nec videre. Tusculanum proscripsi: suburbano facile careo. Amicorum benignitas exhausta est in ea re, quae nihil habuit praeter dedecus, quod sensisti tu absens,† praesentes, quorum studiis ego et copiis, si esset per meos defensores licitum, facile essem omnia consecutus: quo in genere nunc vehementer laboratur. Cetera quae me sollicitant μυστικώτερα sunt. Amamur a fratre et a filia. *Te* exspectamus.

7. *nec relinquere*] 'I can neither abandon it, nor yet can I bear to look at it in its present state.'

proscripsi] 'I have advertised it for sale.'

suburbano facile careo] M^2 has *non* before *facile*, and is followed by most edd. If we read *facile careo*, we must suppose *suburbano* to refer to *Tusculanum*, and this seems the right view: 'I can do without a place so near the city'; but if *non* be inserted, *suburbanum* refers to another property near to Rome, not the Tusculanum. We have *malo enim esse in Tusculano aut uspiam in suburbano*, Att. xvi. 13 *b*, 1 (803). Cicero did not sell his Tusculan villa, as he failed to get a purchaser: cp. 100. 1. In Att. xii. 3, 1 (468), he puts his *Tusculanum* on a par with the μακάρων νῆσοι.

in ea re] in the whole proceedings connected with Cicero's recall, which required considerable expense, e.g. in the hiring of bands of gladiators to face the followers of Clodius.

quod sensisti] 'This you in your absence have seen to be true, and so have my friends here (in Rome), through whose zealous aid I might have easily gained all that I had lost (by getting an adequate indemnification for my losses), if my champions (Pompey and the optimates, cp. § 5) had permitted it.' This is the explanation given by Hofm., Süpfle, and Frey; nor can the passage be otherwise explained with the present reading, which is that of the mss. But we doubt its genuineness. Gron. reads *quod sensisti tu absens praesens*, as a parenthesis. This may mean 'which (viz. the *dedecus*) you perceived, both when you were absent from Rome and saw my miserable state in exile in Epirus; and also when at Rome you saw the unworthy courses to which my friends were compelled to resort in order to secure my restitution.'

praesentes] sc. *senserunt*. Madvig adds *nos* before *praesentes*. Possibly we should add *praedes* before *praesentes*, or better *tui* before it (cp. 99, 3), or after it (cp. 95, 4).

quo in genere] 'in which respect,' i.e. 'in my money matters.'

μυστικώτερα] *sub rosa*, probably refers to a quarrel with his wife. He does not mention her in the next clause.

92. TO ATTICUS, IN EPIRUS (ATT. IV. 3).

ROME; NOVEMBER 23, A. U. C. 697; B. C. 57; AET. CIC. 49.

M. Cicero Attico, quod credit illum de his rebus a se ipso certiorem fieri velle, de turbis P. Clodii eiusque adsecularum et in area sua et in Catuli porticu et in Q. fratris domo factis et omnino de furoribus Clodii et de rebus postea factis nuntiat, maxime de contentione quae inter Milonem et Clodium intercedat, postremo de re familiari sua pauca significat.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Avere *te* certo scio cum scire quid hic agatur, tum mea a me scire, non quo certiora sint ea quae in oculis omnium geruntur si a me scribantur quam cum ab aliis aut scribantur tibi aut nuntientur, verum ut perspicias ex meis litteris quo animo ea feram quae geruntur et qui sit hoc tempore aut mentis meae sensus aut omnino vitae status. 2. Armatis hominibus ante diem tertium Non. Novembr. expulsi sunt fabri de area nostra, disturbata porticus Catuli, quae ex senatus consulto consulum locatione reficiebatur et ad tectum paene pervenerat: Quinti fratris domus primo fracta coniectu lapidum ex area nostra, deinde inflammata iussu Clodi, inspectante urbe coniectis ignibus, magna querela et gemitu, non dicam bonorum, qui nescio an nulli sint, sed plane hominum omnium. Ille demens ruere, post hunc vero furorem nihil nisi caedem inimicorum cogitare, vicatim ambire, servis aperte spem libertatis ostendere. Etenim antea, cum iudicium nolebat, habebat ille quidem difficilem manifestamque causam, sed tamen causam: poterat infitiari, poterat in alios derivare, poterat etiam aliquid iure factum defendere. Post has ruinas, incendia, rapinas, desertus

2. *pervenerat*] 'it (the building) had advanced nearly to the roof,' i. e. was completed nearly to the roofing. Cp. *si lupinum ad siliquas non pervenit*, 'does not come to the pods,' Varr. R. R. i. 23, 3.

urbe] = *civibus*, a poetical usage, but natural enough in a letter; so *ruinas* below is a strange expression. The omission of *est* after *fracta* and *inflammata* is also due to the vehemence of the description.

qui nescio] 'for I am not sure that the race is not extinct.'

ruere] 'runs riot.'

nolebat] 'when he was trying to decline the trial' on the charge *de vi*, which Milo directed against him when the bill was brought forward for Cicero's restoration. But we are not sure that *tollebat* (Sull. 15; Mil. 70), as proposed by Manutius, is not right. Madvig suggests *volvebat* (i.e. *animo volvebat*), Gurlitt *valebat*.

manifestam] 'obviously bad case,' so *manufestum hominum*, 'obviously guilty': Plaut. Men. iv. 2, 29 (594).

ruinas] 'wrecking of houses.' The same word is applied metaphorically to 'the downfall' of the republic, which ensued on the quarrel between Pompey and Caesar, Att. x. 1, 1 (378); Fam. v. 17, 1 (179).

a suis, vix iam Decimum designatorem, vix Gellium retinet, servorum consiliis utitur, videt, si omnis quos vult palam occiderit, nihilo suam causam difficiliorem quam adhuc sit in iudicio futuram. 3. Itaque ante diem tertium Idus Novembr., cum Sacra via descenderem, insecutus est me cum suis. Clamor, lapides, fustes, gladii, haec improvisa omnia. Discessimus in vestibulum Tetti Damionis. Qui erant mecum facile operas aditu prohibuerunt. Ipse occidi potuit. Sed ego diaeta curare incipio, chirurgiae taedet. Ille omnium vocibus cum se non ad iudicium sed ad supplicium praesens trudi videret, omnis Catilinas Acidinos postea reddidit. Nam Milonis domum, eam quae *est in* Cermalo, pridie Idus Novembr. expugnare et incendere ita conatus est ut palam hora v. cum scutis homines, eductis gladiis, alios cum accensis facibus adduxerit. Ipse domum P. Sullae pro castris sibi ad eam impugnationem sumpserat. Tum ex Anniana [Milonis] domo Q. Flaccus eduxit viros acris, occidit homines ex omni latrocinio Clodiano notissimos: ipsum cupivit, sed ille se in interiora aedium Sullae. Exin senatus postridie Idus: domi Clodius: egregius Marcellinus:

designatorem] 'funeral-marshal.'

Gellium] See Sest. 110, Vatin. 4, Har. Resp. 59; Q. Fr. ii. 1, 1 (93). He was a Roman knight, brother of L. Gellius Publicola, who was consul in 682 (72).

3. *occidi*] sc. by Marcus Antonius: cp. Phil. ii. 21; Mil. 40.

diaeta curare] 'to use regimen' as opposed to the violent methods of surgery. *Curare*, 'to use treatment,' is used thus absolutely by Quintilian (ii. 17, 39) *ne medicus quidem an dolorem capitis habeat* (scit), *qui hoc se pati dicet; curabit tamen tanquam id verum sit, et erit ars medicina.*

reddidit] 'he made every Catiline seem thenceforth an Acidinus,' i.e. most respectable: see Leg. Agr. ii. 64, and De Orat. ii. 260 *vetus illud quod aiunt Maluginensem illum Scipionem cum ex centuria sua renuntiaret Acidinum consulem praecoque dixisset 'dic de L. Manlio,' 'virum bonum' inquit 'egregiumque civem esse arbitror.'* Cp. *num potui Ciliciam Aetoliam reddere*, Att. v. 20, 1 (228), quoted by Boot.

Cermalo] part of the Palatine Hill near the *Tiber*. This house appears not to be the same as the *Anniana domus* mentioned below.

P. Sullae] defended by Cicero in July, 692 (62).

impugnationem] ἅπαξ εἰρημένον.

cupivit] sc. *occidere*.

se in interiora aedium] sc. *recepit*.

Marcellinus] was the consul designate. The question was, whether a *senatus consultum* should be passed to put Clodius on his trial for his riots at the site of Cicero's house. Now, if the debate in the senate could be protracted till the election of aediles began, Clodius might be elected aedile (as he in fact was), and thus might elude the trial. So Metellus proceeded to 'talk out the bill' (*calumnia dicendi tempus exemit*). Marcellinus then posted up in public his resolution (which he had carefully written out before moving it, as he judged it important: cp. Sest. 129; Planc. 74; Fam. x. 13, 1), which provided that the trial should include all the riotous conduct of Clodius, *and should be held before the elections.* Milo gave notice that he would 'watch the heavens' during all the days of the election, and so absolutely prevent the election (and consequent escape) of Clodius. The issue of it was, that the election would have been held, had not Milo stopped it by announcing ominous signs in the sky. See Adn. Crit.

calumnia] 'by the artifice of talking out the bill.'

omnes acres. Metellus calumnia dicendi tempus exemit adiuvante Appio, etiam hercule familiari tuo, de cuius constantia *et* virtute *tuae* verissimae litterae. Sestius furere. Ille postea, si comitia sua non fierent, urbi minari. *Milo*, proposita Marcellini sententia, quam ille de scripto ita dixerat ut totam nostram causam areae, incendiorum, periculi mei iudicio complecteretur eaque omnia comitiis anteferret, proscripsit se per omnis dies comitialis de caelo servaturum. 4. Contiones turbulentae Metelli, temerariae Appi, furiosissimae Publi. Haec tamen summa: nisi Milo in campo obnuntiasset, comitia futura. Ante diem XII Kal. Decembr. Milo ante mediam noctem cum magna manu in campum venit. Clodius, cum haberet fugitivorum delectas copias, in campum ire non est ausus. Milo permansit ad meridiem mirifica hominum laetitia, summa cum gloria: contentio fratrum trium turpis, fracta vis, contemptus furor. Metellus tamen postulat ut sibi postero die in foro obnuntietur: nihil esse quod in campum nocte veniretur: se hora prima in comitio fore. Itaque ante diem XI Kal. in comitium Milo de nocte venit. Metellus cum prima luce furtim in campum itineribus prope deviis currebat: adsequitur inter lucos hominem Milo, obnuntiat. Ille se recepit, magno et turpi Q. Flacci convicio. Ante diem X. Kal. nundinae: contio biduo nulla. 5. Ante diem VIII. Kal. haec ego scribebam hora noctis nona. Milo campum iam tenebat. Marcellus candidatus ita stertebat ut ego vicinus audirem. Clodi vestibulum vacuum

familiari tuo] Apparently Hortensius, whom Atticus had commended in writing to Cicero; *verissimae* is thus ironical. For the reading, see Adn. Crit.

Ille] i.e. Clodius.

Milo] We have added this name on the suggestion of Wesenberg: for it was Milo, and not Marcellinus, who made use of *obnuntiatio* during the succeeding days.

proscripsit] In the previous edition, we had added *nisi anteferret* before *proscripsit*. But it is not necessary. The motion of Marcellinus was not passed on the 14th, owing to the obstructive tactics of Metellus and his assistants; and all the days which followed the 14th to the end of the month were comitial days, on which, by the Lex Pupia, it was not lawful to hold the senate. We owe this correction to Mr. Shuckburgh.

4. *fratrum trium*] 'those three kinsmen'; Appius and Clodius were brothers, *fratres germani*; Metellus was their cousin, *frater patruelis*.

turpis] is the predicate, 'ended in humiliation.'

postulat ut] 'Metellus says Milo must repeat his obstructive tactics in the *forum*; his *ruse* of repairing to the Campus Martius by night would avail Milo nought; he (Metellus) would be in the forum at six in the morning.' This was a stratagem on the part of Metellus, who proposed, having diverted Milo's attention to the *forum*, to hold the election in the *Campus*, before Milo could obstruct.

inter lucos] usually called *inter duos lucos*, a spot between the Capitol and the Campus, where Romulus founded his Asylum, Liv. i. 8, 5.

5. *scribebam*] This and the subsequent *imperfects* are good examples of the epistolary use of this tense.

sane mihi nuntiabatur: pauci pannosi; linea lanterna. Meo consilio omnia illi fieri querebantur, ignari quantum in illo heroe esset animi, quantum etiam consili. Miranda virtus est. Nova quaedam divina mitto. Sed haec summa est: comitia fore non arbitror: reum Publium, nisi ante occisus erit, fore a Milone puto: si se in turba ei iam obtulerit, occisum iri ab ipso Milone video. Non dubitat facere, prae se fert, casum illum nostrum non extimescit. Numquam enim cuiusquam invidi et perfidi consilio est usurus nec inerti nobili crediturus. 6. Nos animo dumtaxat vigemus, etiam magis *quam* cum florebamus: re familiari comminuti sumus. Quinti fratris tamen liberalitati pro facultatibus nostris, ne omnino exhaustus essem, illo recusante subsidiis amicorum respondimus. Quid consili de omni nostro statu capiamus te absente nescimus. Qua re appropera.

pannosi] 'a few ragged roughs: a canvas lantern.' The better lanterns were made of horn; cp. *qui volcanum in cornu conclusum geris*, Plaut. Amph. i. 1, 185 (341). For the nominatives without a verb, cp. § 3 *clamor lapides fustes gladii*. See Adn. Crit.

heroe] sc. Milone.

Nova . . . mitto] 'I pass over his recent splendid deeds.' So *divinitus* is used in Att. i. 16, 9 (22); ii. 21, 6 (48).

reum . . . fore a] a colloquial construction, but not therefore to be suspected in a letter of Cicero: cp. below 149, 5. For another example of abl. of agent after a verbal noun cp. Sest. 122 *declaratio ab universo populo*: Fam. ix. 16, 7 (472) *plaga ab amico*, where see note.

si se . . . iam] See Adn. Crit.

casum illum nostrum] i.e. exile.

invidi] refers specially to Hortensius, *perfidi* to Pompey, while 'weak aristocrat' is a term generally applicable to Lucullus, Philippus, and the other *piscinarii* who deserted Cicero in his need.

6. *Quinti . . . respondimus*] 'I have repaid the generosity of my brother Quintus by appealing to the aid of my friends, instead of using my own resources, inasmuch as he refuses to accept aid from me personally, lest I should be completely beggared.' So Boot. But we doubt whether Cicero would have used *pro facultatibus* in such a sense. It seems better to render 'I have repaid my brother's generosity (considering the state of my finances) by the assistance of my friends, to prevent my being left absolutely penniless, though he protests.' Perhaps, however, Wesenberg is right in adding *et* before *ne*, putting *ne . . . recusante* in a parenthesis.

Wiel. II p. 178

93. TO HIS BROTHER QUINTUS, ON HIS JOURNEY TO SARDINIA (Q. FR. II. 1).

ROME, DECEMBER (MIDDLE), A. U. C. 697; B. C. 57; AET. CIC. 49.

M. Cicero Q. fratri tum in Sardinia degenti scribit quid in senatu sit actum referente primum Lupo de lege C. Caesaris, qua agrum Campanum plebi Romanae dividi voluerat, deinde Racilio de iudiciis, utrum ante an post aedilicia comitia habenda sint.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SAL.

1. Epistulam, quam legisti, mane dederam. Sed fecit humaniter Licinius, quod ad me misso senatu vesperi venit, ut si quid esset actum ad te, si mihi videretur, perscriberem. Senatus fuit frequentior quam putabamus esse posse mense Decembri sub dies festos. Consulares nos fuimus, P. Servilius, M. Lucullus, Lepidus, Volcacius, Glabrio; duo consules designati; praetores. Sane frequentes fuimus: omnino ad ducentos. Commorat exspectationem Lupus. Egit causam agri Campani sane accurate. Auditus est magno silentio. Materiam rei non ignoras. Nihil ex nostris

1. *humaniter*] 'courteously.'

sub] According to Mr. Roby (Lat. Gram., § 2129), *sub*, when used with accus. and indicating time, always means *just after*, never *just before*; he understands *sub noctem* always to mean 'immediately on the fall of night'; *sub galli cantum*, 'just after cockcrow.' But this passage, with others (for which see note by Dr. Maguire in *Hermathena*, vol. iv., p. 420), shows that Mr. Roby is mistaken. *Sub dies festos* must mean 'just before the holidays,' for if the holidays had begun, the senate could not have been held. Cp. especially Hor. Carm. i. 8, 14; ii. 18, 17. The *dies festi* which approached were the *Saturnalia* and *Opalia*.

P. Servilius] Isauricus, cons. 675 (79) with Ap. Claudius Pulcher.

M. Lucullus] M. Terentius Varro Lucullus, cons. 681 (73) with C. Cassius Longinus.

Lepidus, Volcacius] M. Aemilius Lepidus and L. Volcacius Tullus were consuls 688 (66).

Glabrio] M'. Acilius, cons. with C. Calpurnius Piso 687 (67).

praetores] All the praetors probably were present: hence no names are given. But perhaps Holzapfel is right in reading *praetorii sane frequentes*: *fuimus omnino*, &c. See Adn. Crit.

frequentes] That is, it was a full house, considering that it was December, and the eve of a festival. For we read elsewhere of meetings of the senate numbering above 300 and 400 members.

Lupus] P. Rutilius. He spoke against Caesar's law, proposed in his consulate, for the division of the Campanian land. This was the point on which the opposition to the Triumvirs directed its chief attack.

Materiam] 'you know what fine materials for a speech the proposal about the Campanian land affords; he dwelt on all the measures I took in that matter,' i.e. his action against the bill of P. Servilius Rullus.

actionibus praetermisit. Fuerunt non nulli aculei in Caesarem, contumeliae in Gellium, expostulationes cum absente Pompeio. Causa sero perorata sententias se rogaturum negavit, ne quod onus simultatis nobis imponeret: ex superiorum temporum conviciis et ex praesenti silentio quid senatus sentiret se intellegere. Dixit Milo. Coepit dimittere. Tum Marcellinus: 'Noli,' inquit 'ex taciturnitate nostra, Lupe, quid aut probemus hoc tempore aut improbemus iudicare. Ego, quod ad me attinet itemque arbitror ceteros, idcirco taceo quod non existimo, cum Pompeius absit, causam agri Campani agi convenire.' Tum ille se senatum negavit tenere. 2. Racilius surrexit et de iudiciis referre coepit. Marcellinum quidem primum rogavit. Is cum graviter de Clodianis incendiis, trucidationibus, lapidationibus questus esset, sententiam dixit, ut ipse iudices per praetorem urbanum sortiretur, iudicum

aculei] 'telling hits' against Caesar. Gellius was a creature of Clodius mentioned in the last letter. Pompey was absent in the execution of his commission to supervise the corn supply. L. and S. wrongly mark this word and its affines, *acūleus, acūleatus*. It is really *acŭleus, acŭleatus*, &c.: cp. Plaut. Bacch. 63.

Milo] See Addend. to Comm., Note 5.

Coepit] sc. Lupus. The formula for dismissing the senate was, *Patres conscripti, nemo vos tenet*, or *nihil vos moramur*. Hence below, *se senatum negavit tenere*. Perhaps we should read *coepit dimittere, cum Marcellinus*.

2. *Racilius*] L. Racilius, a tribune. He was a firm friend of Cicero. We read (Schol. Bob. ad Planc. 77, p. 268, Or.) that Cicero published an invective against Clodius under the title EDICTUM LUCI RACILI TRIBUNI PLEBI. He was on Caesar's side in the Civil War. Joining in the conspiracy against Q. Cassius, he was put to death by him (Bell, Alex. 55).

quidem] 'of course' (Shuckburgh).

ut ipse . . . sortiretur] The question as regards this passage is, who is *ipse*? Not Clodius, as Drumann, Schütz, and Billerbeck say, for it was a magistrate who allotted the panels. The natural view to take is that it was Marcellinus. As he was consul elect, he was virtually a magistrate. The panels were usually allotted by the quaestors: cp. Dio Cass. xxxix. 7, 4 *οὔτε γὰρ οἱ ταμίαι, δι' ὧν τὴν ἀποκλήρωσιν τῶν δικαστῶν γενέσθαι ἐχρῆν, ἤρηντο, καὶ ὁ Νέπως ἀπεῖπε τῷ στρατηγῷ μηδέμιαν πρὸ τῆς κληρώσεως αὐτῶν δίκην προσέσθαι*. Though this is somewhat out of chronological order where it occurs in Dio Cassius (who places it before the recall of Cicero), it would seem to have reference to the case we are considering: cp. Mommsen, St. R. ii². 572, 1. The aim was that the trials for *vis* should be held before the elections of aediles, so that Clodius, who was accused by Milo of *vis*, but was also a candidate for aedileship, might not, if elected, escape in virtue of his magistracy. But the election of aediles preceded that for quaestors, so that there were no quaestors—the late quaestors having, according to rule, vacated their office on December 5—and a difficulty arose as to who was to allot the panels for the trials. Naturally it should have been the praetor (cp. Att. i. 14, 3 (20)), who was to preside at the trial, and who also had the selection of the Album iudicum each year (Cluent. 121). According to Dio, Nepos, the consul, forbade the praetor to make this allotment (cp. Mommsen, *op. cit.* i. 248, 4); while Cicero says that Marcellinus, the consul designate (the consuls, as the year was just at a close, may have departed for their provinces), moved that permission be granted him to put the praetor urbanus in motion to have the panels allotted. The action of Marcellinus would be merely formal, and the possible reason why he asked to have a part in the business was that it might be put in hands without undue delay. We should

sortitione facta comitia haberentur: qui iudicia impedisset, eum contra rem publicam esse facturum. Approbata valde sententia C. Cato contra dixit et *C.* Cassius maxima acclamatione senatus, cum comitia iudiciis anteferret. Philippus adsensit Lentulo. 3. Postea Racilius de privatis me primum sententiam rogavit. Multa feci verba de toto furore latrocinioque P. Clodi: tamquam reum accusavi, multis et secundis admurmurationibus cuncti senatus. Orationem meam collaudavit satis multis verbis, non mehercule indiserte, Vetus Antistius: isque iudiciorum causam suscepit antiquissimamque se habiturum dixit. Ibatur in eam sententiam. Tum Clodius rogatus diem dicendo eximere coepit. Furebat a Racilio se contumaciter urbaneque vexatum. Deinde eius operae repente a Graecostasi et gradibus clamorem satis magnum sustulerunt, opinor in Q. Sextilium et amicos Milonis incitatae. Eo metu iniecto repente magna querimonia omnium discessimus. Habes acta unius diei: reliqua, ut arbitror, in mensem Ianuarium

certainly have expected the proposal of a simple motion, directing the praetor to proceed to allotment without the intervention of Marcellinus, so that the suggestion of Manutius, approved by Lambinus and Drumann (ii. 320), *ut ipse iudices praetor urbanus sortiretur* (where *ipse* = without the assistance of the quaestors), would deserve adoption were it not so far from the manuscript tradition. It is adopted by Lange, R. A. iii. 319, who assigns the alteration to Eigenbrod. It is possible that a dittography may have arisen from the similarity of the contractions of *per* and *prae*: and once *per* appeared in the text, the nominative *praetor urbanus* would soon be changed into the accusative.

C. Cato] a tribune: cp. Q. Fr. i. 2, 15 (53) and Index.

C. Cassius] a tribune, of whom nothing further than what is stated here seems to be known: cp. Drumann-Groebe, ii. 139.

acclamatione] 'murmurs': cp. Att. i. 16, 4 (22); *acclamatio* in the sense of 'shouts of approbation' = 'acclamation,' is post-Ciceronian.

Lentulo] One of the consuls elect, called above Marcellinus.

3. *Antistius*] another tribune: see Index.

Ibatur] See note on Att. i. 19, 9 (25); a *discessio* was being made in favour of this opinion; that is, those who agreed with this view went and stood by Antistius and the consuls elect. It was thus seen that their views commanded the strongest support in the house; so Clodius again tried to talk out the sitting.

urbaneque] C. F. W. Müller follows ed. Rom. in reading *inurbaneque* instead of *urbaneque* of the mss; and we did so too in the former edition. Of course, nothing is more common in the manuscripts of Cicero's Epistles than the omission, or improper insertion, of *in*: see C. F. W. Müller's note on Fam. i. 9, 21, <*in*> *praestantibus* (= p. 25, 22). But the insertion of it here seems gratuitous. Cicero might say that his good friend Racilius had been insolent to Clodius; but he would hardly say that he had been rude, or uncultivated. And what made Clodius angry was that Racilius treated him with that polished insolence, πεπαιδευμένη ὕβρις, which is, of all treatment, the most cutting and exasperating.

Graecostasi] 'the Greek station,' a platform near the *Curia Hostilia* and the *comitium*, where Greek ambassadors (and afterwards ambassadors from other nations) listened to the debates of the senate: cp. Varro, L. L. v. 155 *Sub dextra huius* (i.e. the Rostra) *a Comitio locus substructus ubi nationum subsisterent legati, qui ad senatum essent missi. Is Graecostasis appellatus a parte, ut multa.* The *gradus* referred to are the steps up to the *Curia*.

reicientur. De tribunis pl. longe optimum Racilium habemus: videtur etiam Antistius amicus nobis fore: nam Plancius totus noster est. Fac, si me amas, ut considerate diligenterque naviges de mense Decembri.

94. TO M. FADIUS GALLUS (FAM. VII. 26).

TUSCULANUM, A. U. C. 697 (?); B. C. 57 (?); AET. CIC. 49 (?).

M. Cicero narrat Gallo herbas in augurali cena suaviter conditas et a se avidius comesas sibi morbum attulisse.

CICERO S. D. GALLO.

1. Cum decimum iam diem graviter ex intestinis laborarem neque iis qui mea opera uti volebant me probarem non valere, quia febrim non haberem, fugi in Tusculanum, cum quidem biduum ita ieiunus fuissem ut ne aquam quidem gustarem. Itaque confectus languore et fame magis tuum officium desideravi quam a te requiri putavi meum. Ego autem quom omnis morbos reformido, tum, *in* quo Epicurum tuum Stoici male accipiunt, quia dicat στραγγουρικὰ καὶ δυσεντερικὰ πάθη sibi molesta esse, quorum alterum morbum edacitatis esse putant, alterum etiam turpioris intemperantiae. Sane δυσεντερίαν pertimueram. Sed visa est mihi vel loci mutatio vel animi etiam relaxatio vel ipsa fortasse iam senescentis morbi remissio profuisse. 2. Ac tamen, ne mirere unde

reicientur] 'will be put off to.'

Plancius] quaestor of Macedonia, who had so warmly befriended Cicero during his exile.

de mense Decembri] 'now that December has set in': cp. *de die, de nocte, de principio*. This letter was written in the expectation that it would reach Quintus before he embarked for Sardinia, whither he was going as legatus of Pompey. The opening words of the letter show that Quintus was not very far away; perhaps he was at Ostia.

1. *male accipiunt*] 'misconstrue' or 'handle roughly': both explanations suit the expression and the sense.

tuum] Gallus was an Epicurean.

alterum] The first *alterum* (= the latter) refers to δυσεντερικὰ πάθη (dysentery); the second *alterum* (= the former) refers to στραγγουρικὰ πάθη (strangury), which was supposed to be the result of sexual incontinence. This passage is generally misunderstood, because it is taken for granted that the first *alterum* must mean 'the former'; but this is not so. See 114, 1, where the first *alterum* is explicitly 'the latter,' the second *alterum* = 'the former'; the meaning of that passage being: 'You say you are much obliged by my regularity as a correspondent and by my affection for you; the *latter*, my affection, is a bounden duty on my part; the *former*, my regularity in correspondence, is a pleasure.' Dr. Reid refers to the letter of Epicurus preserved by Diog. Laert. x. 22. Cicero translates part of it in Fin. ii. 96.

hoc acciderit quo modove commiserim, lex sumptuaria, quae videtur λιτότητα attulisse, ea mihi fraudi fuit. Nam dum volunt isti lauti terra nata quae lege excepta sunt in honorem adducere, fungos, helvellas, herbas omnis ita condiunt ut nihil possit esse suavius. In eas cum incidissem in cena augurali apud Lentulum, tanta me διάρροια adripuit ut hodie primum videatur coepisse consistere.

2. *commiserim*] 'And strange to say, in case you should wonder how this came about, and how I incurred this ailment, it was the sumptuary law, which you would think was for plain living, that played me false. For our *bon vivants*, wishing to popularise the fruits of the earth which are not under the ban of the sumptuary law, cook mushrooms, potherbs, and every kind of vegetable, in the most charming way in the world.' The law which would seem to be referred to is either the Lex Aemilia of 639 (115), as in it the *kind* of food to be eaten was specified: cp. Gell. ii. 24, 12 *Praeter has leges Aemiliam quoque legem invenimus, qua lege non sumptus cenarum sed ciborum genus et modus praefinitus est*; or the Lex Licinia of 699 (55), which, while fixing a certain limit to the amount of flesh or fish one might eat each day (*ib.* § 7), *quidquid esset tamen e terra vite arbore promisce atque indefinite largita est*. If the latter is the law referred to, we must of course put this letter two years at least later. O. E. Schmidt and Rauschen consider that the sumptuary law was that of Caesar (cp. Lange, R. A. iii. 450) passed in 708 (46), as Cicero's words, *quae videntur* λιτότητα *attulisse*, would seem to point to an enactment of recent date, and in 697 (57) Cicero's Tusculanum was in ruins. To the latter we may reply that towards the end of 697 (57) it may have been somewhat restored, as money had certainly been voted for that purpose in October (91, 5); and we know that Cicero was not disturbed by living in the midst of workmen (123, 3). And if we place the date later than 697 (57) we have to suppose some other Lentulus was made augur. But the question is almost impossible to decide definitely. It is to be confessed that most scholars place the letter in 708 (46): cp. O. E. Schmidt, *Der Briefwechsel*, p. 261.

λιτότητα] 'a plain diet'; the Greek word is appropriate to hygienic matters; λιτός is precisely the appropriate word for a *plain, simple* diet. It was a knowledge of this fact which led Bentley to what may be held to be the best conjecture ever made. An epigram of Callimachus begins thus:—

τὴν ἁλίην Εὔδημος ἐφ' ἧς ἅλα λιτὸν ἐπελθὼν
χειμῶνας μεγάλων ἐξέφυγεν δανέων.

The old editors changed δανέων to Δαναῶν, and took the epigram to mean, 'Eudemus dedicates this ship on which, having crossed a smooth sea, he escaped from great storms of the Danai.' But ἁλίη is not a ship. What are 'storms of the Danai'? and if there were storms, how came it that the sea was smooth? Bentley saw the right answer to these questions: ἁλίη is a *saltcellar*, δανέων is sound and means 'money borrowed from usurers'; the corrupt word is ἐπελθών, which should be corrected to ἐπέσθων. Eudemus saved himself from debt by a life of frugality, and at his death dedicates 'the saltcellar which held the frugal grain of salt, which was the only relish to his bread, and which saved him from the storms of a sea of debts.'

Lentulum] P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther was the son of the consul for this year 697 (57) of the same name, who was active in the restoration of Cicero, and was afterwards pro-consul of Cilicia 698 (56). Lentulus, the son, was made augur this year, whence the date of this letter is inferred (cp. Sest. 144). He was adopted by Manlius Torquatus into the Manlian *gens*, so that he might become eligible for the augurate, though it was forbidden by law that there should be two augurs of the same *gens* (Dio Cass. xxxix. 17, 1). Now, one of the existing augurs was Faustus Cornelius, son of the dictator Sulla. Hence by his adoption he eluded this statute. The Latin phrase for 'to elude a law' is *fraudem facere legi*. Hence, in the words *fraudem fecit* above, there is, perhaps, a satirical allusion to the host at whose table Cicero incurred his ailment. The Aemilian law played him false, as his host had played false with another statute.

consistere] 'to stop'; the word is used

Ita ego qui me ostreis et murenis facile abstinebam a beta et a malva deceptus sum. Posthac igitur erimus cautiores. Tu tamen cum audisses ab Anicio—vidit enim me nauseantem—non modo mittendi causam iustam habuisti sed etiam visendi. Ego hic cogito commorari, quoad me reficiam: nam et viris et corpus amisi. Sed, si morbum depulero, facile, ut spero, illa revocabo.

in a slightly different sense, though applied to a disease, in Cels. iii. 2 *videndum an morbus increscat an consistat an minuatur*, where *consistat* means 'remains unchanged.'

a beta et a malva] Dr. Reid notices that the preposition shows that there is a humorous personification 'entrapped by Mr. Beet and Mr. Mallow.' It is, perhaps, as we might say, 'the confounded beet and mallow got the better of me'—thus indirectly regarding them as agents.'

audisses] sc. *me aegrotum esse*. Cp. *cum ita me adflictum videas ut neminem umquam nec videris nec audieris*, Att. iii. 13, 2 (610).

illa] sc. *et viris et corpus*. 'I shall soon regain my flesh and strength.'

LETTERS OF THE THIRTEENTH YEAR OF CICERO'S CORRESPONDENCE.

EPP. 95–118.

A. U. C. 698; B. C. 56; AET. CIC. 50.

COSS. CN. CORN. LENTULUS MARCELLINUS, L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

THE Letters of this year are chiefly to P. Lentulus Spinther, in Cilicia, and to Quintus Cicero, in Sardinia. In the former we have a detailed description of the intrigues which arose from the question who should receive the commission to restore Ptolemy Auletes to the throne of Egypt. The accusation of Milo by Clodius before the people for *vis* led to many riotous scenes, of one of which, on February 6, we have a vivid description in a letter to Quintus (102, 2). By these scenes, in which Pompey occasionally appeared, he suffered considerably in loss of dignity; and the dislike entertained towards him by the Senatorial party was shown by their acquittal of his enemy Sext. Clodius when put on his trial (about March) by Milo for having burned down the Aedes Nympharum (105, 6).

Sestius was accused *de vi* in February, and tried in March. On the 11th he was acquitted unanimously, after Cicero had made a brilliant speech (the *Pro Sestio*) on his behalf. On the same occasion Cicero attacked one of the hostile witnesses, Vatinius, and (as he says) made mincemeat of him (*concidimus*) amidst the applause of gods and men (105, 1). This was the oration *in Vatinium* which we possess. Encouraged by this success, Cicero, as the spokesman of the Senatorial party, proposed on April 5 that on May 15 Caesar's measures about the Campanian land should be reviewed. This led to the celebrated conference of Luca (about April 18), and the formation of what is called the Second Triumvirate. We have treated of it at some length in the Introduction. To this Cicero and the Senatorial party were compelled to yield. On May 15 no discussion on the Campanian land was held, and nothing more than a somewhat spiteful refusal of a *supplicatio* to Gabinius

is recorded. Cicero was very much depressed at the turn affairs had taken, and bitterly laments the ignoble position in which he found himself (110, 1, 2). He composed about May some sort of a 'recantation' (παλινῳδία, as he calls it) to Caesar, and in June delivered a brilliant panegyric on him in the oration *De Provinciis Consularibus*. Some little time before he had supported motions of the Senate granting Caesar pay for his legions and ten legati to assist him. Cicero had many unseemly squabbles with Clodius this year (cp. Dio Cass. xxxix. 21): and by his persistent attempts to have the tribunate of Clodius declared void he incurred the hostility of Cato. Returning from Cyprus to Rome about November, Cato opposed Cicero strongly on this point; for if the tribunate of Clodius were held to be illegal, his appointment to the Cyprian business would be illegal also; and naturally he could not tolerate the idea of such a contingency. Part of the arrangement made at Luca was that the *comitia* should be postponed until the winter, when Caesar's soldiers could attend. The business of delaying the *comitia* (which should have been held in July) was undertaken by C. Cato and M. Nonius Sufenas. The *comitia* were postponed. In October the consul Marcellinus, with the Senate in mourning, held a public meeting in which he attacked Pompey. At the next meeting of the Senate he asked Pompey and Crassus whether they intended to be candidates for the consulship. Pompey said perhaps he would, if the anarchy necessitated it, in the interest of the State, not of himself; and Crassus said he would do whatever was for the good of the State. The senators, in consternation at the almost certain prospect of having Pompey and Crassus as consuls, made a kind of protest by abstaining from attending the *Epulum Iovis* held at the end of November (Dio Cass. xxxix. 30). The year ended, however, without the *comitia* being held.

In this year Tullia, Cicero's daughter, was betrothed to Furius Crassipes. It is uncertain whether the marriage ever took place: but if it did, it was not of long duration. In this year also Atticus, at the age of fifty-three, married Pilia. The chief speeches (besides those already mentioned) which Cicero delivered were *pro L. Calpurnio Bestia* (Febr. 11), *pro M. Caelio* (Apr. 4), *de Haruspicum responso* (May), *pro L. Cornelio Balbo* (autumn). Among his letters of this year is a famous one to Lucceius (109), which Cicero himself considered 'most charming' (*valde bella*).

In this year Caesar defeated the Veneti, and later proceeded without much effect against the Morini and Menapii. His lieutenant Crassus conquered the greater part of Aquitania, and Sabinus the Unelli, who lived in the modern department of La Manche (Caesar, B. G. iii.).

95. TO P. LENTULUS SPINTHER, IN CILICIA.

(FAM. I. 1.)

ROME; JANUARY 13; A. U. C. 698; B. C. 56; AET. CIC. 50.

Rex Aegypti Ptolemaeus a suis regno eiectus ut per populum Romanum reduceretur in regnum largitionibus laborabat. Dicebatur carmen Sibyllinum obstare, quod vetabat regem cum multitudine reduci. P. Lentulus Ciliciae tum proconsul regem reducere cupiebat et rem per amicos suos Romae agitabat, cum alii Cn. Pompeio eam rem mandari vellent. Iam M. Cicero quid his de rebus in senatu actum sit P. Lentulum edocet.

M. CICERO S. D. P. LENTULO PROCOS.

1. Ego omni officio ac potius pietate erga te ceteris satis facio omnibus, mihi ipse numquam satis facio. Tanta enim magnitudo est tuorum erga me meritorum ut quod tu nisi perfecta re de me non conquiesti, ego quia non idem in tua causa efficio, vitam mihi esse acerbam putem. In causa haec sunt. Hammonius, regis legatus, aperte pecunia nos oppugnat. Res agitur per eosdem creditores, per quos, cum tu aderas, agebatur. Regis

1. *perfecta re*] 'only when the whole business was accomplished.'

tua causa] Ptolemy XII., nicknamed Auletes, King of Egypt, and father of Cleopatra and of the Ptolemy who afterwards ordered the death of Pompey, had been driven from his kingdom by his subjects, whom he had alienated by excessive taxation and oppressions of various kinds. Ptolemy, in the latter half of 697 (57), appealed to the senate to restore him. They were disposed to grant his request; but their difficulty was to decide between the rival candidates for the office of restoring the king. These were P. Lentulus Spinther, who as governor of Cilicia would naturally have been appointed, and, as a matter of fact, seems to have been commissioned by the senate to effect the restoration (§ 3); but Pompey craved some large military command which he had failed to obtain as corn commissioner. The senate did not wish positively to refuse Pompey (Dio Cass. xxxix. 12); but in their hearts they were opposed to his appointment; and their hands were strengthened by the tribune C. Cato, who had recourse, as usual, to the forms of the state religion, and produced a Sibylline oracle forbidding that the king should be restored *cum multitudine hominum*. Thus the decision was postponed, and a *senatus auctoritas*, forbidding anyone to restore Ptolemy (Ep. 114, 4), tended further to shelve the matter. Eventually Ptolemy was restored by A. Gabinius, proconsul of Syria, on his own responsibility, but probably at the instigation of Caesar, after Ptolemy had promised a large bribe. See a full discussion on this Egyptian Question in the Introduction.

In causa haec sunt] 'the reasons (of my failure hitherto) are these.'

creditores] persons at Rome who made loans to Ptolemy's agent wherewith to bribe senators and others to further the king's interests.

causa si qui sunt qui velint, qui pauci sunt, omnes rem ad Pompeium deferri volunt. Senatus religionis calumniam non religione sed malevolentia et illius regiae largitionis invidia comprobat. 2. Pompeium et hortari et orare, et iam liberius accusare et monere ut magnam infamiam fugiat non desistimus. Sed plane nec precibus nostris nec admonitionibus relinquit locum. Nam cum in sermone cotidiano tum in senatu palam sic egit causam tuam ut neque eloquentia maiore quisquam nec gravitate nec studio nec contentione agere potuerit, cum summa testificatione tuorum in se officiorum et amoris erga te sui. Marcellinum †tibi esse iratum† scis. Is hac regia causa excepta ceteris in rebus se acerrimum tui defensorem fore ostendit. Quod dat accipimus: quod instituit referre de religione et saepe iam rettulit, ab eo deduci non potest. 3. Res ante Idus acta sic est—nam haec Idibus mane scripsi—Hortensi et mea et Luculli sententia cedit religioni de exercitu—

causa . . . velint] 'are attached to him.' The whole phrase is *omnia alicuius causa velle*, Fam. xiii. 22, 1 (517); 55, 1 (232); but *omnia* is often omitted, as here and Att. xvi. 16*a*, 6 (767); Q. Fr. i. 4, 5 (72).

religionis calumniam] 'the religious sham.'

malevolentia] to Pompey, whom they did not wish to see invested with a military command.

largitionis invidia] 'disgust' at the wholesale bribery used by the king.

2. *infamiam*] 'discreditable imputations' (Jeans).

contentione] 'earnestness.'

iratum] Why? Perhaps (it is suggested) because Lentulus had moved the bill giving Pompey the corn commissionership; and the optimates resented the grant of any exceptional power to Pompey. Dr. Reid (*Class. Review*, xi. 246) points out that Lentulus had many enemies, and even Cicero himself considered his conduct, in some points, open to censure (cp. Ep. 100, 3); and Marcellinus, like any right-minded man, may have been indignant at the flagrant jobbery and corruption which characterised this Egyptian business, and made it so odious at Rome at this time. But it is hard to believe that this sentence and the one which follows (*Is hac regia*, &c.) are right as they stand. The transition is very sudden from the statement that Marcellinus is angry with Lentulus to the statement that he will be his supporter in all things except this Egyptian business. Dr. Reid proposes to add *tamen* after *Is*. Possibly we should read *Marcellinum tibi esse iratum scis in hac regia causa*, <*qua causa*> (or <*qua*> which might have fallen out after *cā*) *excepta*, &c.; or to alter *iratum* to *gratum* or *non ingratum*. It is very difficult to believe that *tibi* is corrupt, or to accept the conjecture of Corradus *regi*, or that in Cratander's margin *tibicini*, i.e. Ptolemaeo *Auletae* (*αὐλητῆ*), however ingenious and attractive.

quod instituit] *quod* is relative.

3. *mea . . . retineat*] 'my view, as well as that of Lucullus and Hortensius, concedes to religious scruples the point about employing an army for his restoration—for else we cannot carry our point [and give the commission to you], but grants to you, in accordance with the terms of the resolution which you yourself put [namely, that the governor of Cilicia should restore Ptolemy], the restoration of the king, so far as you can do it without injuring the state [i.e. without the employment of an army, against the warning of the Sibylline books]; so that the senate retains you as the responsible person for the king's restoration, while the religious difficulty makes the employment of an army impossible.'

teneri enim res aliter non potest,—sed ex illo senatus consulto, quod te referente factum est, tibi decernit ut regem reducas, quod commodo rei publicae facere possis, ut exercitum religio tollat, te auctorem senatus retineat. Crassus tris legatos decernit nec excludit Pompeium: censet enim etiam ex iis qui cum imperio sint: Bibulus tris legatos ex iis qui privati sint. Huic adsentiuntur reliqui consulares praeter Servilium qui omnino reduci negat oportere, et Volcacium qui Lupo referente Pompeio decernit, et Afranium qui adsentitur Volcacio. Quae res auget suspicionem Pompei voluntatis: nam *anim*advertebatur Pompei familiares adsentiri Volcacio. Laboratur vehementer: inclinata res est. Libonis et Hypsaei non obscura concursatio et contentio omniumque Pompei familiarium studium in eam opinionem rem adduxerunt ut Pompeius cupere videatur: cui qui nolunt, iidem tibi, quod eum ornasti, non sunt amici. 4. Nos in causa auctoritatem eo minorem habemus quod tibi debemus. Gratiam autem nostram exstinguit hominum suspicio, quod Pompeio se gratificari putant. Ut in rebus multo ante quam profectus es ab ipso rege et ab intimis ac

Lupo referente] Lupus, a tribune, appears to have put the motion that Pompey should be appointed; and Volcacius was the first senator who expressed approval, and was followed by Afranius. For Rutilius Lupus, see Epp. 93, 1; 96, 2.

suspicionem] 'this circumstance confirms our surmise as to what the real wishes of Pompey are.'

animadvertebatur] As *adverto* for *animadverto* is rare in the prose of the Ciceronian age (we do not know of any passages except Varro L. L. v. 166; x. 46), Lambinus is probably right in reading *animadvertebatur*.

Laboratur . . . est] 'it is a great struggle; and we are losing ground.'

Libonis . . . contentio] 'the undisguised way in which Libo and Hypsaeus are rushing about and straining every nerve' (Jeans). L. Scribonius Libo was at this time a tribune; he was afterwards active on the side of Pompey against Caesar; his daughter was the wife of Sex. Pompey. P. Plautius Hypsaeus, a tribune, had been quaestor to Pompey, Att. iii. 8, 3 (64).

adduxerunt] That the plural should be used when the nearest subject (*studium*) is in the singular is very rare: see Lebreton, p. 5. He thinks the influence of *omnium familiarum* led to the plural—rightly, no doubt—and the genitives *Libonis* and *Hypsaei* contributed.

cui qui nolunt] The dictionaries give no other example of *alicui nolle*: but *male velle alicui* is often found in the comic writers, e.g. Plaut. Asin. 841, Truc. 899. Somewhat analogous are Q. Fr. i. 2, 10 (53) *ego Fundanio non cupio*.

ornasti] 'supplied him with means' by bestowing on him the corn commissionership (cp. § 2).

4. *debemus*] 'I am your debtor,' i.e. for services done to me and not repaid. Cp. note on *debuissem*, Att. iii. 15, 4 (73).

Gratiam . . . putant] 'my influence is counteracted by the general surmise which I have spoken of (namely, that Pompey wants the commission for himself), because my friends think that in opposing my exertions on your behalf they are obliging Pompey.'

Ut . . . versamur] Mr. Jeans very cleverly gives the force of *ita . . . ut*, to the delicate use of which by Cicero attention has been often called. 'It must be remembered that we have to deal with a case which long before your departure was secretly inflamed by the

domesticis Pompei clam exulceratis, deinde palam a consularibus exagitatis et in summam invidiam adductis, ita versamur. Nostram fidem omnes, amorem tui absentis praesentes tui cognoscent. Si esset in iis fides in quibus summa esse debebat, non laboraremus.

96. TO P. LENTULUS SPINTHER IN CILICIA. W. II 188

(FAM. I. 2.)

ROME; JANUARY 15; A. U. C. 698; B. C. 56; AET. CIC. 50.

Significat quid deinceps actum in senatu sit de causa regia Id. Ian., quae sententiae dictae, quo Pompeius, quo eius familiares animo sint, quae tribuni pl. frustra moliti sint.

M. CICERO S. D. P. LENTULO PROCOS.

1. Idibus Ianuariis in senatu nihil est confectum, propterea quod dies magna ex parte consumptus est altercatione Lentuli consulis et Canini tribuni pl. Eo die nos quoque multa verba fecimus maximeque visi sumus senatum commemoratione tuae voluntatis erga illum ordinem permovere. Itaque postridie placuit ut breviter sententias diceremus: videbatur enim reconciliata nobis voluntas esse senatus, quod cum dicendo tum singulis appellandis rogandisque perspexeram. Itaque cum sententia prima

king himself, and the more intimate associates of Pompey, and afterwards made even worse by the open meddling of the ex-consuls, ending in the great disgust of everybody.' *Clam* refers to the corruption practised by Ptolemy, and makes for the conjecture *tibicini*, mentioned above; Marcellinus was probably one of those who were disgusted by the bribery to which the king had recourse. *Exagitatis* is 'made worse': cp. *tanta vis hominis leniunda quam exagitanda videbatur*, Sall. Cat. 48, 5. *Invidiam* refers to the 'scandal' of which the whole affair was prolific.

tui absentis praesentes tui] Cp. note to Ep. 91, 7.

in iis] Here, as often, Cicero uses the plural though referring to only one person, Pompey. He thus mitigates the asperity of a dangerous criticism. See note on Fam. v. 4, 2 (89).

1. *altercatione*] Lentulus Marcellinus, the consul, was for not employing an army (in the restoration of the king) or anyone who was invested with *imperium*; thus he excluded Pompey: Caninius wished to give the office to Pompey, who was to effect the restoration with two lictors (cp. Plut. Pomp. 49, where he is called Canidius).

placuit] sc. *nobis tui studiosis*; 'we your friends determined not to speak at length.'

dicendo . . . appellandis] 'not only in my speech, but also in the appeals and requests I made to individual senators.' The gerund and gerundive are not unfrequently used to express the circumstances

Bibuli pronuntiata esset, ut tres legati regem reducerent, secunda Hortensi, ut tu sine exercitu reduceres, tertia Volcaci, ut Pompeius reduceret, postulatum est ut Bibuli sententia divideretur. Quatenus de religione dicebat, cui quidem rei iam obsisti non poterat, Bibulo adsensum est: de tribus legatis frequentes ierunt in alia omnia. 2. Proxima erat Hortensi sententia, cum Lupus tribunus pl., quod ipse de Pompeio rettulisset, intendere coepit ante se oportere discessionem facere quam consules. Eius orationi vehementer ab omnibus reclamatum est: erat enim et iniqua et nova. Consules neque concedebant neque valde repugnabant: diem consumi volebant: id quod est factum. Perspiciebant enim in Hortensi sententiam multis partibus pluris ituros, quamquam aperte Volcacio adsentirentur. Multi rogabantur, atque id ipsum consulibus *non* invitis: nam ii Bibuli sententiam valere cupierunt.

in which an action occurs, the way and manner ('while,' so that something takes place at the same time): cp. Madvig, § 416, obs. 1. For examples, see Planc. 84 *Fit vestra diligentia qui causis ponderandis omnis fere repudiatis.* This is virtually, says Wunder, 'cum causas ponderatis et difficultatem earum agendarum ponderatis'; also Balb. 9; Mur. 17; Off. i. 5. Similar, too, is 90, 6 *meo nomine recitando.* Many more examples in a very learned collection in Lebreton, pp. 402–4.

divideretur] 'should be put as two separate questions' (cp. Asconius in Milon. § 14, p. 44, Orelli, and note on Att. v. 4, 2, Ep. 187). The questions in this case were these: (1) whether the warning of the Sibylline books should be observed; (2) whether the restoration of the king should be entrusted to a commission of three. The proposal of Bibulus did not deal expressly with the question *de religione*; that of Hortensius and that of Volcacius did. Therefore it was necessary to subdivide the resolution of Bibulus.

ierunt in alia omnia] 'voted with the *Noes*'; that is, were for *anything* but the measure proposed. The form was *qui hoc censetis in hanc partem, qui alia omnia in illam partem ite*, Plin. Ep. viii. 14, 19. Cp. Fam. viii. 13, 2 (271); x. 12, 3 (838): also Willems, *Le Sénat*, ii. 196. Lange, R. A. ii. 414.

2. *Proxima*] 'was brought on for discussion.'

intendere . . . consules] 'began to insist that he had the priority of the consuls in his right to call for an expression of the sense of the house on his motion.' It was the usual practice for the motions proposed by the presiding magistrate to have priority. But the question in the last resort rested with the magistrate who had most power, and he was certainly the tribune, as the tribune had the right of stopping any *relatio* whatever (cp. Willems, *Le Sénat*, ii. p. 140). We hear elsewhere of the tribunes putting motions in opposition to the consuls; e.g. Sest. 70, cp. Fam. x. 16, 1 (881). The question proposed by the consul appears to have been a general one as to the best way to effect the restoration of the king; while that of Lupus was the more definite one, whether or not Pompey should be entrusted with the duty. Lupus was desirous of having this definite point settled, and did not want to wait until some senator plucked up courage to advocate the appointment of Pompey, which was certainly unpopular with the senate generally; and Lupus, doubtless, surmised that many would be unwilling to vote definitely against Pompey, though they would be very glad to ignore him if he was not put forward specifically for the post: cp. Mommsen, St. R. iii. 955, 1; 986, 4.

non invitis] The insertion of *non* (the suggestion of Wes.) before *invitis* is quite necessary. The consuls preferred the motion of Bibulus; and they wished the

3. Hac controversia usque ad noctem ducta senatus dimissus est. Ego eo die casu apud Pompeium cenavi nactusque tempus hoc magis idoneum quam umquam antea, quod post tuum discessum is dies honestissimus nobis fuerat in senatu, ita sum cum illo locutus ut mihi viderer animum hominis ab omni alia cogitatione ad tuam dignitatem tuendam traducere. Quem ego ipsum cum audio, prorsus eum libero omni suspicione cupiditatis: cum autem eius familiaris omnium ordinum video, perspicio, id quod iam omnibus est apertum, totam rem istam iam pridem a certis hominibus non invito rege ipso consiliariisque eius esse corruptam. 4. Haec scripsi a. d. XVI. Kal. Febr. ante lucem. Eo die senatus erat futurus. Nos in senatu, quem ad modum spero, dignitatem nostram ut potest in tanta hominum perfidia et iniquitate retinebimus. Quod ad popularem rationem attinet, hoc videmur esse consecuti ut ne quid agi cum populo aut salvis auspiciis aut salvis legibus aut denique sine vi posset. De his rebus pridie quam haec scripsi senatus auctoritas gravissima intercessit: cui cum Cato et Caninius intercessissent, tamen est perscripta. Eam ad te missam esse arbitror. De ceteris rebus quidquid erit actum scribam ad te et ut quam rectissime agantur omnia mea cura, opera, diligentia, gratia providebo.

day to be spent in debate without any decisive vote; they saw that a *discessio* would be in favour of Hortensius' proposal, though they affected to look on the motion of Lupus and Volcacius as likely to win (this to please Pompey); so they were glad to frustrate a *discessio* as far as possible; and welcomed the formal putting of the question to each senator, as likely to lead to the consumption of the whole day in the debate. *Multis partibus* is the *abl. mensurae*, Draeger, i. 562. An attempt which has been made to defend the mss reading by referring *ii* to *multi* has been refuted by Dr. Reid in the *Classical Review*, xi. 244–6. For the frequent omission of *non*, see Müller's note to this passage (p. 3, l. 32), and in his ed. of the Epp. ad Att., p. 84, l. 27.

3. *Hac controversia*] Apparently the dispute whether the motion of the presiding consul or that of the tribune should have priority.

cupiditatis] 'self-seeking.'

4. *ut potest*] = *ut potest fieri*, so *poterat utrumque*, Ep. 114, 7; *si posset*, Tusc. i. 23; *poterit*, Ep. 121, 2. So *solet* = *fieri solet*.

popularem rationem] 'the plan of bringing the question before the people.' Cicero means that he and his friends had secured tribunes to veto any such measure, and other magistrates to declare *se servaturos de caelo* (Watson). By the latter arrangement, the step could not be taken *salvis auspiciis*; and by the former, it could not be taken *salvis legibus*; cp. 98, 2.

intercessit . . . intercessissent] Observe the two different meanings of *intercedere* in such close proximity. The *auctoritas* of the senate was probably similar in purport to that given in Fam. viii. 8, 6 (223). That letter is an important *locus* for *senatus consulta*.

97. TO P. LENTULUS SPINTHER, IN CILICIA (FAM. I. 3).

ROME; JANUARY (MIDDLE); A. U. C. 698; B. C. 56; AET. CIC. 50.

A. Trebonii equitis Rom. negotia, quae is habebat in Cilicia, P. Lentulo procos. commendat.

M. CICERO S. D. P. LENTULO PROCOS.

1. A. Trebonio, qui in tua provincia magna negotia et ampla et expedita habet, multos annos utor valde familiariter. Is cum antea semper et suo splendore et nostra ceterorumque amicorum commendatione gratiosissimus in provincia fuit tum hoc tempore propter tuum in me amorem nostramque necessitudinem vehementer confidit his meis litteris se apud te gratiosum fore. 2. Quae ne spes eum fallat vehementer rogo te, commendoque tibi eius omnia negotia, libertos, procuratores, familiam, in primisque ut quae T. Ampius de eius re decrevit ea comprobes omnibusque rebus eum ita tractes ut intellegat meam commendationem non vulgarem fuisse.

1. *magna . . . expedita*] 'important, widely-extended, and solvent business.' *splendore*] his distinguished position as an *eques*. Senators were not allowed to engage in trade.

2. *T. Ampius*] He was the predecessor of Lentulus in the government of Cilicia; he was of praetorian rank.

98. TO P. LENTULUS SPINTHER, IN CILICIA (FAM. I. 4).

ROME; JANUARY 16 (ABOUT); A. U. C. 698; B. C. 56; AET. CIC. 50.

Lentuli causam de Ptolemaeo reducendo calumniis impeditam queritur, sed, nisi vis interverterit, senatus populique Romani studio posse sustentari iudicat.

M. CICERO S. D. P. LENTULO PROCOS.

1. A. d. XVI. Kal. Febr. *cum* in senatu pulcherrime staremus, quod iam illam sententiam Bibuli de tribus legatis pridie eius diei fregeramus, unumque certamen esset relictum *cum* sententia Volcaci, res ab adversariis nostris extracta est variis calumniis. Causam enim frequenti senatu, non magna varietate magnaque invidia eorum qui a te causam regiam alio transferebant, obtinebamus. Eo die acerbum habuimus Curionem, Bibulum multo iustiorem, paene etiam amicum. Caninius et Cato negarunt se legem ullam ante comitia esse laturos. Senatus haberi ante Kalendas Febr. per legem Pupiam, id quod scis, non potest, neque mense Febr.

1. *staremus*] 'stood our ground,' a military expression, like *inclinata* and *laboratur* in Ep. 95.

adversariis nostris] the tribunes and consulars especially.

variis calumniis] 'all kinds of obstruction.'

non magna . . . transferebant] 'there being no great diversity of opinion, but great indignation against those who wished to deprive you of the king's business.' The general feeling of the senate appears to have been against Pompey, and to that extent for Lentulus (cp. 95, 3; 96, 2); accordingly there is no need to alter *non* to *in* with Ernesti; and it seems better to take *eorum* as objective genitive, as *invidia* is hardly the word that would be used of an unprincipled minority.

acerbum habuimus Curionem] Young Curio at this time seems to have belonged to the Crassus party, of which C. Cato and Clodius were the most obtrusive members (Ep. 102, 4); and they were opposed to Lentulus, C. Cato being especially hostile.

legem ullam] For the law of Caninius, cp. Ep. 96, 1. Cato proposed a bill that Lentulus should be deprived of his governorship (cp. 99, 2, *nefaria Catonis promulgatio*).

ante comitia] Koerner (p. 11) seems to think that these words prove that the comitial days of the latter half of January had not begun when this letter was written; and that therefore its date is the evening of the 15th, for the 16th and remaining days of January were comitial days. He considers further that Epp. 96–98 should be all regarded as one letter. He might have adduced as a parallel for a letter beginning with the introduction of a friend passing on to a narrative and discussion of other matters, Fam. 1, 8 (119); xiii. 77 (638); Brut. i. 15 (914). We should then put Ep. 97 before 96. But Ep. 96 seems as if it were completed: *ante comitia* only means before the elections are finished, and they did not take place before January 20 (Ep. 100, 2); and it is unlikely, as Rauschen points out (p. 38), that Cicero in the same letter would have expressed the same sentiment in such very similar words as he has done in 96, 4 and 98, 2 (*salvis auspiciis*, etc.).

Pupiam] which forbade the holding of the senate on *dies comitiales*.

toto nisi perfectis aut reiectis legationibus. 2. Haec tamen opinio est populi Romani, a tuis invidis atque obtrectatoribus nomen inductum fictae religionis, non tam ut te impediret quam ut ne quis propter exercitus cupiditatem Alexandriam vellet ire. Dignitatis autem tuae nemo est quin existimet habitam esse rationem ab senatu. Nemo est enim qui nesciat quo minus discessio fieret per adversarios tuos esse factum: qui nunc populi nomine, re autem vera sceleratissimo tribunorum latrocinio, si quae conabuntur agere, satis mi provisum est ut ne quid salvis auspiciis aut legibus aut etiam sine vi agere possent. 3. Ego neque de meo studio neque de non nullorum iniuria scribendum mihi esse arbitror. Quid enim aut me ostentem, qui, si vitam pro tua dignitate profundam, nullam partem videar meritorum tuorum adsecutus, aut de aliorum iniuriis querar, quod sine summo dolore facere non possum? Ego tibi a vi, hac praesertim imbecillitate magistratuum, praestare nihil possum: vi excepta possum confirmare te et senatus et populi Romani summo studio amplitudinem tuam retenturum.

nisi . . . legationibus] 'unless the hearing of embassies from foreign states is completely got through before the end of February, or deferred to a later period.' The Lex Gabinia, passed 687 (67), provided that the foreign ambassadors should have audience of the senate every day in the month of February.

2. *nomen . . . fictae rel.*] 'the introduction of this sham religious scruple.'

ne quis] This is a covert allusion to Pompey. The oracle was trumped up by the enemies of Lentulus; but they were more anxious to use it as a fetter for Pompey than for Lentulus.

sceleratissimo tribunorum latrocinio] As the Harleian ms (G) has *tiranno* after *sceleratissimo*, and as we find in that ms *tiranni* for *tribuni* (Ep. 96, 1), we may safely alter *tiranno* into *tribunorum*, even though the word is not found in M or R; especially as in 100, 3 Cicero speaks of *latrocinio tribunorum*, 'villany on the part of the tribunes.'

ut ne quid . . . possent] cp. 96, 4.

3. *facere*] i.e. *queri*. This use of *facere* instead of another verb is quite common in Cicero's Epistles (see Index s. v. *facere*) and indeed in Latin generally. The Greeks rarely used δρᾶν in this sense: yet cp. Thuc. ii. 49 τοῦτο ἔδρασαν ἐς τὰ φρέατα.

a vi, . . . praestare] 'I cannot answer for what the effect of a riot may be.' If the tribunes succeeded by force in bringing the matter before the people, they might deprive Lentulus of his government.

99. TO P. LENTULUS SPINTHER, IN CILICIA (FAM. I. 5a).

ROME; BETWEEN FEB. 2 AND 6; A. U. C. 698; B. C. 56; AET. CIC. 50.

Subita C. Catonis promulgatio. Veretur ne causa regia P. Lentulo erepta deseratur.

M. CICERO S. D. P. LENTULO PROCOS.

1. Tametsi mihi nihil fuit optatius quam ut primum abs te ipso, deinde a ceteris omnibus quam gratissimus erga te esse cognoscerer, tamen adficior summo dolore eius modi tempora post tuam profectionem consecuta esse ut et meam et ceterorum erga te fidem et benevolentiam absens experirere. Te videre et sentire eandem fidem esse hominum in tua dignitate quam ego in mea salute sum expertus, ex tuis litteris intellexi. 2. Nos cum maxime consilio, studio, labore, gratia de causa regia niteremur, subito exorta est nefaria Catonis promulgatio, quae nostra studia impediret et animos a minore cura ad summum timorem traduceret. Sed tamen in eius *modi* perturbatione rerum quamquam omnia sunt metuenda, nihil magis quam perfidiam timemus, et Catoni quidem, quoquo modo se res habet, profecto resistimus. 3. De Alexandrina re causaque regia tantum habeo polliceri, me tibi absenti tuisque praesentibus cumulate satis facturum. Sed vereor ne aut eripiatur causa regia nobis aut deseratur: quorum utrum

This letter, though in the mss. joined with Ep. 103, was plainly written at an earlier date, as the affair of Ptolemy is in the latter spoken of as virtually shelved, while here Cicero promises his best services towards furthering the interests of Lentulus in respect of it. Cato promulgated his law between Febr. 2 and Febr. 6 (Ep. 102, 1); and this letter must have been written between these dates; for in Ep. 103 Cicero first relates to Lentulus the events of Febr. 7. Accordingly it should properly come after Ep. 101 as far as chronology is concerned.

1. *in tua dignitate*] 'in a matter involving your public position,' i.e. the *causa regia*.

2. *Catonis promulgatio*] to recall Lentulus from Cilicia. This was of course a source of great alarm (*summus timor*) to the friends of Lentulus; beside it, the question who should restore Ptolemy became quite a *minor cura*, a matter of trifling import. Render *nefaria* 'monstrous.'

modi] added by the old scholars. Such omissions are frequent. C. F. W. Müller gives a large number of most strange omissions in M in his note on this passage (p. 6, l. 22). Lehmann attempts to defend the ms reading by taking *eius* as subjective genitive, and *rerum* as objective, 'in the utter confusion of things which he has caused.' But that is a strange usage of *eius*.

3. *eripiatur*] 'be taken from us' and given to Pompey.

deseratur] 'be let drop,' no one being entrusted with the restoration of the king.

minus velim non facile possum existimare. Sed, si res coget, est quiddam tertium, quod neque Selicio nec mihi displicebat, ut neque iacere rem pateremur nec nobis repugnantibus ad eum deferri ad quem prope iam delata existimatur. A nobis agentur omnia diligenter ut neque, si quid obtineri poterit, non contendamus nec, si quid non obtinuerimus, repulsi esse videamur. 4. Tuae sapientiae magnitudinisque animi est omnem amplitudinem et dignitatem tuam in virtute atque in rebus gestis tuis atque in tua gravitate esse positam existimare: si quid ex iis rebus quas tibi fortuna largita est non nullorum hominum perfidia detraxerit, id maiori illis fraudi quam tibi futurum. A me nullum tempus praetermittitur de tuis rebus et agendi et cogitandi. Utor ad omnia Q. Selicio: neque enim prudentiorem quemquam ex tuis neque fide maiore esse iudico neque amantiorem tui.

100. TO QUINTUS, IN SARDINIA (Q. FR. II. 2).

ROME, JANUARY 17; A. U. C. 698; B. C. 56; AET. CIC. 50.

M. Cicero Q. fratri respondet de Lentuli et Sesti nominibus exigendis et Pomponianis inde dissolvendis, de Culleonis auctione, de Q. fratris aedificatione, de Clodi aedilitatis exspectatione, de rege Alexandrino in regnum reducendo quod actum et decretum sit. Denique frater ut quam primum e Sardinia redeat rogat.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

1. Non occupatione, qua eram sane impeditus, sed parvula lippitudine adductus sum ut dictarem hanc epistulam et non, ut ad te soleo, ipse scriberem. Et primum me tibi excuso in eo ipso in quo te accuso: me enim nemo adhuc rogavit 'num quid in Sardiniam vellem,' te puto saepe habere qui 'num quid Romam

Selicio] A banker: cp. Att. i. 12, 1 (17), and 158, 2, note.

rem] So Martyni-Laguna for *regem* of the mss: cp. 102, 1. The reading is very doubtful because it necessitates the alteration of *delatum* into *delata*, which has only the very slight support of Codex Guelferbytanus quartus. The suggestion of Wesenberg to add *negotium* after *eum* is very attractive. We are not at all certain that *regem* may not be right, and think that *iacere* may mean 'to be ruined': cp. Att. ii. 6 fin. (33). It would then be necessary to read *delatus* for *delatum*.

4. *esse positam*] See Adn. Crit.

1. *num . . . vellem*] 'have I any commands for Sardinia.'

velis' quaerant. Quod ad me Lentuli et Sesti nomine scripsisti, locutus sum cum Cincio. Quoquo modo res se habet, non est facillima. Sed habet profecto quiddam Sardinia appositum ad recordationem praeteritae memoriae: nam ut ille Gracchus augur, postea quam in istam provinciam venit, recordatus est quid sibi in campo Martio comitia consularia habenti contra auspicia accidisset, sic tu mihi videris in Sardinia de forma Numisiana et de nominibus Pomponianis in otio recogitasse. Ego adhuc emi nihil. Culleonis auctio facta est. Tusculano emptor nemo fuit. Si condicio valde bona fuerit, fortassis non omittam. 2. De aedificatione tua Cyrum urgere non cesso. Spero eum in officio fore. Sed omnia sunt tardiora propter furiosae aedilitatis exspectationem. Nam comitia sine mora futura videntur: edicta sunt *in* a. d. XI. Kal. Febr. Te tamen sollicitum esse nolo; omne genus a nobis cautionis adhibebitur. 3. De rege Alexandrino factum est senatus consultum, cum multitudine eum reduci periculosum rei publicae videri. Reliqua cum esset in senatu contentio Lentulusne an Pompeius reduceret, obtinere causam Lentulus videbatur—in ea re nos et officio erga Lentulum mirifice et voluntati Pompei praeclare satis fecimus,—sed per obtrectatores Lentuli calumnia extracta est. Consecuti sunt dies comitiales, per quos senatus haberi non poterat. Quid futurum sit latrocinio tribunorum non divino, sed tamen suspicor per vim rogationem Caninium perla-

nomine] Man. adds *de* before *Lentuli*. Then we may suppose that Lentulus and Sestius owed money to Quintus, which he was anxious to collect, so that he might with it defray a debt of his to Atticus; hence *nominibus Pomponianis* below. But it is perhaps better to adhere to the ms reading, and take *nomine* in the common sense of 'on behalf of.'

Cincio] an agent of Atticus.

Sed habet . . . memoriae] 'but surely Sardinia must have some property of refreshing one's memory of the past.' The story about the father of the Gracchi which follows is told by Cicero in De Nat. Deor. ii. 11. Cp. *veteris memoriae recordatio*, De Or. i. 4; *memoriam recordari*, Arch. 1.

forma] the plan, design of a house or villa which Numisius, an architect, had drawn for Cicero: for *forma* cp. 201, 1; and for Q. Cicero's buildings, cp. 106, 3.

Tusculano] Cicero had advertised his Tusculanum for sale in the October of the previous year (Ep. 91, 7). Here he seems reluctant (*fortassis*) to sell unless he gets a very favourable offer. The view that the Tusculanum here mentioned was Culleo's, not Cicero's, is most unlikely. Cicero would have added *eius*.

2. *Cyrum*] the architect.

furiosae aedilitatis] of Clodius.

3. *videbatur . . . est*] We have punctuated this passage according to the suggestion of Lehmann (Quaest. Tull. 121, 122), and thus are not obliged to add *res* before *est*, for *causa* can be readily understood from *causam* above. No doubt Cicero, in Ep. 98, 1, has *res . . . extracta est*; but he uses *causa* for the same thing in the next sentence: cp. *Alexandrina causa* (103, 1). Render *calumnia* 'obstruction.'

rogationem] The bill of Caninius (cp. 98, 1) was that Pompey, with two lictors, should restore Ptolemy: see Plut. Pomp. 49.

turum. In ea re Pompeius quid velit non dispicio. Familiares eius quid cupiant omnes vident. Creditores vero regis aperte pecunias suppeditant contra Lentulum. Sine dubio res a Lentulo remota videtur esse, cum magno meo dolore, quamquam multa fecit qua re, si fas esset, iure ei suscensere possemus. 4. Tu, si ita expedit, velim quam primum bona et certa tempestate conscendas ad meque venias. Innumerabiles enim res sunt in quibus te cotidie in omni genere desiderem. Tui nostrique valent. XIIII. Kal. Febr.

101. TO ATTICUS, RETURNING TO ROME (ATT. IV. 4a).

ROME; JANUARY 20; A. U. C. 698; B. C. 56; AET. CIC. 50.

M. Cicero Attico significat sibi periucundum Cincii nuntium fuisse de Attici adventu in Italiam.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Periucundus mihi Cincius fuit ante diem tertium Kalend. Febr. ante lucem. Dixit enim mihi te esse in Italia seseque ad te pueros mittere, quos sine meis litteris ire nolui, non quo haberem quod tibi, praesertim iam prope praesenti, scriberem, sed ut hoc ipsum significarem, mihi tuum adventum suavissimum exspectatissimumque esse. Qua re advola ad nos eo animo ut nos ames, te amari scias. Cetera coram agemus. Haec properantes scripsimus. Quo die venies, utique cum tuis apud me sis.

multa fecit] Lentulus was one of those to whose supineness or jealousy Cicero ascribed the inadequacy of his indemnification.

si fas esset] because Lentulus had been active in bringing about the restoration of Cicero.

4. *ita expedit*] See Adn. Crit.

Qua re advola] 'so fly to meet me, full of your affectionate regard for me, and of the assurance that it is fully returned.'

utique . . . sis] In a learned discussion Heidemann (*De Ciceronis in Epistulis verborum Ellipsis usu*, pp. 93–101) examines the passages in which editors have in one way or another refused to allow in Cicero the second person of the present subjunctive to stand for the imperative. It is quite common in Plautus; see Prof. Sonnenschein's note to Most. 1129, and Dräger, i. p. 311. So that it is unreasonable to refuse it to the familiar style of Cicero's letters. Accordingly we have not added *fac* either here or in Ep. 158 fin.

102. TO QUINTUS, IN SARDINIA (Q. FR. II. 3).

ROME, FEBRUARY 12 AND 15, A. U. C. 698; B. C. 56; AET. CIC. 50.

M. Cicero Q. fratri exponit de iudicio T. Milonis a P. Clodio de vi accusati, de rebus in senatu actis, de P. Sestio bis accusato, de senatus consulto VI. Id. Febr. facto, de oratione pro Bestia a se dicta, de rebus domesticis.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

1. Scripsi ad te antea superiora: nunc cognosce postea quae sint acta. A. Kal. Febr. legationes in Idus Febr. reiciebantur. Eo die res confecta non est. A. d. IIII. Non. Febr. Milo adfuit: ei Pompeius advocatus venit. Dixit Marcellus a me rogatus. Honeste discessimus. Prodicta dies est in VIII. Id. Febr. Interim

1. *superiora*] Up to Jan. 17, the date of his last letter to Quintus. Sternkopf (in *Hermes* 39, p. 401) shows that a letter of Cicero's relating the events of the latter half of January has probably been lost. It told of the election of Clodius to the aedileship, the first accusation of Milo by Clodius, C. Cato's bill about Milo, the *rogatio Canini de Pompeio* (100. 3), and other matters.

Kal. Febr. . . . non est] Sternkopf has rightly explained this passage. He leaves out *a* (of the mss) before *Kal.*, supposing it due to dittography. Cicero is relating the events of the several days. On the 1st a motion was made to postpone the audience of ambassadors to the 13th, but the matter was not settled on that day. *Reiciebantur* is a 'conative imperfect,' and *res* is the postponement.

Milo adfuit] Milo was being prosecuted by Clodius, who was aedile, in a *iudicium populi*. Mr. Greenidge (*Legal Procedure in Cicero's Time*, p. 345) has excellently described the procedure in such a case. The magistrate first held a preliminary investigation (*anquisitio*) before an informal meeting (*contio*) which he had summoned. This meeting was held anew on two subsequent days, on the latter of which the final form of the accusation was agreed upon and embodied in a bill. This was duly promulgated, and after the legal interval of a *trinundinum* brought before the *comitia*. The *comitia* were preceded by a *contio*, at which the magistrate urged reasons for his charge; and as that *contio* was the fourth *contio* before which the accusing magistrate appeared, his exposition of the charge thereat is called *quarta accusatio*: cp. Pro Domo 45 *cum tam moderata iudicia populi sint a maioribus constituta . . . ne inprodicta die quis accusaretur, ut ter ante magistratus accuset intermissa die quam multam inroget aut iudicet, quarta sit accusatio trinum nundinum prodicta die, quo die iudicium sit futurum*, and Appian B. C. i. 74. The three preliminary 'accusations' against Milo occurred Febr. 2, 6, and 17 (see §§ 2, 3), while the *quarta accusatio* was fixed for May 7 (Ep. 106, 4). Mr. Greenidge goes on to notice that the first, second, and fourth of these days are *nefasti*, and the third, as being a festival, is marked NP; and subsequently (p. 457) he states that trials were held indifferently on *fasti* and *nefasti dies*, on comitial days and on those marked NP; so that he justly considers that the opinion that *contiones* could not be held on *dies nefasti* cannot be sustained.

Honeste discessimus] 'we had the best of the fight,' 'we came off with the honours of war.'

VIII.] So Man. for VII. of the mss: cp. Ep. 103, 1 *apud populum a.d. VIII. Idus Febr., cum pro Milone diceret*, where

reiectis legationibus in Idus referebatur de prouinciis quaestorum et de ornandis praetoribus. Sed res multis querelis de re publica interponendis nulla transacta est. C. Cato legem promulgavit de imperio Lentulo abrogando; vestitum filius mutavit. 2. A. d. VIII. Id. Febr. Milo adfuit. Dixit Pompeius sive voluit. Nam ut surrexit, operae Clodianae clamorem sustulerunt, idque ei perpetua oratione contigit, non modo ut acclamatione sed ut convicio et maledictis impediretur. Qui ut peroravit—nam in eo sane fortis fuit, non est deterritus, dixit omnia atque interdum etiam silentio, cum auctoritate peregerat—sed ut peroravit, surrexit Clodius. Ei tantus clamor a nostris—placuerat enim referre gratiam—ut neque mente nec lingua neque ore consisteret. Ea res acta est, cum hora VI. vix Pompeius perorasset, usque ad horam VIII., cum omnia maledicta, versus denique obscenissimi in Clodium et Clodiam dicerentur. Ille furens et exsanguis interrogabat suos in clamore ipso, quis esset qui plebem fame necaret. Respondebant operae :

MG have *octavo* written in full. This leads also to the alteration of VIII. for VII. in § 2, of VII. for VI. at the beginning of § 3, and of VIII. for VI. in the senatorial decree quoted in that section; see Koerner, p. 13. Nothing is more frequent in manuscripts than blunders as regards numerals.

ornandis] *Ornare* is applied to *provincias*, meaning to provide the magistrates appointed for the provinces with the requisite supplies; Att. iii. 24, 1 (85).

legem] cp. 99, 2.

filius] son of Lentulus, the governor of Cilicia. He assumed mourning to bespeak sympathy with his father, according to the custom which prevailed in ancient Rome.

2. *perpetua oratione*] 'throughout his whole speech'; the abl. of *duration* is only used with a word of duration, esp. *totus, omnis*.

peregerat] The change of tense is strange. Cicero had perhaps intended to say 'he had barely concluded when Clodius rose,' but changed the sentence hastily. Madvig and Sternkopf, after Gulielmus, wish to read *perfregerat*, 'after he had broken down opposition by the weight of his influence,' quoting for the omission of the accusative Orat. 97 *haec (eloquentia) modo perfringit, modo irrepit in sensus*, where, however, the accusative *sensus* can be easily supplied from the next clause. For other suggestions see Adn. Crit.

sed] For *sed* resumptive, cp. note to Att. i. 10, 1 (6).

clamor a nostris] sc. *factus est*: cp. below *ne quid in turba* (sc. *fieret*) and Att. xiv. 5, 1 (707) *ab aleatore φυρμὸς πολύς* (sc. *fit*).

referre gratiam] ironically, 'to return the compliment'; *retulisse gratiam* is 'to return the compliment,' 'to give as good as one got,' cp. Sull. 47 *quod si esses usu atque aetate robustior, essem idem qui soleo cum sum lacessitus; nunc tecum sic agam tulisse ut potius iniuriam quam retulisse gratiam videar*.

consisteret] 'he lost all control over his faculties, his voice, and his countenance': cp. *mente consistere*, Phil. ii. 68.

interrogabat suos] On the whole of this scene cp. Dio Cass. xxxix. 18, 19; Plut. Pomp. 48 fin. This latter passage is worth quoting, *τέλος δὲ, προελθόντος αὐτοῦ* (Pompeius) *πρός τινα δίκην, ἔχων* (Clodius) *ὑφ' αὑτῷ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἀσελγείας καὶ ὀλιγωρίας μεστὸν, αὐτὸς μὲν εἰς ἐπιφανῆ τόπον κατασταὶς ἐρωτήματα τοιαῦτα προὔβαλλε, "τίς ἐστιν αὐτοκράτωρ ἀκόλαστος; τίς ἀνὴρ ἄνδρα ζητεῖ; τίς ἑνὶ δακτύλῳ κνᾶται τὴν κεφαλήν;" οἱ δὲ, ὥσπερ χόρος εἰς ἀμοιβαῖα συγκεκροτημένος, ἐκείνου τὴν τήβεννον ἀνασείοντος, ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ μέγα βοῶντες ἀπεκρίναντο "Πομπήϊος."*

'Pompeius.' Quis Alexandream ire cuperet. Respondebant: 'Pompeius.' Quem ire vellent. Respondebant: 'Crassum.' Is aderat tum Miloni animo non amico. Hora fere IX., quasi signo dato, Clodiani nostros consputare coeperunt. Exarsit dolor. Urgere illi ut loco nos moverent. Factus est a nostris impetus; fuga operarum; eiectus de rostris Clodius, ac nos quoque tum fugimus, ne quid in turba. Senatus vocatus in curiam: Pompeius domum. Neque ego tamen in senatum, ne aut de tantis rebus tacerem aut in Pompeio defendendo—nam is carpebatur a Bibulo, Curione, Favonio, Servilio filio—animos bonorum virorum offenderem. Res in posterum dilata est. Clodius in Quirinalia prodixit diem. 3. A. d. VII. Id. Febr. senatus ad Apollinis fuit, ut Pompeius adesset. Acta res est graviter a Pompeio. Eo die nihil perfectum est. A. d. VI. Id. Febr. ad Apollinis senatus consultum factum est, ea quae facta essent a.d. VIII. Id. Febr. contra rem publicam esse facta. Eo die Cato vehementer est in Pompeium invectus et eum oratione perpetua tamquam reum accusavit. De me multa me invito cum mea summa laude dixit. Cum illius in me perfidiam increparet, auditus est magno silentio malevolorum. Respondit ei vehementer Pompeius Crassumque descripsit dixitque aperte se munitiorem ad custodiendam vitam

Crassum] This is the first hint that Crassus desired the office of restoring Ptolemy. Perhaps it was merely an empty compliment to Crassus on the part of the bravoes of Clodius, who observed that Crassus was opposed to Milo, as we read in the next sentence, *Miloni animo non amico*. He was on the spot, *is aderat tum*, and that suggested the shout.

de rostris] The scene of the riot was the *forum*. Clodius prosecuted Milo before the *Comitia tributa*.

ne quid in turba] sc. *fieret*.

curiam] sc. Hostiliam.

in posterum] For *diem* omitted cp. Fam. x. 12, 3 (838), Att. x. 14, 3 (400).

Quirinalia] Feb. 17.

3. *ad Apollinis*] It is conjectured by Man. that the temple of Apollo was near the house of Pompey, who could thus more conveniently attend the senate, as he could more easily elude the violence of the Clodian roughs. We read in this letter that Pompey thought his life was in danger. But, no doubt, Sternkopf is right in thinking that the meeting was held outside the *pomerium*, because Pompey could not, owing to the *imperium* which he held as *curator rei frumentariae*, attend any meeting of the senate held within the walls. The temple of Apollo was outside the walls (Liv. xxxvii. 58, 3).

a.d. VIII.] So Manutius: cp. note to § 1. It is hardly likely, as was suggested in the previous edition, that we should read <*ad*> *a. d.* VI.; for in a formal document we should expect the anterior as well as the posterior limit of time to be specified. The serious disturbance occurred on the 6th (*a. d.* VIII.).

perfidiam] cp. Plut. Cic. 31.

malevolorum] that is, the enemies of Pompey, cp. 103, 1.

descripsit] 'alluded to' Crassus without mentioning his name. He hinted that Crassus was plotting against his life, and that he would take better care of himself than Scipio Africanus the younger, 'who was murdered,' said Pompey, 'by Papirius Carbo.' Cicero does not state that Carbo was the murderer of Scipio, but only that Pompey stated that he was:

suam fore quam Africanus fuisset quem C. Carbo interemisset. 4. Itaque magnae mihi res iam moveri videbantur. Nam Pompeius haec intellegit nobiscumque communicat insidias vitae suae fieri, C. Catonem a Crasso sustentari, Clodio pecuniam suppeditari, utrumque et ab eo et a Curione, Bibulo ceterisque suis obtrectatoribus confirmari; vehementer esse providendum ne opprimatur contionario illo populo a se prope alienato, nobilitate inimica, non aequo senatu, iuventute improba. Itaque se comparat, homines ex agris arcessit. Operas autem suas Clodius confirmat. Manus ad Quirinalia paratur: in ea multo sumus superiores ipsius copiis. Sed magna manus ex Piceno et Gallia exspectatur, ut etiam Catonis rogationibus de Milone et Lentulo resistamus. 5. A. d. IIII. Id. Febr. Sestius ab indice Cn. Nerio Pupinia *de* ambitu est postulatus et eodem die a quodam P. Tullio de vi. Is erat aeger. Domum, ut debuimus, ad eum statim venimus eique nos totos tradidimus,

this is shown by the mood of *interemisset*. If Cicero had wished to express his own opinion, he would have written *interemit*: cp. apud Hypanim fluvium qui ab Europae parte in Pontum *influit* (this is the observation of the speaker) Aristoteles ait bestiolas quasdam nasci quae unum diem *vivant* (observation of Ar. reported by the speaker), Tusc. i. 94. Charges of being guilty of the murder of Scipio were brought against various persons merely as party spirit made such charges convenient. Ihne (*Röm. Gesch.* v. 456 foll.) comes to the conclusion that Scipio died a natural death. Pompey chose to ascribe the crime to C. Papirius Carbo, to whom he compares Cato, as the modern plotter of assassination. Mommsen (iii. 104) thinks that Scipio was murdered, and that 'the instigator of the deed must have belonged to the Gracchan party.'

4. *contionario illo populo*] Boot (Obs. Crit. 33) wishes to read <*a*> *contionario illo* (sc. *Clodio*), *populo*, &c., on the ground that Cicero generally uses *contionalis*, not *contionarius*, cp. Att. i. 16, 11 (22); and that in the *contiones* the *plebs* rather than the *populus* were prominent. We may reply that the word Cicero uses for a demagogue is *contionator*, not *contionarius*, cp. Cat. iv. 9 *quid interesset inter levitatem contionatorum et animum vere popularem*; and that *contionario populo* indicated the inferior orders of the *populus*, not the majority of the *populus*, whose feelings Pompey would be slow to acknowledge were estranged from him.

in ea] 'for it,' i.e. the Quirinalia (the struggle which is to come off on Feb. 17). *Ea* has been universally changed to *eo*, which is supposed to refer to the trial of Milo; but *ea*, the reading of M, gives a far better sense. For the use of *in* cp. *invitavit in posteram diem*, Cic. Off. iii. 58; *solis defectiones praedicuntur in multos annos*, Div. ii. 17; *in tempus conficta, in diem vivere*, &c. We might also read *in eam*, sc. *manum*.

ipsius] Possibly Pompey is meant. But more probably the reference is to the forces of Clodius, and *copiis* is ablative after the comparative 'superior to the forces of Clodius.' For the ingenious suggestion of Sternkopf that we should add *Milonis*, transferring it from 93, 1, see Addenda to the Commentary, Note v.

de Milone] Cato would appear to have brought some charge against Milo for keeping a body-guard of gladiators and *bestiarii*: cp. 105, 5.

5. *Pupinia*] of the Pupinian tribe.

de ambitu] The early scholars added *de*. Baiter reads *ambitus*; but this construction is not Ciceronian.

P. Tullio] So Wesenberg reads for *M. Tullio*, comparing Schol. Bobiensia in Orat. pro Sestio (p. 292, l. 9, Orelli) *accusare de vi P. Clodius Sestium coepit immisso velut principe delationis P. Albinovano*. His full name was P. Tullius Albinovanus.

nos totos] 'placed myself entirely at his service' (Jeans).

idque fecimus praeter hominum opinionem, qui nos ei iure suscensere putabant, ut humanissimi gratissimique et ipsi et omnibus videremur, itaque faciemus. Sed idem Nerius index edidit ad adlegatos Cn. Lentulum Vatiam et C. Cornelium :†ista ei. Eodem die senatus consultum factum est, UT SODALITATES DECURIATIQUE DISCEDERENT LEXQUE DE IIS FERRETUR, UT QUI NON DISCESSISSENT EA POENA QUAE EST DE VI TENERENTUR. 6. A. d. III. Id. Febr. dixi pro Bestia de ambitu apud praetorem Cn. Domitium in foro medio maximo conventu, incidique in eum locum in dicendo cum Sestius multis in templo Castoris vulneribus acceptis subsidio Bestiae servatus esset. Hic προῳκονομησάμην quiddam εὐκαίρως de his quae in Sestium

iure suscensere] See Ep. 104, § 1; beyond his general moroseness of character, Sestius does not seem to have done anything to earn the dislike of Cicero. We read, however, in Cicero's letters from exile, Att. iii. 23, 4 (83), that Cicero much disliked the bill which Sestius drew up for his restoration.

ut . . . videremur] 'so that I am thought.'

itaque] here = 'and so,' not 'therefore,' 'and I mean to be as good as my word' (Jeans).

ad adlegatos] It would appear that *adlegati* were unofficial or semi-official negotiators as contrasted with *legati*, fully official negotiators. Here it is supposed that the *adlegati* were either people sent by Sestius to negotiate with Nerius (Madvig), or persons deputed by the praetor to receive or sift evidence in particular cases as a preliminary to a trial. This is not unlikely in the present case, as Nerius would appear to have been an obscure personage. (In Cluent. 39 the inferior mss give *inter allegatos*, but the right reading is almost certainly *alligatum*). Madvig conjectures *instare* for the corrupt *ista ei*: then the sense of the whole passage will be 'Nerius stated to the deputies sent by Sestius (or the praetor) that Vatia and Cornelius were threatening to accuse Sestius.' If we suppose the corrupt words not to belong closely to the sentence, we must understand that Nerius mentioned the names of Vatia and Cornelius as somehow connected with the trial. It has been also suggested that we should read *ad adligatos*, and interpret 'in addition to those already implicated': but that would be a most unusual form of expression. Professor Ellis conjectures *adalligatos*, 'were compromised as well.' Mr. Warde Fowler (*Classical Review*, ii. 40) has suggested a most ingenious and learned interpretation of the passage. He would read with Wesenberg *edidit adligatos*, and translate 'named as witnesses.' What an obscure informer would want would be witnesses to confirm what he stated. And *adligati* does seem to have been an untechnical word applied to witnesses, cp. Isidore, Origines v. 23 *Testes sunt a quibus quaeritur veritas in iudicio quos quisque ante iudicium sibi placitis alligat: nec cui sit postea liberum aut dissimulare aut subtrahere se: unde et alligati appellantur.* Mr. Warde Fowler further considers *ista ei* to be a corruption of a gloss *testes*. It is just possible that *ad adlegatos* might be retained and *testes* read for *ista ei*. But the passage still remains doubtful. Wesenberg has proposed to read *et L. Bestiam*: but this is somewhat improbable, as Cicero defended Bestia on a charge of *ambitus* the next day. Mr. Warde Fowler has shown that in *edere* in this passage there can be no reference to the use of that word in cases of *sodalicia* (as was suggested in the former edition), for the Licinian Law on that subject was not passed until 699 (55).

SODALITATES DECURIATIQUE] 'political clubs and caucuses.' The *SCtum* was a declaratory act that all such assemblages should be subject to the penalties enacted under the Leges *de vi*. These would include electioneering clubs, which were, in all probability, especially aimed at by the *SCtum*: cp. Holden's Introduction to the *pro Plancio*, p. xxxii, § 21.

6. προῳκονομησάμην] 'introduced be-

apparabantur crimina, et eum ornavi veris laudibus, magno adsensu omnium. Res homini fuit vehementer grata. Quae tibi eo scribo quod me de retinenda Sesti gratia litteris saepe monuisti. 7. Pridie Id. Febr. haec scripsi ante lucem: eo die apud Pomponium in eius nuptiis eram cenaturus. Cetera sunt in rebus nostris huius modi *ut* tu mihi fere diffidenti praedicabas, plena dignitatis et gratiae: quae quidem tua, mi frater, patientia, virtute, pietate, suavitate etiam tibi mihique sunt restituta. Domus tibi ad lacum Pisonis Liciniana conducta est. Sed, ut spero, paucis mensibus, post Kalendas Quint. in tuam commigrabis. Tuam in Carinis mundi habitatores Lamiae conduxerunt. A te post illam Ulbiensem epistulam nullas litteras accepi. Quid agas et ut te oblectes scire cupio maximeque te ipsum videre quam primum. Cura, mi frater, ut valeas, et quamquam est hiems, tamen Sardiniam istam esse cogites. xv. Kalend. Mart.

forehand,' i.e. introduced a eulogy on Sestius as a sort of 'vaunt-courier' to my forthcoming speech in his defence.

7. *nuptiis*] the marriage of Atticus to Pilia.

Cetera sunt] Koerner (*op. cit.*, p. 15) supposes that the passage from these words to the end of the letter forms the fragment of another letter written to Quintus three days later (§ 7 *fin.*) than §§ 1–6, which was written on Febr. 12 (§ 7 *init.*), mainly on the grounds that there is a want of connexion between this passage and the preceding, and that it is unlikely that Cicero would not have related what happened on the Ides. But the senate was occupied on the Ides with hearing embassies (§ 1 *init.*), and Cicero may well have considered that they were of little interest to Quintus. Elsewhere we find that Cicero wrote portions of letters on different days, cp. Att. iii. 22 (81) and Q. Fr. iii. 1 (148); and the fact that he may have done so here may have caused the slight want of connexion in the topics.

etiam] because *suavitas* was not to be expected from Quintus as much as the the other qualities mentioned.

lacum] the ordinary reading is *lucum*: but Boot (Obs. Crit. 33) points out that *luci* generally bear the names of divinities, whereas *lacus* were called after men (e. g. *lacum Servilium*, Rosc. Am. 89).

post Kal. Quint.] The 1st July was the usual period for the expiry of the terms of occupancy of rented houses in Rome: Suet. Tib. 35 (Man.).

mundi] 'respectable tenants.'

Ulbiensem] from Ulbia or Olbia, the chief port of Sardinia. For the form cp. Adn. Crit.

quamquam est hiems] that is, the least unhealthy season.

103. TO P. LENTULUS SPINTHER, IN CILICIA (FAM. I. 5b).

ROME; AFTER FEBRUARY 8; A. U. C. 698; B. C. 56; AET. CIC. 50.

Causa regia a Cn. Pompeio iam paene derelicta sibi videri scribit ut rex ad P. Lentulum restituendi sui causa se conferat.

M. CICERO S. D. P. LENTULO PROCOS.

1. Hic quae aguntur quaeque acta sunt, ea te et litteris multorum et nuntiis cognosse arbitror: quae autem posita sunt in coniectura quaeque videntur fore, ea puto tibi a me scribi oportere. Postea quam Pompeius et apud populum a. d. VIII. Idus Febr., cum pro Milone diceret, clamore convicioque iactatus est in senatuque a Catone aspere et acerbe inimicorum magno silentio est accusatus, visus est mihi vehementer esse perturbatus. Itaque Alexandrina causa, quae nobis adhuc integra est—nihil enim tibi detraxit senatus nisi id quod per eandem religionem dari alteri non potest—videtur ab illo plane esse deposita. 2. Nunc id speramus idque molimur ut rex, cum intellegat sese quod cogitabat, ut a Pompeio reducatur, adsequi non posse et, nisi per te sit restitutus, desertum se atque abiectum fore, proficiscatur ad te: quod sine ulla dubitatione, si Pompeius paullum modo ostenderit sibi placere, faciet. Sed nosti hominis tarditatem et taciturnitatem. Nos tamen nihil quod ad eam rem pertineat praetermittimus. Ceteris iniuriis quae propositae sunt a Catone facile, ut spero, resistemus. Amicum ex consularibus neminem tibi esse video praeter Hortensium et Lucullum: ceteri sunt partim obscurius iniqui, partim non dissimulanter irati. Tu fac animo forti magnoque sis speresque fore ut fracto impetu levissimi hominis tuam pristinam dignitatem et gloriam consequare.

This letter was written after the 8th February: cp. *in senatuque a Catone aspere et acerbe . . . est accusatus* with 102, 3 *eo die (vi Id. Febr.) Cato vehementer est in Pompeium invectus.*

1. *sunt*] See Adn. Crit.

inimicorum] So we read with Weinhold for *nimium* of the mss. He compares 102, 3 *auditus est magno silentio malevolorum.* It is true that *nimium* = *valde*, 'very,' in Plautus often; e.g. Trin. 28, 34, 931, 936; but this usage is not found in Cicero. Lambinus, influenced apparently by this consideration, had suggested *omnium*.

2. *levissimi hominis*] Cato, who sought to deprive Lentulus of his government; cp. 102, 1.

104. TO P. LENTULUS SPINTHER, IN CILICIA (FAM. I. 6).

ROME; MIDDLE OF FEBRUARY; A. U. C. 698; B. C. 56; AET. CIC. 50.

Consolatur P. Lentulum de tardo speratae rei progressu et exigua spe relicta ad animi magnitudinem adhortatur.

M. CICERO S. D. P. LENTULO PROCOS.

1. Quae gerantur accipies ex Pollione, qui omnibus negotiis non interfuit solum sed praefuit. Me in summo dolore, quem in tuis rebus capio, maxime scilicet consolatur spes, quod valde suspicor fore ut infringatur hominum improbitas et consiliis tuorum amicorum et ipsa die, quae debilitat cogitationes et inimicorum et proditorum tuorum. 2. Facile secundo loco me consolatur recordatio meorum temporum, quorum imaginem video in rebus tuis. Nam etsi minore in re violatur tua dignitas quam mea adflicta est, tamen est tanta similitudo ut sperem te mihi ignoscere, si ea non timuerim, quae ne tu quidem umquam timenda duxisti. Sed praesta te eum qui mihi a teneris, ut Graeci dicunt, unguiculis es cognitus. Illustrabit, mihi crede, tuam amplitudinem hominum iniuria. A me omnia summa in te studia officiaque exspecta: non fallam opinionem tuam.

Plainly this letter, which contains no news, was written merely because Pollio happened to be going to Cilicia. The fact that there was nothing very important to speak about would tend to fix the date of this letter at some time shortly after the preceding. It would seem that Cato's law, which had been promulgated at the beginning of February (102, 1), was not being pressed vigorously, and Cicero anticipates that lapse of time will bring it to nought.

1. *Pollione*] C. Asinius Pollio, from whom we have three letters to Cicero, Fam. x. 31–33, and to whom is addressed the 1st Ode of Horace's Second Book. On Pollio see vol. vi, pp. lxxx ff.

non . . . praefuit] 'took not only a part, but a leading part.'

ipsa die] 'simple lapse of time'; hence *dies* is fem.: cp. Mayor on Juv. x. 265.

2. *mea*] Aldus suggests *mea salus*, comparing 99, 1 *te . . . sentire eandem fidem esse hominum in tua dignitate quam ego in mea salute sum expertus.*

a teneris . . . unguiculis] ἐξ ἁπαλῶν ὀνύχων. Cp. Hor. Carm. iii. 6, 24, *de tenero meditatur ungui.* On that passage Orelli agrees with Unger, who maintains the meaning of the phrase to be *from my very heart of hearts*, not *from the earliest years.* Pollux tells us that the tradition was, that the nerves had their *termini* under the nails. For other passages in favour of this interpretation see Orelli's note on Hor. Carm. iii. 6, 24.

105. TO QUINTUS, IN SARDINIA (Q. FR. II. 4).

ROME; LATTER HALF OF MARCH; A. U. C. 698; B. C. 56; AET CIC. 50.

M. Cicero Q. fratri scribit de P. Sestio absoluto et de P. Vatinio in iudicio Sestiano vexato, de filii studiis, de suae et fraternae domus aedificatione, de Tullia Crassipedi despondenda, de rebus suis. Tum exponit de rebus Romanis et Lentuli Marcellini consulis in coercendis Clodianorum insanis conatibus studium promptum significat.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

1. Sestius noster absolutus est a. d. v. Id. Mart. et, quod vehementer interfuit rei publicae nullam videri in eius modi causa dissensionem esse, omnibus sententiis absolutus est. Illud quod

This letter, which, according to the Mommsenian arrangement, consists of Epp. 4 + 6, §§ 3–7, is resolved by Rauschen, p. 39 f., into fragments of two letters, the conclusion of one (= §§ 1, 2) and the beginning of the other (§§ 3–7) being lost. His arguments are interesting—(1) The acquittal of Sext. Clodius, § 6, occurred a few days before the delivery of the *Pro Caelio*, and that speech was delivered (Cael. 1) during the Megalesia (April 4 to 10), and before the Nones, therefore on the 4th. It was delivered before the Nones, because no mention is made of that speech in 106, which relates the events after the Nones, up to Cicero's departure on the 8th. It would be certainly curious if Cicero made no mention to his brother of the speech *Pro Caelio*. But he seems to have written a letter to Quintus on the 4th: cp. Q. Fr. ii. 5 init., *Dederam ad te litteras antea quibus erat scriptum Tulliam nostram Crassipedi pr. Non April. esse desponsam ceteraque de re publica privataque perscripseram*. Rauschen accordingly considers that §§ 3–7 are the latter portion of that letter, and that the beginning is lost. Sternkopf (*op. cit.*, p. 405 ff.) thinks §§ 3–7 are the conclusion of a letter written towards the end of March; and that between that letter and Ep. 106 an epistle has been lost which was written on April 4. He thinks that §§ 3–7 cannot belong to the letter of April 4, for it would have mentioned the *Or. pro Caelio* in § 6. But it probably mentioned that oration in the earlier portion which is lost, and there was no need to refer to it again. (2) Again, the acquittal of Sestius, which occurred on March 11, is mentioned in § 1, in such a way that it is plainly the first information given to Quintus of that event. Are we to suppose that Cicero let a whole fortnight at the very least elapse from the acquittal of Sestius before he informed his brother about it? We reply that this may possibly have been the case. Letter-carriers cannot have been very frequently going to Sardinia, and possibly they went very irregularly. So there is no reason why we may not suppose that §§ 1–2 were written shortly after the acquittal of Sestius, and §§ 3 to 7 added afterwards to the letter before it was despatched. That will account for the second mention of the building operations (§ 3: cp. § 2), and the second allusion to public affairs (§ 4: cp. § 1). See what is said below with regard to Q. Fr. iii. 1 (148). Mommsen's arrangement of these letters fits so well, that one is loth to disturb it except under the most serious compulsion. For further, see Addenda to the Commentary, Note v.

1. *quod . . . interfuit*] sc. *nullam . . . esse.*

Illud quod . . . iudicaremur] 'As to one thing that I know always distressed you—the fear lest I should give some enemy the chance of upbraiding me as ungrateful for not putting up with Sestius' unreasonableness in some matters as good-humouredly as possible—let me tell you I have gained by this trial credit for the highest gratitude.' Sestius seems to have been a cross-grained person, but Cicero owed him gratitude for his exertions in his behalf when in exile. For *humanitas*, 'the behaviour of cultivated society,' as opp. to *perversitas*, '*outré* conduct,' cp. Off. i. 145.

tibi curae saepe esse intellexeram, ne cui iniquo relinqueremus vituperandi locum, qui nos ingratos esse diceret, nisi illius perversitatem quibusdam in rebus quam humanissime ferremus, scito hoc nos in eo iudicio consecutos esse ut omnium gratissimi iudicaremur. Nam defendendo moroso homini cumulatissime satis fecimus et, id quod ille maxime cupiebat, Vatinium, a quo palam oppugnabatur, arbitratu nostro concidimus dis hominibusque plaudentibus. Quin etiam Paullus noster cum testis productus esset in Sestium, confirmavit se nomen Vatini delaturum, si Macer Licinius cunctaretur, et Macer ab Sesti subselliis surrexit ac se illi non defuturum adfirmavit. Quid quaeris? Homo petulans et audax, Vatinius, valde perturbatus debilitatusque discessit. 2. Q. filius tuus, puer optimus, eruditur egregie. Hoc nunc magis animum adverto, quod Tyrannio docet apud me. Domus utriusque nostrum aedificatur strenue. Redemptori tuo dimidium pecuniae curavi. Spero nos ante hiemem contubernalis fore. De nostra Tullia, tui mehercule amantissima, spero cum Crassipede nos confecisse. Dies erant duo qui post Latinas habentur religiosi: ceteroquin confectum Latiar erat [Ep. VI. §§ 3–7]. 3. Ἀμφιλαφίαν autem illam, quam tu soles dicere, bono modo

arbitratu nostro concidimus] 'I cut him up just as I pleased'; cp. vol. v., p. li: see the *interrogatio in Vatinium*; and cp. § 6.

ab Sesti subselliis] 'the benches on which sat the supporters of Sestius.' Cp. Fam. xiii. 10, 2 (481), where *utrisque subselliis* = 'counsel for defence and prosecution.'

illi] *Paullo*, i. e. 'he said he would do as Paullus suggested.' *deesse alicui* could not mean 'to fail to prosecute one.'

Homo petulans et audax] 'the insolent bully.'

2. *contubernalis*] 'under the same roof.' The houses of the two brothers adjoined each other.

De nostra Tullia] 'I think I have concluded the betrothal of Tullia to Crassipes.'

Dies . . . erat] These were two days after the *feriae Latinae*, which were kept as holidays, though the *Latiar* was itself over. Cicero mentions this to show why he could not celebrate the *sponsalia* before he wrote. *Ceteroquin* (see Adn. Crit.) is common in the letters of Cicero, 'for the rest,' *i. e.* but for these two days, the festival is over. *Latiar* was another name for the *Latinae feriae* (Macrob. Sat. i. 16, 16). For the form Preller compares *Palatuar* (Festus, 348). For Sternkopf's reading of this passage, see note to 106, 2.

3. Ἀμφιλαφίαν] One is tempted to render *embarras de richesse*, but the meaning is rather *affluence*, ἀμφιλαφὴς περιουσία, as Man. paraphrases the expression. The word also occurs in Q. Fr. ii 14, 3 (142). Quintus had probably regretted that they had not ampler means at their disposal to carry out their building schemes. Cicero says in reply: 'I too feel the want of that *affluence* which you speak about, but my feeling about Dame Fortune is tempered; I would gladly stand firm for her if she runs into my arms; but if she hides from me, I will not seek to start her from her covert.' Cicero strangely uses two metaphors distinctly taken from hunting in this passage: *excipere* is a well-known *verbum venatorium* like δέχεσθαι (see Orelli on Hor. Carm. iii. 12, 12). It means properly,

desidero, sic prorsus ut advenientem excipiam libenter, latentem non excitem. Etiam nunc tribus locis aedifico, reliqua reconcinno, vivo paullo liberalius quam solebam: opus erat. Si te haberem, paullisper fabris locum darem. Sed et haec, ut spero, brevi inter nos communicabimus. 4. Res autem Romanae sese sic habent. Consul est egregius Lentulus, non impediente collega; sic inquam, bonus ut meliorem non viderim. Dies comitialis exemit omnis: nam etiam Latinae instaurantur: nec tamen deerant supplicationes. 5. Sic legibus perniciosissimis obsistitur, maxime Catonis, cui tamen egregie imposuit Milo noster. Nam ille vindex gladiatorum et bes-

'to stand the charge' of an animal at bay: *an tu putas venatorem irasci feris? atqui et fugientes persequitur et venientes excipit*, Sen. de Ira i. 11, 2; *id.* de Prov. ii. 8. Again, *excitare* is to rouse a hiding animal from its lair, 'to flush' some animal of the chase, *excitare feras* Cic. Off. iii. 68; *cervus nemorosis excitatus latibulis*, Phaedr. ii. 8, 1. For *bono modo*, 'with moderation,' cp. Cic. Ac. ii. 137; Att. xiii. 233 (637). *Maiorem in modum* is similarly used by Cicero.

Etiam nunc] 'even now (so far am I from laying by a fortune that) I am building on three different sites, and doing repairs besides.'

opus erat] Schütz and Sternkopf, objecting to the tense of *erat*, take *opus erat* with the following words: *opus erat, si te haberem, paulisper fabris locum darem* (Schütz reads *dare*, but the alteration is not necessary, as Sternkopf shows). But the force of the imperfect is something like this: 'I have arranged my life (my life now is) on a more generous scale: I had to do so' (in order to regain and retain my position).

Si . . . darem] 'If I had you with me, I would let in the carpenters for a while.' Cicero did not know in the absence of his brother what directions to give to the carpenters, or how much his brother was prepared to spend.

4. *exemit*] *Eximere diem* is, 'to deprive one of the time which one might claim as a rig ht,' cp. 92, 3. Lentulus Marcellinus, with the connivance of his colleague Marcius Philippus, prevented Cato from bringing in his bills about Lentulus Spinther and Milo by the usual appeals to the State religion. Not only, we may presume, did he 'observe the heavens,' but he 'celebrated anew' (*instaurabat*) the Latin festival. The great Latin festival came under the heading of *feriae conceptivae*, or festivals which did not fall on fixed days, but were celebrated annually on days fixed by the magistrates. The Latin festival was generally held in January. As no elections could be held on a feast day, the consuls, if they wished to postpone an election, could announce the *Latinae* for the day appointed for the *comitia*. Moreover, the *Latinae* could always be repeated, by alleging an omission or informality (however trifling, cp. Liv. xxxii. 1, 9) in the past celebration. This was the *ruse* by which the consuls now availed themselves of the State religion for obstructive purposes. Cicero seems to say this was a particularly audacious case. There were impending certain *supplicationes* or 'days set apart for public thanksgiving or humiliation.' On such days the *comitia* could not be held. The consuls might have announced a *supplicatio* for the days of the election. This would not have been so unmistakable a *ruse* as the fresh celebration of the *feriae Latinae*.

5. *imposuit*] 'played a trick on.' For this use of *imponere* cp. Fragm. Epistularum viii. 6 (vol. VI. p. 304) *populo imposuimus et oratores visi sumus*. The trick was this:—Cato had a gang of gladiators and beast-fighters whom he had bought from Cosconius and Atticus (cp. 107, 2) to protect him in the streets. He could not support these creatures, and found it very hard to keep them from leaving him. Milo, perceiving this, arranged with an acquaintance (not an intimate friend of his own, for that would have excited suspicion) to buy the gang from Cato. Racilius, who is styled 'the only one of our tribunes worth the name,' claimed to

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tiariorum emerat de Cosconio et Pomponio bestiarios, nec sine iis armatis umquam in publico fuerat. Hos alere non poterat, itaque vix tenebat. Sensit Milo. Dedit cuidam non familiari negotium, qui sine suspicione emeret eam familiam a Catone. Quae simul atque abducta est, Racilius, qui unus est hoc tempore tribunus pl., rem patefecit eosque homines sibi emptos esse dixit—sic enim placuerat—et tabulam proscripsit SE FAMILIAM CATONIANAM VENDITURUM. In eam tabulam magni risus consequebantur. Hunc igitur Catonem Lentulus a legibus removit et eos, qui de Caesare monstra promulgarunt quibus intercederet nemo. Nam quod de Pompeio Caninius agit sane quam refrixit. Neque enim res probatur et Pompeius noster in amicitia P. Lentuli vituperatur et hercule non est idem. Nam apud perditissimam illam atque infimam faecem populi propter Milonem suboffendit, et boni multa ab eo desiderant, multa reprehendunt. Marcellinus autem hoc uno mihi quidem non satis facit quod eum nimis aspere tractat: quamquam id senatu non invito facit: quo ego me lubentius a curia et ab omni parte rei publicae subtraho. 6. In iudiciis ii sumus qui fuimus: domus celebratur ita ut cum maxime. Unum accidit imprudentia Milonis incommode de Sex. Clodio, quem neque hoc tempore neque ab imbecillis accusatoribus mihi placuit accusari. Ei tres sententiae deterrimo in consilio defuerunt.

be the purchaser (acting in concert with Milo), and advertised the gang for sale again as 'the Catonian gang,' thus bringing Cato into public ridicule and contempt.

Cato is ironically called *vindex glad. et best.*, because he had sued Milo for keeping such a body-guard. We must suppose that Cato did not allow his body-guard to appear so prominently as Milo allowed his, and accordingly was not so open to prosecution. For *unus est = optimus est*, cf. Lehmann 'Quaest.,' p. 87, and Holden on Planc. 95.

removit] 'prevented him from carrying.'

monstra] 'monstrous proposals': cp. *mera monstra narrabat*, Att. iv. 7, 1 (111).

quibus intercederet nemo] 'with no tribune there to interpose his *veto* to them' (*monstra*). The reason why Lentulus obstructed Cato and the others was that there was no tribune there to intervene; hence the subj. *intercederet*.

Nam] depends on an ellipse ('I refer especially to Cato and the supporters of extravagant proposals in favour of Caesar), *for* the proposal of Caninius about Pompey is looked on very coldly.'

quod . . . Caninius agit] that is, the proposal that Pompey, with two lieutenants, should restore Ptolemy: cp. 96, 1.

in] 'on the score of.' Lentulus had proposed the conferring of the commissionership of supplies on Pompey, who was now striving to deprive him of the office of restoring Ptolemy, which was his due.

non est idem] 'he is not in his old position': cp. *ii sumus qui fuimus* below, § 6.

suboffendit] 'gives some offence,' is ἅπαξ εἰρημένον.

6. *tres . . . defuerunt*] Only three votes were wanting for his condemnation, though the panel was most corrupt; they are called *iudices suos* just after, 'judges of his own sort,' 'favourable judges.' *Ei* refers to Milo, who would have carried his prosecution had not those votes failed to support him.

Itaque hominem populus revocat et retrahatur necesse est. Non enim ferunt homines et, quia cum apud suos diceret paene damnatus est, vident damnatum. Ea ipsa in re Pompei offensio nobis obstitit. Senatorum enim urna copiose absolvit, equitum adaequavit, tribuni aerarii condemnarunt. Sed hoc incommodum consolantur cotidianae damnationes inimicorum, in quibus me perlubente Servius adlisus est, ceteri conciduntur. C. Cato contionatus est, comitia haberi non siturum, si sibi cum populo dies agendi essent exempti. Appius a Caesare nondum redierat. 7. Tuas mirifice litteras exspecto; atque adhuc clausum mare fuisse scio, sed quosdam venisse tamen Ostiam dicebant qui te unice laudarent plurimique in provincia fieri dicerent. Eosdem aiebant nuntiare te prima navigatione transmissurum. Id cupio et, quamquam te ipsum scilicet maxime, tamen etiam litteras tuas ante exspecto. Mi frater, vale.

revocat] 'demands a new prosecution.'

Pompei offensio] 'the dislike with which Pompey is regarded.'

Senatorum . . . condemnarunt] The senate, knights, and *tribuni aerarii* formed the panel, according to the law of Aur. Cotta, 684 (70). He was acquitted on the votes of the senate, the knights being divided, and the *tribuni aerarii* giving their votes against him. *Copiose* means that the majority in his favour among the senators and knights was greater than the majority against him among the *tribuni aerarii*.

adlisus] 'shipwrecked.' The metaphor is certainly from the wreck of a ship: we have *adlidi ad scopulos*, Caes. B. C. iii. 27; and *vir fuerit qui . . . non adliserit virtutem*, Sen. De Tranq. 5, 4. Whether Servius, who was perhaps Servius Pola—cp. 135, 2; Fam. viii. 12, 2 (279)—was condemned, or barely escaped with much loss of character, the word *adlisus* hardly tells us.

conciduntur] see above, § 1.

haberi] The omission of the subject before the infinitive is quite common: cp. 155, 7, and note to 896, 4.

Appius] Claudius, the brother of P. Clodius.

7. *tamen*] in spite of the danger of a sea voyage. This makes plausible the conj. of Man., *Olbia* for *ostia* of M. But Sternkopf proposes to read *Ostiam*, as being virtually the mss reading, and because, where the Sardinian town is elsewhere mentioned in this correspondence, the form *Ulbia* seems to be used: see Adn. Crit. to 102, 7. This has much to recommend it. The news was brought from Sardinia to Ostia by mariners crossing to that port.

106. TO QUINTUS, IN SARDINIA (Q. Fr. II. 5).

ROME, APRIL 8, A. U. C. 698; B. C. 56; AET. CIC. 50.

M. Cicero Q. fratri significat de pecunia Pompeio in rem frumentariam decreta, de agro Campano quid in senatu actum sit, tum de M. Furio Flacco de collegio eiecto, de filiae et Crassipedis sponsalibus, de Q. puero viso, de aedificatione Q. fratris, de cena apud Crassipedem, de Cn. Pompeio viso, de itinere suo, de exspectatione Q. fratris.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

1. Dederam ad te litteras antea, quibus erat scriptum Tulliam nostram Crassipedi pridie *Non.* April. esse desponsatam, ceteraque de re publica privataque perscripseram. Postea sunt haec acta. Non. Apr. senatus consulto Pompeio pecunia decreta in rem frumentariam ad HS cccc. Sed eodem die vehementer actum de agro Campano clamore senatus prope contionali. Acriorem causam inopia pecuniae faciebat et annonae caritas. 2. Non praetermittam ne illud quidem: M. Furium Flaccum, equitem Romanum, hominem nequam, Capitolini et Mercuriales de collegio eiecerunt, praesentem ad pedes unius cuiusque iacentem. Exiturus [Ep. 6, §§ 1–3] a. d. VIII. Id. Apr. sponsalia Crassipedi praebui. Huic convivio puer optimus, Quintus tuus meusque, quod perleviter commotus fuerat, defuit. A. d. VII. Id. April. veni ad Quintum

1. *HS* cccc.] i.e. sestertium quadringenties = 40,000,000 sesterces = about £340,000; taking 100 sesterces as equal to about 17 shillings of our money.

de agro Campano.] Caesar had in his consulship passed a law that the Campanian domain land should be divided amongst citizens who had three children: see Vol. I³, p. 427. The annulling of this law was the chief aim of the optimates at this time: cp. 93, 1.

contionali] 'as uproarious as if it had been a public meeting.'

Acriorem . . . caritas] 'the scarcity of money and the high price of provisions embittered the debate.'

2. *Capitolini*] after the Gallic invasion, *senatus consultum facit (Camillus) ludi Capitolini fierent . . . collegiumque ad eam rem M. Furius dictator constitueret ex iis qui in Capitolio atque arce habitarent*, Liv. v. 50, 4, where see Weissenborn's note. The *Capitolini* were therefore a college of persons who had charge of the Capitoline games. They are mentioned in an inscription of Lanuvium (C. I. L. xiv. 2105) in connexion with the Mercuriales and Luperci.

Mercuriales] were a corporation of merchants; *certamen consulibus inciderat uter dedicaret Mercurii aedem* (495 B.C.); *senatus a se rem ad populum reiecit; utri eorum dedicatio iussu populi data esset, eum . . . mercatorum collegium instituere*, Liv. ii. 27, 5. Their feast was on May 15.

Exiturus] In the old edd. this word immediately follows the words *confectum Latiar erat*; and Sternkopf retains it there, reading the whole passage thus: *spero cum Crassipede nos confecisse: <sed> dies erant duo qui post Latinas habentur religiosi—ceterum confectum erat Latiar—<et> erat exiturus.* He thinks *exiturus* can hardly refer to Cicero, for Cicero did not leave town for a few days after the betrothal. This is a very ingenious handling of the passage, and may perhaps be right. But it is not necessary to consider that *exiturus* must mean '*just* as I was about to leave town'; it may mean no more than 'as I was about to leave town' before long. So we have not altered the arrangement of Mommsen.

perleviter commotus] 'slightly indisposed': cp. *commotiunculis* of a *febricula*

eumque vidi plane integrum, multumque is mecum sermonem habuit et perhumanum de discordiis mulierum nostrarum. Quid quaeris? Nihil festivius. Pomponia autem etiam de te questa est, sed haec coram agemus. 3. A puero ut discessi, in aream tuam veni: res agebatur multis structoribus. Longilium redemptorem cohortatus sum. Fidem mihi faciebat se velle nobis placere. Domus erit egregia: magis enim cerni iam poterat quam quantum ex forma iudicabamus: itemque nostra celeriter aedificabatur. Eo die cenavi apud Crassipedem. Cenatus in hortos ad Pompeium lectica latus sum. Luci eum convenire non potueram quod abfuerat. Videre autem volebam quod eram postridie Roma exiturus et quod ille in Sardiniam iter habebat. Hominem conveni et ab eo petivi ut quam primum te nobis redderet. Statim dixit. Erat autem iturus, ut aiebat, a. d. III. Id. Apr. ut aut Labrone aut Pisis conscenderet. Tu, mi frater, simul et ille venerit, primam navigationem, dum modo idonea tempestas sit, ne omiseris.

Wiel. II p. 224 [Ep. 7.] 4. A. d. VI. Id. April. ante lucem hanc epistulam conscripsi, eramque in itinere, ut eo die apud T. Titium in Anagnino manerem. Postridie autem in Laterio cogitabam, inde, cum in Arpinati quinque dies fuissem, ire in Pompeianum, rediens aspicere Cumanum, ut, quoniam in Non. Maias Miloni dies prodicta est, pridie Non. Romae essem teque, mi carissime et suavissime frater, ad eam diem, ut sperabam, viderem. Aedificationem Arcani ad tuum adventum sustentari placebat. Fac, mi frater, ut valeas quam primumque venias.

from which Attica was suffering, Att. xii. 11, *fin.* (503); *cum leviter commotus esses*, Att. xiv. 5, 1 (707).

3. *forma*] See on 100, 1.

Luci] 'in the daytime': for this form cp. Plaut. Amph. 165, Aul. 748.

Labrone] Labro is unknown. Wesseling suggests *<Sa>lebrone*, a town mentioned in the Itin. Ant., p. 292, between Cosa and Populonium. Possibly under *aut Labrone* (*Lavrone*) is concealed *aut <Te>lamone* which was an important harbour in Etruria (Polyb. ii. 27, 2; Plin. H. N. iii. 50; Plut. Mar. 41: cf. C. I. L. xi., p. 416).

Pisis] *Pisae*, on the coast of Etruria.

simul et] cp. note on Att. ii. 20, 2 (47).

4. Koerner (pp. 17–18) thinks that this may be a separate letter: and if so, that we should read *iii.* for *vi.* (in M the symbol is given as *y*). For there is a repetition of his appeal to his brother to return speedily (§ 3) in § 4. But the appeal in § 3 is caused by the request to Pompey to send Quintus here as soon as possible; and Rauschen (p. 41) thinks that Cicero never *begins* a letter stating the exact date at which he is writing, though he often makes such a statement in the *middle* of a letter.

eo die] 'to-day.' This illustrates well the strange effect of the *epistolary tenses*.

Laterio] *Laterium* was the property of Quintus, and was in Arpinum. *Arcanum*, mentioned below, also belonged to Quintus, and lay between Aquinum and Arpinum, probably in the district of the latter town, where is the modern Rocca d'Arce.

sustentari] 'to be kept back till, kept in abeyance for, your return.' Cicero

107. TO ATTICUS, IN ITALY, ON HIS JOURNEY TO ROME (ATT. IV. 4*b*).

ANTIUM; APRIL (END) OR MAY (BEGINNING), A. U. C. 698; B. C. 56; AET. CIC. 50.

De bibliotheca sua a Tyrannione, ope librariorum Attici, iam restituenda et de exspectato Attici adventu.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Perbelle feceris, si ad nos veneris. Offendes designationem Tyrannionis mirificam in librorum meorum bibliotheca, quorum reliquiae multo meliores sunt quam putaram. Et velim mihi mittas de tuis librariolis duos aliquos quibus Tyrannio utatur glutinatoribus, ad cetera administris, iisque imperes ut sumant

uses *sustentare* as a synonym of *prolatare*, which is sometimes found with it, Cat. iv. 6.

The letters to Atticus 107, 108, 110, 112 and the letter to Lucceius (109) were probably written at Antium during the latter part of April or beginning of May, when Cicero was sojourning there for a short time on his return from the tour through his villas sketched out in 106, 4. It would appear that the *quarta accusatio* (see note to 102, 1) of Milo by Clodius never took place; certainly we hear nothing of any conclusion to that prosecution: so that there is no necessity to suppose that Cicero returned to Rome for that trial, as he intended to do (106, 4). For further, see Paul Hildebrandt (*De Scholiis Ciceronis Bobiensibus*, pp. 27, 28).

1. *ad nos*] 'to me here in Antium.' See on next Ep. § 3 for a different use of *ad nos*.

Offendes . . . bibliotheca] M' reads both *in* and *bibliotheca*, but Ns have *bibliothecam*, while those mss which Lehmann calls OHP omit the word (cp. *De Epp. ad Att. recensendis*, p. 174). He thinks that we should omit the word, and also *in*. It would be simpler to suppose that *in* has got out of place, and that we should read *mirificam librorum meorum in bibliotheca*. Possibly the omission of the word *bibliotheca* arose from its having been written in Greek letters, or in the form *bibliothecen*, as in Fam. xiii. 77, 3 (638). For the double genitive *designationem Tyrannionis . . . librorum*, see on 90, 2. The library to which Cicero refers was at Antium (cp. 112).

duos aliquos] 'a couple'; *aliquos* makes the number vague: cp. Plaut. Men. 950; *hos aliquos viginti dies*, 'the next three weeks or so'; *unos sex dies* is 'just one week,' Trin. 166; 'a fortnight' is *quindecim dies*, Trin. 402, cp. *quinze jours*, in French.

glutinatoribus] 'for gluing together loose leaves (and) for other purposes.' *Asyndeton*, where there are only two members, is not infrequent; we have *amici, propinqui*, 2 Verr. i. 125; *opibus, viribus*, Tusc. iii. 6; so in contrasted adjectives used for classification, *publica privata, fanda nefanda, prima postrema*, &c. This *asyndeton* is the rule in referring to colleagues in office—e.g. *L. Marcio Philippo, P. Lentulo Marcellino consulibus*; so in judicial language, *dare facere, aequum bonum*. A large number of examples are collected by Lehmann (Quaest. Tull., p. 23).

The duty of the *glutinatores* would be to glue together the separate leaves of parchment of which the newly-written book consisted, so that they might be rolled round the central reed or stick

membranulam ex qua indices fiant, quos vos Graeci, ut opinor, σιττύβας appellatis. 2. Sed haec, si tibi erit commodum. Ipse vero utique fac venias, si potes in his locis adhaerescere et Piliam adducere. Ita enim et aequum est et cupit Tullia. Medius fidius ne tu emisti λόχον praeclarum: gladiatores audio pugnare miri-

which formed the axis of the cylinder; they would also have to glue together leaves of old books which had become detached.

indices] labels of papyrus or parchment, on which the title of the book was written, sometimes in deep red, *coccum* or *minium*; they were probably attached to the upper one of the two *cornua* or 'knobs,' which projected on both ends below and above the cylindrical roll which formed the book.

σιττύβας] The reading of M is *sillabos*, and, accordingly, the reading σιλλύβους has been generally received. But in the two other passages (108, 3; 112, 2) in which Cicero speaks of these 'tags' or 'labels' which were fastened to the several volumes with the name of the book written or painted thereon, the readings of M and Z (also NP) plainly point to *sittyba* (first declension) as the form Cicero used (see Adn. Crit.). And this form is attested in the Greek lexica, e.g., Hesychius σιττύβαι· δερματίναι στολαί, τὰ μικρὰ ἱματήρια, which shows that they were leather labels. Again, Pollux vii. 70 σιττύβα· χιτὼν ἐκ δέρματος. (This is, doubtless, the correct accentuation; not σίττυβα.) It is true, of course, that there appears to be a collateral from σίλλυβον, e.g., Hesychius (p. 30, ed. Schmidt), σίλλυβα· κροσσοί (cp. Pollux vii. 64), οἱ δὲ τὰ ἀνθέμια, καὶ κοροκόσμια, καὶ τῶν βιβλίων τὰ δέρματα. But how such a collateral form arose, Lobeck (*Pathologiae Sermonis Graeci Prolegomena*, p. 290) regards as inexplicable; and it is not likely that Cicero would not have adopted the same form in the different passages in which he has used the word. Most probably, in the passage before us, the word was written in Greek; and if the top-stroke of T was made to slope slightly, the confusion with Λ would easily arise. See also Haupt's Opuscula, III., p. 411.

2. *adhaerescere*] 'if you can stick in such places as this'; the word implies that to stay in a suburban retreat required a voluntary effort of the will. In Ep. 112, Cicero praises Antium, but an expression dropped by him in that letter (§ 2) shows that he was at first bored by the country: 'since Tyrannio has arranged my library, the house has ceased to be chaos, seems to have got *a soul*.' Pilia was the newly-married wife of Atticus.

Medius fidius ne] *Ne* is found with many asseverative particles *medius fidius*, *edepol*, *mecastor*, especially in Cicero and the comic poets. It is used nearly always in connexion with a personal pronoun, or the demonstrative *ille*, *iste*, *hic*, and their adverbs; rarely with a possessive pron., as *edepol ne meam*, Ter. Hec. v. 3, 1 (799).

λόχον] 'Certes, you have truly bought a fine troop.' It was the habit of wealthy Romans to speculate in troops of gladiators, whom they let out or sold to the aediles for the public games, and to private individuals for other purposes: for instance, we find, 105, 5, that Atticus had sold a gang of *bestiarii* to Cato. The reading of the mss here is *locum*, which is quite unintelligible. Atticus had not bought any property near Antium, so far as we know; and the reference here is plainly to the troop of gladiators, of whom Cicero goes on to speak. *Locum* could not mean 'the place where the gladiators were to fight,' for that was always the public amphitheatre, and could not be bought by Atticus. The usual reading is Ernesti's conj. *ludum*; but we cannot find that this word ever signifies a troop of gladiators; it invariably denotes the *school* in which they were trained. Now, it would be strange that Cicero should congratulate Atticus on having secured a good school or training-place wherein they could train for the forthcoming spectacles. If this is the meaning of the passage, we might as well retain *locum* of the mss. We have accepted the conj. of Bosius: λόχος would be a very natural term for a *troop*, *familia*, of gladiators, and might appear in the mss as *locum*, if written in Latin characters, as Greek words very often are in the letters.

pugnare mirifice] I hear they are fighting splendidly (i.e. in practising for the games).

fice. Si locare voluisses, duobus his muneribus liber esses. Sed haec posterius. Tu fac venias, et de librariis, si me amas, diligenter.

108. TO ATTICUS, AT ROME (ATT. IV. 5).

ANTIUM; APRIL (END) OR MAY (BEGINNING), A. U. C. 698; B. C. 56; AET. CIC. 50.

M. Cicero de παλινῳδίᾳ a se scripta, quam cum aliis prius quam cum Attico communicaverat se excusat et cur Optimatibus relictis ad hunc se potissimum applicet exponit, dein de rebus domesticis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Ain tu? an me existimas ab ullo malle mea legi probarique quam a te? Cur igitur cuiquam misi prius? Urgebar

si . . . esses] 'If you had chosen to hire them out (already), you would have cleared your expenses by the two aedilician spectacles given this year.' Atticus could not have wanted the gladiators, except to hire them out or to sell them. We may suppose he did not think they were as yet sufficiently trained. Corradus, who would read *pugnasse*, suggests that Atticus had given a *munus* in honour of his uncle, who died the year before. Boot suspects, from the last words of Ep. 112, that the gladiators had not acquitted themselves well, and that the words here should be taken ironically; but the words of that letter do not justify this view.

liber] Boot compares *io, liber ad te venio*, Plin. Ep. iii. 9, 13. *Liberasses* is the ms reading. Boot, retaining *liberasses*, would (in pursuance of his theory about the ironical character of the sentence) explain the word as meaning 'you would have given them all their freedom'; that is, they would have fought so badly that they would all now be 'free among the dead.'

diligenter] For a verb of acting omitted cp. Att. v. 4, 2 (187) *De Torquato probe* (sc. *fecisti*), and often. So that there is no necessity to add *agas* with Müller, though after *amas* it might have fallen out, and *agere de* is often found: cp. Att. i. 6, 2 (2); ii. 7, 2 (34); iv. 16 *fin* (144).

1. *Ain tu? me*] 'What! do you think there is anyone by whom,' &c. Boot may be right in rejecting *an* before *me*, but it does not seem impossible to retain it. Seyffert read *Ain tandem*? cp. Tusc. v. 35. The meaning is, 'what! do you think there is any by whom I would rather have my writings read and liked than by you?'

misi] This was certainly the document which Cicero calls παλινῳδία, or his 'recantation.' Many conjectures have been made identifying this with some one of the writings of Cicero. Some of these may be dismissed. It was not, as Ern. thought, the poem on his consulate, which was written much earlier: see Att. ii. 3, 3 (29); nor the poem *de temporibus suis*, to which he refers in Fam. i. 9, 23 (153) in words inconsistent with such expressions as *subringentur* here, when he says that in that poem 'his condemnation of others was gentle and sparing.' If the παλινῳδία is to be identified with any of the *writings* of Cicero, and was not merely a letter or some direct communication to Caesar, it was either (as Mommsen suggested) the *or. de prov. consularibus*, of which the eulogy of Caesar's conquests in Gaul occupies a large part, or the *or. pro Balbo*, which may fairly be regarded as a bid for the favour not only of Caesar but of the whole triumvirate. It seems to us that, if it was not a letter, far the most likely hypothesis is that which sees the παλινῳδία in the *or. de prov. cons.* The greater part of this speech from § 18 to 40 could hardly be better described than by

ab eo ad quem misi, et non habebam exemplar. Quid? etiam—dudum enim circumrodo quod devorandum est—subturpicula mihi videbatur esse παλινῳδία. Sed valeant recta, vera, honesta consilia.

the word παλινῳδία; it is an *amende honorable* to Caesar, and is largely a historical review of distinguished men who *cum suis inimicissimis in gratiam redierunt*. Thus Cicero declares for Caesar and the triumvirs, and *recants* his optimate creed. It is true that the *or. pro Balbo* contains (§ 61) a passage very similar in tone to the *or. de prov. cons.*, but the latter *was written first*; it is plainly alluded to in *or. pro Balbo*, § 61; and in a recantation, if anywhere, *ce n'est que le premier pas qui coûte*. Moreover, this was the *first* overture to Caesar made by Cicero since his exile, whereas he had supported the giving of the commissionership of the corn-supply to Pompey, and had glorified him in the *or. pro Sestio*. See Mommsen, R. H. iv. 311, *note*.

But it is not by any means certain that the 'palinode' may not have been, as Dr. Reid has pointed out, a direct communication to Caesar. The way Cicero speaks of it, as cutting him off from retreat, could not refer to the mere *publishing* of the oration *de prov. cons.*, for the delivery of it was the act which committed him. And if a public speech was the 'palinode,' what Atticus says (*quae facerem, non etiam ut scriberem*) would amount to this, that Cicero should speak and vote in public in favour of Caesar, but should not publish his speeches —which is surely unlikely, whatever stress we choose to lay on the permanence of the 'written word.' And the words *urgebar ab eo ad quem misi* point naturally to a communication of a direct nature with Caesar, to which one of Caesar's friends (perhaps Pompey) had urged Cicero. The dates, too, are troublesome, if we regard the 'palinode' as an oration. It seems as if Cicero was making a tour through his villas during the latter end of April and the beginning of May (cp. 106, 4: cp. note to 107, 1), and did not return to Rome until towards the end of the month. During a sojourn at Antium in the course of this tour, probably towards the end of April or beginning of May, he wrote Epp. 107 to 110 and 112 (cp. introductory note to 107). If we suppose this to be the case, we must hold that Cicero did not deliver the *or. de prov. cons.* until his return at the end of May, and so the 'palinode' could not be that oration. It is just possible, but most unlikely, that a preliminary sketch of the *or. de prov. cons.* is meant: a more direct surrender is far more probable. Rauschen, however, thinks that Cicero returned to Rome from his tour at the beginning of May; delivered the *or. de prov. cons.* in the beginning of June; and after that went down to Antium, whence he despatched 107 to 110 and 112. This is possible, and must be adopted if we suppose the 'palinode' to be the *or. de prov. cons.* But, on the whole, we confess to preferring the view that sees in the 'palinode' a direct communication to Caesar written at the end of April or early in May, when the messages of the triumvirs sent through Quintus reached Marcus Cicero.

ab eo] This probably means Pompey.

Quid? etiam] 'anything else? yes': see Att. i. 13, 6 (19); and *aliud quid? etiam*, Att. ii. 6, 2 (33).

circumrodo] 'I keep nibbling round my leek that I shall have to swallow' (Jeans). But Cicero had eaten the leek when he sent his recantation to Caesar. The meaning is, 'what I have to confess to you is a bitter pill; I shall have to swallow it, but you see I can only bring myself to nibble at it.' The confession is, 'that the recantation was somewhat ignominious.'

valeant] 'good-bye to': cp. Att. xvi. 15, 5 (807)—*quare ista valeant*. Thus the passage is usually understood, and it may well be right. The good old optimate policy has departed, owing to the treachery and worthlessness of the so-called optimates. But it is remarkable that, in a letter written not very long after this, Cicero applies two of these three adjectives to the conduct of *Pompey*, to whom he is now transferring his allegiance: *tantum animi inductio et mehercule amor erga Pompeium apud me valet ut quae illi utilia sunt et quae ille vult ea mihi omnia iam et* recta et vera *videantur*, 119, 2. If he here applies the attributes *recta, vera, honesta* to the *consilia* of the triumvirs, then *valeant* must have quite the opposite meaning: 'let the straightforward, fair, honourable policy (of the triumvirs) prevail; you would hardly believe in the possibility of such

Non est credibile quae sit perfidia in istis principibus, ut volunt esse et ut essent si quidquam haberent fidei. Senseram, noram, inductus, relictus, proiectus ab iis; tamen hoc eram in animo ut cum iis in re publica consentirem. Iidem erant qui fuerant. Vix aliquando te auctore resipui. 2. Dices eatenus te suasisse qua facerem, non etiam ut scriberem. Ego mehercule mihi necessitatem volui imponere huius novae coniunctionis, ne qua mihi liceret labi ad illos, qui etiam tum, cum misereri mei debent, non desinunt invidere. Sed tamen modici fuimus ὑποθέσει, ut scripsi. Erimus uberiores, si et ille libenter accipiet et ii subringentur qui villam me moleste ferunt habere quae Catuli fuerat, a Vettio me emisse non cogitant: qui domum negant oportuisse me aedificare, vendere aiunt oportuisse. Sed quid ad hoc, si quibus sententiis dixi quod et ipsi probarent laetati sunt tamen me contra Pompei voluntatem dixisse? Finis sit. Quoniam qui nihil possunt ii me nolunt amare, demus operam ut ab iis qui possunt diligamur. 3. Dices: 'vellem iam pridem.' Scio te voluisse et me asinum germanum fuisse. Sed iam tempus est me ipsum a me amari, quando ab illis nullo modo possum. Domum meam quod crebro

treachery as the leading optimates are guilty of.' Cicero had always complained of the want of *fides* in the leading optimates. What he now commends in the triumvirs is their straightforwardness. *Vera* is 'fair,' as in Att. ii. 1, 8 (27). The sentiment would then be τὸ δ' εὖ νικάτω.

Senseram, noram] sc. *quae esset perfidia in istis principibus.*

inductus] 'taken in as I have been': see on Att. iii. 15, 7 (73).

fuerant] 'They have now shown themselves to be just the same as they were in the matter of my exile.'

2. *eatenus te suasisse*] 'that your advice only had reference to my actions, but that you had not advised me to make a written confession of faith.'

novae coniunctionis] with the triumvirs.

modici fuimus ὑποθέσει] 'moderate in the treatment of my theme.'

ille] probably Caesar.

subringentur] *Subringi* (ἅπ. εἰρ.) is 'to make a wry face'; hence 'to be annoyed.'

Catuli] Cicero's Tusculan villa had belonged to Catulus, and originally to Sulla, Plin. H. N. xxii. 12. Cicero acquired it in 686 (68).

vendere] i.e. the site.

quid ad hoc, si] 'what is all that I have told you to the idea of their exulting in the fact that the very speeches which I made in furtherance of the optimate policy were alienating me from Pompey.' *Si laetati sunt* = 'if they exulted, as they did': see Fam. i. 9, 10 (153).

Finis sit] cp. *deplorandi quidem . . . sit iam nobis aut finis omnino, si potest, aut moderatio quaedam*, Att. x. 4, 1 (382).

3. *asinum germanum fuisse*] Cicero calls himself 'a downright ass' for not having made common cause with the triumvirs long before. *Germanus* is a favourite expression with Cicero; we meet *germanissimus*, Ac. ii. 132; cp. *germana illuvies*, Plaut. Most. 40; *germanae gerrae*, Poen. 137. *Putus, purus putus* are used in same way in comic drama; cp. Τίμων καθαρός, Ar. Av. 1549. *Asinus* was used in later Latin as a type of obstinacy as well as of stupidity, as in *demitto auriculas ut iniquae mentis asellus*, Hor. S. i. 9, 20. Perhaps here, too, Cicero refers to his obstinate pertinacity in adhering to the *optimates*.

Domum meam] the house which was being rebuilt at Rome.

invisis, est mihi valde gratum. Viaticum Crassipes praeripit. Tu 'de via recta in hortos.' Videtur commodius ad te: postridie scilicet: quid enim tua? Sed viderimus. Bibliothecam mihi tui pinxerunt constructione et sittybis; eos velim laudes.

Crassipes] 'Crassipes is forestalling all my travelling money,' that is, 'the expenses of Tullia's betrothal and her dowry are employing all my spare money.'

Tu . . . viderimus] 'You say in your letter to me *you must come straight from the road to my suburban villa.* I think it would be more convenient to go to your *horti* the next day; for what difference can it make to you? However, we can think it over.' This is Boot's view of the meaning of the sentence, and it is the only one which gives a tolerable sense, for *ad te* means 'to your town house,' as has been already pointed out.

quid enim tua] sc. *refert.*

pinxerunt] 'have beautified my library.' There were now no loose strips of parchment lying about. These were now glued together, rolled round the central reed, or stick, which was the axis of the cylinder formed by the rolled parchment, and furnished with *indices* in scarlet letters, Mart. iii. 2, 11.

constructione] this is the putting together of the sheets for rolling them round the stick. Cicero here tells Att. that his *librarioli* have carried out his intentions expressed in the last letter: they have glued together the rolls of parchment, and have furnished them with *indices.* Hertzberg conjectured *constrictio*, comparing Mart. xiv. 37, who describes a *scrinium* in this couplet *constrictos nisi das mihi libellos admittam tineas trucesque blattas* (where, however, the best mss. read *selectos*), and Marquardt-Mau (p. 817, note 3) follow him. Hence it has been supposed that *constrictio* meant the tight fastening up of the rolls of parchment in *sittybae* or wrappers; but *constrictio* is not a technical term; *constrictos* in Mart. (if right) merely means tightly rolled. For *sittybae*, which seem to be the same as *indices*, cp. note to 107, 1.

109. TO LUCCEIUS (FAM. V. 12).

ANTIUM; APRIL (END) OR MAY (BEGINNING); A. U. C. 698; B. C. 56; AET. CIC. 50.

M. Cicero L. Lucceium scriptorem historicum non ignobilem hac epistula summa arte composita rogat ut de rebus a se in consulatu suo gestis et de discessu redituque libros componat.

M. CICERO S. D. L. LUCCEIO, Q. F.

1. Coram me tecum eadem haec agere saepe conantem deterruit pudor quidam paene subrusticus, quae nunc expromam absens audacius: epistula enim non erubescit. Ardeo cupiditate incredibili neque, ut ego arbitror, reprehendenda, nomen ut nostrum scriptis illustretur et celebretur tuis. Quod etsi mihi saepe ostendisti te esse facturum, tamen ignoscas velim huic festinationi meae.

109] This letter is extremely interesting, if for no other reason, because Cicero himself describes it as *valde bella*, Ep. 110, 4. We have in this letter an example of what seemed to Cicero a really *pretty* letter. We can see therefore that he saw nothing ignoble in asking for a verdict more favourable than the facts of the case would warrant. It would now be considered ungentlemanlike to ask for such a verdict from a friend who was engaged in writing a History. It would be a violation of an unwritten code which now exists, but did not exist in the time of Cicero. A modern, finding himself in the same circumstances as Cicero, would most probably intrigue for the favourable verdict of his friend the historian, but it is very unlikely that he would openly ask for it.

Still some excuse may be made for Cicero. Now that he had been compelled to abandon the optimate party and to attach himself to the triumvirs, his reputation must have been somewhat impaired; and a panegyric by an eminent publicist and historian might do something towards persuading the public that Cicero was still a great man; that probably his conduct was justifiable; and at any rate it would be a solace to hear his ancient glories trumpeted anew. Besides, however much Cicero knew the true principles of history (cp. note to § 3), we must remember that Roman historiography, as a rule, was rhetorical rather than scientific (cp. Quintil. x. 1, 3): *Historia . . . est quidem proxima poetis et quodam modo carmen solutum et scribitur ad narrandum non ad probandum, totumque opus non ad actum rei pugnamque praesentem sed ad memoriam posteritatis et ingenii famam componitur.*

Lucceius had prosecuted Catiline *inter sicarios* in 690 (64) for murder committed during the Sullan proscriptions, and some speeches of Lucceius against Catiline are mentioned by Asconius (p. 92, 10: 93, 9 Orelli). He stood unsuccessfully for the consulship for 695 (59): cp. Att. i. 17, 11 (23), and appears to have afterwards, like Sallust, devoted himself to history. Dio, the Alexandrian philosopher, who came to Rome in 697 (57), as ambassador of the Alexandrians, to oppose Ptolemy, lodged with Lucceius, and was murdered in his house (Cic. Cael. 51–56). He was a strong supporter of Pompey in the Civil War (cp. Att. ix. 11, 3 (367) and Caes. B. C. iii. 18, 3), but must have been pardoned by Caesar, as we possess a letter of his to Cicero, viz. Fam. v. 14 (585), written in 709 (45).

1. *Coram*] see on Ep. 115, 1.

pudor quidam paene subrusticus] 'a sort of almost country shyness.' For the opposite cp. Hor. Epist. i. 9, 11 *Frontis ad urbanae descendi praemia.*

ignoscas] 'pardon my impatience.' Cp. Att. xii. 26, 1 (562), *tuis occupationibus ignosco.*

Genus enim scriptorum tuorum etsi erat semper a me vehementer exspectatum, tamen vicit opinionem meam meque ita vel cepit vel incendit ut cuperem quam celerrime res nostras monimentis commendari tuis. Neque enim me solum commemoratio posteritatis ad spem quamdam immortalitatis rapit, sed etiam illa cupiditas ut vel auctoritate testimoni tui vel indicio benevolentiae vel suavitate ingeni vivi perfruamur. 2. Neque tamen, haec cum scribebam, eram nescius quantis oneribus premerere susceptarum rerum et iam institutarum. sed quia videbam Italici belli et civilis historiam iam a te paene esse perfectam, dixeras autem mihi te reliquas res ordiri, deesse mihi nolui quin te admonerem ut cogitares coniunctene malles cum reliquis rebus nostra contexere an, ut multi Graeci fecerunt, Callisthenes Phocicum bellum, Timaeus Pyrrhi, Polybius Numantinum, qui omnes a perpetuis suis historiis ea quae dixi separaverunt, tu quoque item civilem coniurationem ab hostilibus externisque bellis seiungeres. Equidem ad nostram laudem non multum video interesse, sed ad properationem meam quiddam interest non te exspectare dum ad locum venias, ac statim causam illam totam et tempus adripere. Et

Genus] 'the character of your writings,' i.e. 'your success in this branch of literature.' Cp. *genere litterarum mearum*, 115, 3. Cicero had seen a specimen of Lucceius' work, which greatly increased his admiration for the writer, and his desire to secure for himself a place in his History.

res nostras] 'the history of my consulship.' Cp. 110, 4.

commemoratio posteritatis] cp. *mea commemoratione*, Planc. 95. The genitive in connexion with *commemoratio* is usually an objective genitive, Phil. ii. 51; here *posteritatis* is a subjective genitive, 'the praises of future ages.' *Commemoratio* in Cicero always = *praedicatio*, never *recordatio*, cp. Reid on Arch. 29.

vel auctoritate...perfruamur] The meaning of the sentence is that Cicero wishes to enjoy, in his lifetime, that account of his exploits which, if he did not urge Lucceius to haste, might not be published till after his death. Cicero seems to feel sure that the account will be favourable; but he is not sure whether the commendation which he expects from Lucceius will be the authoritative expression of the historian's real judgment, or a token of friendly feeling on the part of a friend, or, finally, an instance of the sweetness which characterises the whole disposition of Lucceius.

2. *susceptarum . . . institutarum*] The contrast is between adopting a resolution and beginning to put it into practice: cp. Att. i. 19, 6 (25), and Arch. 1.

coniunctene] 'to work into the context of your History.' What Cicero preferred was that Lucceius should publish a History of his consulate separately.

Callisthenes] The historian who accompanied Alexander the Great, and was executed by him (cp. Grote xii. 38 ff). He composed three historical works—1. Hellenica, from 387 to 337 B.C. 2. History of the Sacred War, alluded to here. 3. τὰ κατ' Ἀλέξανδρον.

Timaeus] This historian, who flourished at the beginning of the third century B.C., besides his great work on Sicily, composed a narrative of the wars of Pyrrhus.

Polybius] As friend of Scipio Africanus, he composed an account of the Numantine War.

ad locum] 'to the proper place.' Cp. *epistulae offendunt non loco redditae*, 'delivered at an unsuitable time,' Fam. xi. 16, 1 (888).

ac] Copulative conjunctions are often

simul, si uno in argumento unaque in persona mens tua tota versabitur, cerno iam animo quanto omnia uberiora atque ornatiora futura sint. Neque tamen ignoro quam impudenter faciam qui primum tibi tantum oneris imponam—potest enim mihi denegare occupatio tua—, deinde etiam ut ornes me postulem. Quid, si illa tibi non tanto opere videntur ornanda? 3. Sed tamen, qui semel verecundiae finis transierit, eum bene et naviter oportet esse impudentem. Itaque te plane etiam atque etiam rogo ut et ornes ea vehementius etiam quam fortasse sentis et in eo leges historiae neglegas gratiamque illam, de qua suavissime, plenissime quodam in prohoemio scripsisti, a qua te deflecti non magis potuisse demonstras quam Herculem Xenophontium illum a Voluptate, eam, si me tibi vehementius commendabit, ne aspernere amorique nostro plusculum etiam quam concedet veritas largiare. Quod si te adducemus ut hoc suscipias, erit, ut mihi persuadeo, materies digna facultate et copia tua. 4. A principio enim coniurationis usque ad reditum nostrum videtur mihi modicum quoddam corpus confici posse, in quo et illa poteris uti civilium commutationum scientia vel in explicandis causis rerum novarum vel in remediis incommodorum, cum et reprehendes ea quae vituperanda duces et quae placebunt exponendis rationibus comprobabis et, si liberius, ut consuesti, agendum putabis, multorum in nos perfidiam, insidias, proditionem notabis. Multam etiam casus nostri varietatem tibi in scribendo suppeditabunt plenam cuiusdam voluptatis, quae vehementer animos hominum in legendo, te scriptore, tenere possit. Nihil est enim aptius ad delectationem lectoris quam

used in Latin where we should use adversative: cp. Sall. Jug. 107 *nihil dolo factum ac magis calliditate Iugurthae*; Cic. Rosc. Am. 10; Arch. 11; Sulla 21, and Reid's note.

persona] 'personality,' 'personage,' the man in his public and recognised character: cp. Att. viii. 11 D. 7 (343), ix. 11 A. 1 (366); Fam. iv. 5, 5 (555): cp. note to Fam. vi. 6, 11 (488).

qui . . . imponam] 'in imposing.'

3. *bene et naviter*] There is no reason to suspect *et*: cp. Liv. xliii. 7, 3, though *bene naviter* is found in Seneca De Otio i. 4.

sentis] Note the indic. in Orat. Obliqua: cp. *concedet* below; and Lebreton's fine array of passages 365–372.

leges historiae] cp. Cic. De Orat. 62 *Nam quis nescit primam esse historiae legem, ne quid falsi dicere audeat? deinde ne quid veri non audeat? ne quae suspicio gratiae sit in scribendo? ne quae simultatis?* 'nothing extenuate or set down aught in malice.' Cp. Plin. Ep. vii. 33, 10.

gratiamque] 'personal regard.'

Herculem] The celebrated apologue of Prodicus: Xen. Mem. ii. 1, 21.

eam] For this *epanalepsis*, cp. *illud quod . . . id te nunc etiam atque etiam rogo*, Fam. xiii. 57, 2 (204); *lex sumptuaria, quae videtur* λιτότητα *attulisse, ea mihi fraudi fuit*, Ep. 94, 2: Cat. ii. 27.

4. *corpus*] a period of history having an intrinsic unity, 'a volume.' See on Att. ii. 1, 3 (27); Ep 135, 4.

temporum varietates fortunaeque vicissitudines: quae etsi nobis optabiles in experiendo non fuerunt, in legendo tamen erunt iucundae: habet enim praeteriti doloris secura recordatio delectationem. 5. Ceteris vero nulla perfunctis propria molestia casus autem alienos sine ullo dolore intuentibus etiam ipsa misericordia est iucunda. Quem enim nostrum ille moriens apud Mantineam Epaminondas non cum quadam miseratione delectat? qui tum denique sibi evelli iubet spiculum, postea quam ei percontanti dictum est clipeum esse salvum, ut etiam in vulneris dolore aequo animo cum laude moreretur. Cuius studium in legendo non erectum Themistocli fuga † redituque retinetur? Etenim ordo ipse annalium mediocriter nos retinet quasi enumeratione fastorum: at viri saepe excellentis ancipites variique casus habent admirationem, exspectationem, laetitiam, molestiam, spem, timorem: si vero exitu notabili concluduntur, expletur animus iucundissima lectionis voluptate. 6. Quo mihi acciderit optatius, si in hac sententia fueris ut a continentibus tuis scriptis, in quibus perpetuam rerum gestarum historiam complecteris, secernas hanc quasi fabulam rerum even-

habet . . . delectationem] cp. *suavis laborum est praeteritorum memoria*, Fin. ii. 105, Cicero's translation of ἀλλ' ἡδύ τοι σωθέντα μεμνῆσθαι πόνων, Eur. Frag. 131 (Nauck).

5. *Ceteris*] for the sentiment, see Att. ii. 7, 4 (Ep. 34), and the note there.

Epaminondas] cp. Fin. ii. 97.

cum quadam miseratione delectat] 'the pathetic charm of the scene.' Cp. De Sen. 52, *ut quemvis cum admiratione delectent.*

fuga redituque] But Themistocles did not return. Yet this cannot be a μνημονικὸν ἁμάρτημα of Cicero, though such are not rare. (In Div. ii. 63 there is a remarkable *lapsus memoriae*, even *Agamemno* for *Ulixes*.) For Cicero, in other places—*e. g.* Brut. 43; Att. ix. 10, 3 (365); Lael. 42—dwells on the fact that Themistocles did not return after his exile. It is quite impossible that in the word *reditu* Cicero refers to the fact that Themistocles was brought back to Athens after his death, and secretly buried there, though this is referred to in the passage above quoted from the *Brutus*. It has therefore been proposed to read *Alcibiadis* for *Themistocli*; or *interituque* (Ferrarius) or *exituque* (Kayser) for *redituque*. Perhaps what Cicero really wrote was, *Themistocli fuga, Coriolani fuga redituque*. Or, if it be objected that Cicero mentions no famous Romans in this letter, but only Greeks, we might, on the same principle of *corruptio ex homoeoteleuto*, add < *Thrasybuli fuga*>. Palmer proposed *Aristidi* for *Themistocli*. In two of the places quoted above (Att. ix. 10, 3 and Lael. 42) he couples Themistocles and Coriolanus. If the copyist, having written *Themistocli fuga*, happened to raise his eyes from his task, he would mentally note that he was to resume it after the word *fuga*; but if the word *fuga* occurred twice in the passage (the two being separated by only one word), the copyist might very possibly go on writing after the second *fuga*, not the first. This is such a prolific source of error in copyists that it would be desirable to have a term to denote it. Perhaps *parablepsy* would be a more convenient term than *corruptio ex homoeoteleuto*.

viri saepe excellentis] For this position of *saepe* cp. Att. i. 14. 1 (20).

6. *sententia . . ut . . secernas*] 'if you come to the resolution of separating.'

quasi fabulam] 'a kind of drama.' For political events compared to a drama cp. Att. i. 18, 2 (24), Q. Fr. i. 1, 46 (30).

torumque nostrorum: habet enim varios actus multasque actiones et consiliorum et temporum. Ac non vereor ne adsentatiuncula quadam aucupari tuam gratiam videar, cum hoc demonstrem, me a te potissimum ornari celebrarique velle. Neque enim tu is es, qui quid sis nescias et qui non eos magis qui te non admirentur invidos quam eos qui laudent adsentatores arbitrere. Neque autem ego sum ita demens ut me sempiternae gloriae per eum commendari velim qui non ipse quoque in me commendando propriam ingeni gloriam consequatur. 7. Neque enim Alexander ille gratiae causa ab Apelle potissimum pingi et a Lysippo fingi volebat, sed quod illorum artem cum ipsis tum etiam sibi gloriae fore putabat. Atque illi artifices corporis simulacra ignotis nota faciebant: quae vel si nulla sint, nihilo sint tamen obscuriores clari viri. Nec minus est Spartiates Agesilaus ille perhibendus, qui neque pictam neque fictam imaginem suam passus est esse, quam qui in eo genere laborarunt; unus enim Xenophontis libellus in eo rege laudando facile omnis imagines omnium statuasque superavit. Atque hoc praestantius mihi fuerit et ad laetitiam animi et ad memoriae dignitatem, si in tua scripta pervenero, quam si in ceterorum, quod non ingenium mihi solum suppeditatum fuerit tuum, sicut Timoleonti a Timaeo aut ab Herodoto Themistocli, sed etiam auctoritas clarissimi et spectatissimi viri et in rei publicae maximis gravissimisque causis cogniti

actus . . . actiones] The metaphor of 'drama' is kept up, 'acts and incidents (scenes).' Madvig altered *multasque actiones* into *mutationesque*.

quid sis] cp. *si umquam in dicendo fuimus aliquid*, 91, 2; *quid enim sum*, Att. iii. 15, 2 (73); *nihil ita est*, Att. i. 19, 4 (25). The meaning of the whole passage is: 'you know your own worth; you are more likely to suspect envy in those who do not admire you, than sycophancy in those who do; and I am not so stupid as to risk my future fame in the hands of one not fitted for the task—of one not capable of showing his own genius while praising me.'

7. *gratiae causa*] as a mark of favour to Apelles and Lysippus.

ignotis] 'to strangers.' *Ignotus*, like *notus*, is sometimes active in meaning (e.g. 2 Verr. i. 19, Nepos, Ages. 8, 1); while *ignarus* is sometimes passive, *mare magnum et ignara lingua commercia prohibebant*, Sall. Jug. 18, 6.

perhibendus] 'deserves mention.' Hofmann compares Tusc. i. 28 *Tyndaridae fratres qui non modo adiutores in proeliis victoriae populi Romani sed etiam nuntii fuisse perhibentur*. The curious order of the preceding words *Spartiates Agesilaus ille* for *Spartiates ille Agesilaus* has led to some conjectures: *Spartiates Agesilaus celeber habendus* (Wölfflin); *minus est superstes Agesilaus ille perhibendus* (Mendelssohn): *minus est spectabilis Agesilaus ille perhibendus* (Schmalz).

in eo genere lab.] 'who have taken much pains in (securing commemoration of) that kind,' 'whose energies took that direction.'

libellus] the *Agesilaus* of Xenophon.

ad memoriae dignitatem] 'to ennoble my story.'

atque in primis probati: ut mihi non solum praeconium quod, cum in Sigeum venisset, Alexander ab Homero Achilli tributum esse dixit, sed etiam grave testimonium impertitum clari hominis magnique videatur. Placet enim Hector ille mihi Naevianus, qui non tantum 'laudari' se laetatur sed addit etiam 'a laudato viro.' 8. Quod si a te non impetraro, hoc est, si quae te res impedierit—neque enim fas esse arbitror quidquam me rogantem abs te non impetrare—, cogar fortasse facere quod non nulli saepe reprehendunt: scribam ipse de me, multorum tamen exemplo et clarorum virorum. Sed, quod te non fugit, haec sunt in hoc genere vitia: et verecundius ipsi de sese scribant necesse est si quid est laudandum, et praetereant si quid reprehendendum est. Accedit etiam ut minor sit fides, minor auctoritas, multi denique reprehendant et dicant verecundiores esse praecones ludorum gymnicorum, qui cum ceteris coronas imposuerint victoribus eorumque nomina magna voce pronuntiarint, cum ipsi ante ludorum missionem corona donentur, alium praeconem adhibeant, ne sua voce se ipsi victores esse praedicent. 9. Haec nos vitare cupimus et, si recipis causam nostram, vitabimus idque ut facias rogamus. Ac ne forte mirere cur, cum mihi saepe ostenderis te accuratissime nostrorum temporum consilia atque eventus litteris mandaturum, a te id nunc tanto opere et tam multis verbis petamus, illa nos cupiditas incendit, de qua initio

praeconium] cp. *bucinatorem*, 'trumpeter,' Fam. xvi. 21, 2 (786).

Sigeum] see Arch. 24.

Hector ille . . . Naevianus] cp. Fam. xv. 6, 1 (278). The whole verse is a troch. tetram. cat. from the *Hector Proficiscens*—

Laetus sum laudari me abs te, pater, a laudato viro.

8. *impetraro*] So Wesenberg. The mss give *impetro*. No doubt, the present with fut. in apodosis can be easily defended: cp. *recipis* § 9; *suscipis* § 10; 166, 1 *si iniquus es . . . condemnabo*; but the fact that Cicero has the fut. perf. *impedierit* makes this case somewhat different from the others. But the matter is very doubtful. Lebreton (p. 190) keeps *impetro*.

abs te non impetrare] Lehmann (*Quaest. Tull.*, p. 53) wants to add <*non impedito*> before *non*; but *non impetrare* means 'to be refused' without any reason assigned, simply that Lucceius was unwilling to do the service, whether he had leisure to do it or not.

scribam ipse de me] Cicero had written a memoir (ὑπόμνημα) of his consulship in Greek: cp. Att. i. 19, 10 (25); ii. 1, 2 (27). In i. 19, 10 (25) he also speaks of a poem, and of a Latin memoir of his consulship. The latter was probably a short history or notes for a history (cp. § 10) of the consulship. Cicero may have kept it by him; and it may have occurred to him that, if he failed with Lucceius, he would now finish and publish it.

multorum . . . exemplo] Böckel quotes as examples Sulla, the dictator, M. Scaurus, P. Rutilius, Catulus (cp. Tac. Agr. 1; Cic. Brut. 112, 132).

praedicent] 'declare.'

9. *illa nos cupiditas*] This is the answer of Cicero: 'if you wonder why I now so earnestly urge my request, after repeated assurances on your part that you were going to write a minute history of the crisis of my career, (I answer), I am consumed by the feeling of impatience of which I spoke in the beginning of my

scripsi, festinationis, quod alacres animo sumus ut et ceteri viventibus nobis ex libris tuis nos cognoscant et nosmet ipsi vivi gloriola nostra perfruamur. 10. His de rebus quid acturus sis, si tibi non est molestum, rescribas mihi velim. Si enim suscipis causam, conficiam commentarios rerum omnium: sin autem differs me in tempus aliud, coram tecum loquar. Tu interea non cessabis et ea quae habes instituta perpolies nosque diliges.

110. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. IV. 6).

ANTIUM; APRIL (END) OR MAY (BEGINNING), A. U. C. 698; B. C. 56; AET. CIC. 50.

Lentulum, cuius obitus erat nuntiatus, non miserum esse scribit, miseros qui vivant et maxime se ipsum praedicat, qui deteriore etiam condicione sit quam ceteri. Deinde de scriptis suis, de Lucceio a se ut suas res gestas scriberet rogato.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. De Lentulo scilicet sic fero ut debeo: virum bonum et magnum hominem et in summa magnitudine animi multa humanitate temperatum perdidimus, nosque malo solacio sed non nullo tamen consolamur, quod ipsius vicem minime dolemus, non ut Saufeius et vestri, sed mehercule quia sic amabat patriam ut mihi aliquo deorum beneficio videatur ex eius incendio esse ereptus. Nam quid foedius nostra vita, praecipue mea? Nam tu quidem,

letter, by an eager desire,' &c. The words *illa nos cupiditas* give the answer of Cicero; we should have expected *scito illam nos cupiditatem incendere*; but this ellipse is common in Cicero. For the meaning of *tempora*, see 153, 23. *Gloriola* ('bit of glory') is found only here and 134, 3.

10. *commentarios*] 'notes' which would give Lucceius the *data* for his memoir.

non cessabis] the future is a polite imper., 'you will kindly use all diligence, and polish what you have, and believe me yours very sincerely'; *nos diliges* is one of the conventional *formulae* for winding up a letter.

1. *De Lentulo*] L. Cornelius Lentulus Niger, Flamen Martialis, had just died. He is probably the same as the Lentulus mentioned Att. ii. 24, 2 (51), who with his son was accused by Vettius. He was one of the priests who adjudicated on the validity of the consecration of Cicero's house (Harusp. resp. 12), and one of the judges in the trial of Sestius (Vat. 25).

sic fero ut debeo] 'I feel his loss, as I have good reason to feel it. We have lost a true patriot in him, and a fine fellow, too, uniting remarkable strength of character with great charm of manner.'

Saufeius et vestri] The Epicureans would be withheld from grief by their belief that death is no evil. Cicero says this is not the thought that assuages his grief, but the reflection that a patriot like Lentulus is taken away from the evil to come.

etsi es natura πολιτικός, tamen nullam habes propriam servitutem communi† fueris nonne.† 2. Ego vero qui, si loquor de re publica quod oportet, insanus, si quod opus est, servus existimor, si taceo, oppressus et captus, quo dolore esse debeo? Quo sum scilicet, hoc etiam acriore, quod ne dolere quidem possum, ut non ingratus videar. Quid? si cessare libeat et in oti portum confugere? Nequiquam. Immo etiam in bellum et in castra? Ergo erimus ὀπαδοί, qui ταγοὶ esse noluimus? Sic faciendum est; tibi enim ipsi, cui utinam semper paruissem, sic video placere. Reliquum iam est, Σπάρταν ἔλαχες, ταύταν κόσμει. Non mehercule possum, et Philoxeno ignosco qui reduci in carcerem maluit. Verum tamen id ipsum mecum in his locis commentor ut ista improbem, idque

etsi es natura πολιτικός] 'you, although by nature you have strong political feelings (and so must feel acutely the present state of things), do not personally feel the galling of the chain.' Then Cicero goes on to show how he himself was, *in a peculiar sense*, galled by the general state of slavery. Atticus had never taken part in public life; therefore Cicero says, 'though you are in heart a politician' (though not in act).

†*communi*] We have thought it better to obelise the words of the mss than to give a place in the text to the conjecture of Pius, *communi frueris nomine*, 'you have the benefit of the general name of slave, which applies to all.' For other conjectures, see Adn. Crit. Perhaps we might read (keeping closer to the mss) *communi frueris. Nonne?* 'you have a right to your share of the general slavery. Is not that so?' Then the word *frueris* would be used, with bitter irony, in the juridical sense: 'No one can legally dispute your right to your share of the general slavery, though you have no claim to the peculiar and personal sense of degradation which is my privilege.' If we adopt the reading of Pius, we might paraphrase the sentence thus, 'You wear not in perpetuity a chain that binds yourself alone; you have but the temporary ownership of the name (of slavery) borne by the whole community.'

2. *quod oportet*] is 'what duty enjoins'; *quod opus est* is 'what expediency dictates.' Boot compares *hoc fieri et oportet et opus est*, Att. xiii. 25, 1 (640). Here the course which duty demands is to espouse, heart and soul, the optimate cause; the course which expediency suggests is to make common cause with the triumvirs. So *opus esse*, *necesse non esse*, 'was desirable (expedient), but not indispensable.'

Quo sum scilicet] is the answer to the question, *quo dolore esse debeo?*

ut non] 'without seeming ungrateful' (to those who brought about my restoration from exile).

ὀπαδοί . . . ταγοί] Cicero, as usual, employs Greek words when he wishes to be very emphatic. In the same tone, we might say, 'Am I to shoulder the knapsack, after refusing to wield the *bâton*?'

Sic faciendum est] i.e. to declare war against the *optimates*, and approach the triumvirs.

Σπάρταν] See on Att. i. 20, 3 (26). Cicero's Σπάρτα or 'peculiar province' here is to support the triumvirs.

Philoxeno] Philoxenus of Cythera, a dithyrambic poet (b.c. 435–380), was consigned to the quarries by Dionysius of Syracuse, for criticising unfavourably the compositions of the tyrant. The story went that he was released, and given a chance of liberty by being again called on for a literary judgment on the works of his master. After reading a few verses, he turned and walked towards the quarries. Dionysius called out, 'Where are you going?' 'To the quarries,' was the reply of this model critic.

ista] If the text is sound, *ista* must refer to the policy of the leading *optimates*. And this fairly suits the context. Cicero says, 'I will not glorify the triumvirs, but I am prepared to condemn the *optimates*, my former political associates, and you will keep me up to this.' If we read with Schütz and Wesenberg against the

tu, cum una erimus, confirmabis. A te litteras crebro ad me scribi video, sed omnis uno tempore accepi. Quae res etiam auxit dolorem meum. Casu enim trinas ante legeram, quibus meliuscule Lentulo esse scriptum erat. Ecce quartae fulmen! Sed ille, ut scripsi, non miser, nos vero ferrei. 3. Quod me admones ut scribam illa Hortensiana, in alia incidi non immemor istius mandati tui. Sed mehercule *in* incipiendo refugi, ne, qui videor stulte illius amici intemperiem non tulisse, rursus stulte iniuriam illius faciam illustrem, si quid scripsero, et simul, ne βαθύτης mea, quae in agendo apparuit, in scribendo sit occultior et aliquid satisfactio levitatis habere videatur. 4. Sed viderimus. Tu modo quam saepissime ad me aliquid. Epistulam Lucceio nunc quam misi, qua meas res ut scribat rogo, fac ut ab eo sumas—valde bella est—

mss, *ista ne improbem* or *ista probem*, then *ista* means the conduct of the triumvirs; and a case can certainly be made out for this view. He had already gone a long way in this direction in the De Prov. Cons., not to speak of the παλινῳδία (cp. 108, 1); and 'not censuring the conduct of the triumvirs' well expresses the tone which Cicero adopted in the speeches of the period: cp. Balb. 60 ff; Pis. 79 ff; and De Prov. Cons. *passim*.

Ecce quartae fulmen] 'then comes the news in the fourth like a thunderbolt on me.' The fourth letter told of the death of Lentulus.

ferrei] This is the reading of M^2, which has been variously emended by the edd. Orelli explains *ferrei* 'nimis patientes, ἀπαθεῖς, qui adhuc vivamus nec voluntaria morte nos liberemus.' 'We are so callous (as to live on).' So Mr. Shuckburgh, who compares Lael. 87 *Quis tam esset ferreus qui eam vitam ferre posset cuique non auferret fructum voluptatum omnium solitudo?* cp. 48 and Att. xiii. 30. 2 (605). This is not a very natural expression; hence the number of conjectures (see Adn. Crit.). Kayser ingeniously refers to the Iron Age of Hesiod, Op. 174, 175:—

νῦν γὰρ δὴ γένος ἐστὶ σιδήρεον, οὐδέ ποτ' ἦμαρ
παύσονται καμάτου καὶ ὀϊζύος, οὐδέ τι νύκτωρ
φθειρόμενοι· χαλεπὰς δὲ θεοὶ δώσουσι μερίμνας.

The meaning is, 'we are the Iron Age of Hesiod, *steeped to the lips in misery*.'

3. *Hortensiana*] This may have been some pamphlet touching the perfidy of Hortensius, of which Cicero often complains. If so, it is in favour of the interpretation given above of the ms reading, *ut ista improbem*. But it is more likely that the pacific Atticus wished that Cicero should write something calculated to recreate friendly feelings between himself and his great compeer. Cicero, however, says that in any such work he would have to allude to the injuries he had received from Hortensius, and proceeds to show that any raking-up of old grievances was to be deprecated.

illius amici] 'of Hortensius, when a friend.'

βαθύτης] 'self-restraint,' as in Att. v. 10, 3 (198); vi. 1, 2 (252). We use the word 'deep' in the same way of a man who conceals his feelings from motives of prudence. 'Lest my self-restraint, which was shown in my conduct, should not appear so clearly in my writing.'

et . . . videatur] 'and lest such a mode of taking satisfaction might look a little weak,' that is, lest it might seem weak to put up with an injury, and then avenge it in a *brochure*. Bosius' conjecture, *oculatior* for *occultior*, due to a misapprehension on his part of the meaning of βαθύτης, and only supported by his feigned *codices*, has vitiated the interpretation of this whole passage, as may be seen by referring to the edd. of Schütz and Billerbeck. The conjecture was in itself highly ingenious.

4. *valde bella est*] This is interesting as showing that Cicero took care, with some at least of his letters, to give them artistic finish and beauty. The letter is, indeed, a model of grace and ingenuity. See the first note on 109.

eumque ut approperet adhorteris et, quod mihi se ita facturum rescripsit, agas gratias, domum nostram, quoad poteris, invisas, Vestorio aliquid significes: valde enim est in me liberalis.

111. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. IV. 7).

ARPINUM; APRIL (LATTER HALF), A. U. C. 698; B. C. 56; AET. CIC. 50.

De Q. puero, de Apollonio, de Metelli testamento non improbo, de rebus domesticis, de Milone admonendo, de Arpinatium fremitu de Laterio, de Cicerone puero.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Nihil εὐκαιρότερον epistula tua quae me sollicitum de Quinto nostro, puero optimo, valde levavit. Venerat horis duabus ante Chaerippus: mera monstra nuntiarat. De Apollonio quod scribis, qui illi di irati! homini Graeco qui conturbat atque idem putat sibi licere quod equitibus Romanis: nam Terentius suo iure. 2. De Metello, οὐχ ὁσίη φθιμένοισιν, sed tamen multis annis civis nemo erat mortuus, qui quidem . . . †tibi nummi meo peri-

aliquid significes] 'sc. eum tibi et mihi gratum facere.' (Ern.)

1. εὐκαιρότερον] 'more *à propos*.'

Chaerippus] one of the suite of Q. Cicero in Asia, Q. Fr. i. 14 (30), perhaps the same as the Greek Chaerippus referred to in Att. v. 4, 2 (187), and Fam. xii. 22, 4 (813), 30, 3 (899).

mera monstra] 'his news was simply dreadful': cp. Att. ix. 11, 4 (367); 105, 5, and note on 154, 1.

Apollonio] Cicero ironically complains of the audacity of a Greek who usurps the sacred privilege of the *equites* of becoming bankrupt. Terentius and Apollonius were both, no doubt, debtors to Atticus. It was bad enough that a Roman *eques* should become bankrupt and stop payment, but in a Greek it was quite intolerable.

qui] cp. *qui illum di omnes perduint*, common in the comic drama (e.g. Plaut. Men. 451). It is a colloquial expression not found elsewhere in classical Latin, but found in Ennius (Ribbeck, Frag. Trag. p. 57).

2. *De Metello*] It is uncertain who this Metellus was. He cannot be Metellus Creticus, whom Cicero always praises; nor the Metellus Nepos who was consul 697 (57), for he was alive in 700 (54). (Boot). Drumann (ii. 56) thinks he was the son of Metellus Creticus, and was the colleague of Trebonius (cp. Fam. xv. 21, 2 (450)), who, as quaestor, supported the adoption of Clodius.

οὐκ ὁσίη φθιμένοισιν] ἐπ' ἀνδράσιν εὐχετάασθαι, Hom. Od. xxii. 412. Cicero uses this Greek quotation just where we should say *de mortuis*, or *de mortuis nil nisi bonum*. The word in Homer is κταμένοισιν: see vol. I³, p. 87. By a similar μνημονικὸν ἁμάρτημα, Cicero writes *Agamemno* for *Ulixes* in de Div. ii. 63.

qui quidem] Some unfavourable criticism is suppressed.

tibi] This sentence and the next following are very obscure. The obscurity is possibly due to some fear lest the letter should be read by some inquisitive *tabellarius* who might divulge its contents: cp. 113, 1; 148, 21; 159, 2. A kind of meaning has been extracted from them by the liberal assumption of a not very natural use of *aposiopesis*, and a not very graceful irony. The attempt to emend is

culo sint: quid enim vereris, quaecumque heredem fecit, nisi Publium fecit? Verum fecit non improbe, quemquam fuit ipse.† Qua re in hoc thecam nummariam non retexeris: in aliis eris cautior. 3. Mea mandata de domo curabis, praesidia locabis, Milonem admonebis. Arpinatium fremitus est incredibilis de Laterio. Quid quaeris? Equidem dolui, ὁ δ' οὐκ ἐμπάζετο μύθων. Quod superest etiam, puerum Ciceronem curabis et amabis, ut facis.

desperate; but we can hardly suppose that we have the real words of Cicero. Most edd., reading *quemcunque* and *fecit non improbe* (a doubtful phrase), and *quamquam*, take the meaning to be something like this: 'As to the money that Metellus owed you, I'll go security for it (that it will never be paid). His leaving P. Clodius his heir destroys your last chance. Yet his act in so doing was not one of his usual blackguard acts. After all, his heir was his next-of-kin. So you won't have the trouble of opening your coffers to put in that debt. You must be more cautious for the future.' But Cicero would hardly have expressed this meaning in so unnatural a way. 'You have no reason to fear his heir, whoever he may be, unless he be Publius,' is a very unnatural way of saying 'his making Publius his heir destroys your last chance.' Perhaps there is another *aposiopesis* after *ipse*. If Cicero refrains from characterising Metellus above, he may have done so again. We have no reason to believe he left P. Clodius his heir. Perhaps it is best to read *improbum* (of I), which is accepted by Wesenberg. We agree with Schütz that the whole passage is serious. Reading *improbum*, Cicero appears to mean: 'I warrant you will get back your loan to Metellus. For what have you to fear, no matter whom he has made his heir, unless, indeed, he made Clodius his heir [which he has not done]? But he has made no rake his heir, though he was himself—I won't say what. Wherefore you will have no occasion to draw on your coffers to recoup this loss. You will be repaid the loan by the respectable heir of Metellus. Let this affair teach you a lesson of caution for the future. If Metellus had not died, who knows if you would ever have been paid?'

It will be observed that the passage thus explained falls in well with our theory of the meaning of the next letter.

3. *praesidia*] 'some guards.' Milo was to be given a hint to have his retinue ready for emergencies. Cicero very properly wanted to *resist* force by force.

fremitus est incredibilis] 'you can't conceive how they grumble.'

Laterio] an estate of Q. Cicero near Arpinum. He had done something which was very annoying to the Arpinates. It seems most probable, from subsequent letters, that it was the diverting of a watercourse which led to the ill-feeling. Cicero says, 'I was much distressed. *But little he recked my rede*' (quoting from Hom. Od. i. 271).

112. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. IV. 8a). WII257

ANTIUM; MAY (BEGINNING), A. U. C. 698; B. C. 56; AET. CIC. 50.

Epistula de variis rebus domesticis.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Multa me in epistula tua delectarunt, sed nihil magis quam patina tyrotarichi. Nam de rauduſculo quod scribis,

μήπω μέγ' εἴπῃς, πρὶν τελευτήσαντ' ἴδῃς.

Aedificati tibi in agris nihil reperio. In oppido est quiddam de quo est dubium sitne venale, ac proximum quidem nostris aedibus. Hoc scito, Antium Buthrotum esse Romae, ut Corcyrae illud tuum. Nihil quietius, nihil alsius, nihil amoenius: *εἴη μοὶ οὗτος φίλος οἶκος*. 2. Postea vero quam Tyrannio mihi libros disposuit

1. *patina tyrotarichi*] This 'dish of potted fish and cheese' is a proverbial expression for a spare diet (also called *λιτότης* by Cicero), as may be seen from Fam. ix. 16, 7, 9 (472). The meaning of the whole passage probably is: 'I was pleased to see by your letter that you take a philosophical view about the money lent to Metellus; you say, "To a man of my simple habits such a loss is not serious; I can easily recoup myself by plain living." For as to the money lent (and the chances of repayment, to which I referred in my last letter), the aphorism you quote is very applicable—*Don't halloo till you're out of the wood.*' These words from the 'Tyro' of Sophocles are quoted by Plato, Soph. 238 A, in the same sense: 'Do not boast till you see the end,' lit. 'until you see him fulfilling (the promise).' Nauck (p. 276) points out that the proverb refers *ἐπὶ τῶν θαυμαζόντων τοὺς τὰ μεγάλα ὑπισχνουμένους· οὐ γάρ ἐστι πρὶν ἀποθανόντα ἴδῃς, ἀλλὰ πρὶν εἰς τέλος ἀγαγόντ' ἴδῃς, μὴ θαυμάσῃς τὸν μεγάλα καυχώμενον*. We should say 'don't count your chickens before they're hatched,' or 'don't halloo till you're out out of the wood.' This explanation of the meaning of the whole passage quite falls in with the view adopted in the notes on the letter before this. Many other views have been taken of Cicero's meaning in this passage, but they rest on the vaguest conjecture.

rauduſculo] An old word for a coin; lit. 'a little lump (of metal)': cp. Fest. p. 265, who says the word is used for a coin, *quia in mancipando cum dicitur 'ruduſculo libram ferito' asse tangitur libra.*

Aedificati] 'anything in the shape of a building.' Such is the force of the neuter participle. Atticus had told Cicero to look out for a house for him in the neighbourhood of Antium.

proximum] It is impossible to decide whether this word indicates topographical nearness to Cicero's house (as seems more probable), or whether *proximum* is used, as in Att. ii. 6, 2 (33), to signify that it is 'nearly as pleasant.'

Antium Buthrotum esse Romae] 'Let me tell you that Antium is the Buthrotum of Rome, as your Buthrotum is the Buthrotum of Corcyra.' Cicero wishes to say that Antium is to Rome as Buthrotum to Corcyra, but not having our traditional phrases to express relation, he is bound to have recourse to a rather awkward expression. Ern. reads *Antium esse Romae ut Corcyraë Buthrotum illud tuum*, a construction which would, we think, be hard to parallel in Cicero, though it closely resembles modern usage.

εἴη μοὶ] 'be this my *home, sweet home.*' Cicero refers to the Greek proverb, *φίλος οἶκος οἶκος ἄριστος*, 'there's no place like home.' The attempt to explain the vulg. reading, *εἴη μισητὸς φίλος οἶκος*, 'let my home on the Palatine

mens addita videtur meis aedibus: qua quidem in re mirifica opera Dionysi et Menophili tui fuit. Nihil venustius quam illa tua pegmata, postquam mi sittybae libros illustrarunt. Vale. Et scribas ad me velim de gladiatoribus, sed ita bene si rem gerunt; non quaero male si se gesserunt.

113. FROM Q. METELLUS NEPOS, IN SPAIN, TO CICERO (FAM. V. 3).

MONTH UNCERTAIN, A. U. C. 698; B. C. 56; AET. CIC. 50.

Q. Metellus queritur de contumeliosis in se contionibus necessarii cuiusdam sui, fortasse P. Clodii: a M. Cicerone in rebus suis adiuvari cupit.

Q. METELLUS NEPOS S. D. M. CICERONI.

1. Hominis importunissimi contumeliae, quibus crebris contionibus me onerat, tuis erga me officiis leniuntur et, ut sunt leves ab eius modi homine, a me despiciuntur libenterque commutata persona te mihi fratris loco esse duco. 2. De illo ne meminisse quidem volo, tametsi bis eum invitum servavi. De meis rebus ne vobis multitudine litterarum molestior essem, ad Lollium perscripsi de rationibus provinciae quid vellem fieri, ut is vos doceret et commonefaceret. Si poteris, velim pristinam tuam erga me voluntatem conserves.

be (in comparison with this) despised,' is plainly futile. The text is the conjecture of Peerlkamp. It is only necessary to look through the Adn. Crit. to see that the copyists of Cicero's letters were absolutely ignorant of Greek, and never but by chance wrote down words which even *could* be Greek.

2. *mens*] 'my house seems no longer chaos.' Cicero, in making *mens* 'the principle of order,' was perhaps thinking of the Anaxagorean νοῦς: *pegmata* = 'book-shelves.'

sittybae] See note to 107, 1.

Vale] is often followed by a postscript: see Att. v. 19, 2 (220). Professor Ellis (*Hermathena* (1887), p. 133) retains the ms reading *postquam misit libros illustrarunt valde*, 'As soon as he sent in (these bookcases), they set off my books extraordinarily.' He also thinks that *et scribas* may stand for *exscribas*, 'I wish you would copy out any notes you have made about the gladiatorial shows.'

ita . . . si] 'only if.'

gesserunt] The form of the 3rd plu. perf. in *-ere* is almost unknown in Cicero: though *dedere*, Fam. x 19, 2 (879), and *successere*, De Leg. i. 6, are found. So that it is highly probable that Wesenberg is right in reading *si se gesserunt*. See Adn. Crit.

1. *hominis importunissimi*] most probably P. Clodius, who resented Metellus' good-will to Cicero.

fratris] 'cousin'; the father of Metellus and the mother of Clodius were brother and sister.

2. *bis*] See Ep. 92, 3.

Lollium] not to be identified (as by Billerbeck) with the Lollius referred to in the speech *pro Domo*. It is not probable that the Lollius there mentioned would now be on friendly terms with Cicero and Metellus: see pro Dom. §§ 13, 14, 89.

Wid. II 241. Bart. Char. 65

114. TO P. LENTULUS SPINTHER, PROCONSUL OF CILICIA (FAM. I. 7).

ROME; JULY, A. U. C. 698; B. C. 56; AET. CIC. 50.

De litterarum ad P. Lentulum crebritate, de amicorum fide, de causa regia, de suis consiliis, de constantia tenenda, de suo et rei publicae statu, de Tulliae nuptiis, de Lentulo filio.

M. CICERO S. D. P. LENTULO PROCOS.

1. Legi tuas litteras quibus ad me scribis gratum tibi esse quod crebro certior per me fias de omnibus rebus et meam erga te benevolentiam facile perspicias: quorum alterum mihi, ut te plurimum diligam, facere necesse est, si volo is esse quem tu me esse voluisti; alterum facio libenter, ut, quoniam intervallo locorum et temporum diiuncti sumus, per litteras tecum quam saepissime colloquar. Quod si rarius fiet quam tu exspectabis, id erit causae quod non eius generis meae litterae sunt ut eas audeam temere committere. Quotiens mihi certorum hominum potestas erit quibus recte dem, non praetermittam. 2. Quod scire vis qua quisque in te fide sit et voluntate, difficile dictu est de singulis. Unum illud audeo, quod antea tibi saepe significavi, nunc quoque re perspecta et cognita scribere, vehementer quosdam homines et eos

1. *quorum alterum . . . colloquar*] The first *alterum* refers to the clause (*quod*) . . . *perspicias*; the second refers to *quod* . . . *rebus*. 'The *latter*—my strong affection for you—is my bounden duty, if I am to deserve my present position, which you were so instrumental in securing for me; the *former*—my regularity in corresponding with you, far apart as we are in place and circumstances—is a pleasure.' *Ut te diligam* = *te diligere*, and is parenthetical: see on Ep. 12, 42. The sentence may be paraphrased, 'the latter—my love for you—is a duty; the former—my regular correspondence with you—is a pleasure.' Hofmann explains *intervallo locorum et temporum*, 'now that we are so far separated, and have not seen each other for so long,' which is, of course, quite possibly the meaning, and its conjunction with *locorum* would support it; but the rendering given above to *temporum* is one which it often has in the letters (cp. § 8 below), and Hofmann's version would seem to demand some such word as *tanto* before *intervallo*.

id . . . causae] This construction, very common in ante-classical writers, is not infrequent in Cicero; we have *hoc causae est*, Verr. iii. 109; *quid causae censetis esse*, De Or. ii. 92: cp. *quid negoti est*, Tusc. i. 11; *quid eius sit*, Att. xvi. 4, 3 (771); *hoc litterularum*, Att. xii. 1, 1 (505); *quid hominis sit*, Att. vii. 3, 9 (294). Similar is the gen. in *quod eius, iam loci, ubi gentium*, &c., Draeger, i. 449. Roby, II. xliii, regards this use of *causae* as an example of predicative dative.

certorum] 'trustworthy': cp. Att. v. 21, 6 (250). *Certus* sometimes seems to be the same as τις, but never is so; the meaning in such cases (e. g. 96, 3) is 'men whom I well wot of, but do not name'; *recte* is 'safely.'

maxime qui te et maxime debuerunt et plurimum iuvare potuerunt, invidisse dignitati tuae simillimamque in re dissimili tui temporis nunc et nostri quondam fuisse rationem, ut, quos tu rei publicae causa laeseras, palam te oppugnarent, quorum auctoritatem, dignitatem voluntatemque defenderas, non tam memores essent virtutis tuae quam laudis inimici. Quo quidem tempore, ut perscripsi ad te antea, cognovi Hortensium percupidum tui, studiosum Lucullum, ex magistratibus autem L. Racilium et fide et animo singulari. Nam nostra propugnatio ac defensio dignitatis tuae propter magnitudinem beneficii tui fortasse plerisque offici maiorem auctoritatem habere videatur quam sententiae. 3. Praeterea quidem de consularibus nemini possum aut studi erga te aut offici aut amici animi esse testis. Etenim Pompeium, qui mecum saepissime non solum *a* me provocatus sed etiam sua sponte de te communicare solet, scis temporibus illis non saepe in senatu fuisse; cui quidem litterae tuae quas proxime miseras, quod facile intellexerim, periucundae fuerunt. Mihi quidem humanitas tua vel summa potius sapientia non iucunda solum sed etiam admirabilis visa est. Virum enim excellentem et tibi tua praestanti in eum liberalitate devinctum, non nihil suspicantem propter aliquorum opinionem suae cupiditatis te ab se abalienatum illa epistula retinuisti. Qui mihi cum semper tuae laudi favere visus est, etiam ipso suspiciosissimo tempore Caniniano, tum vero lectis tuis litteris

2. *simillimamque . . . rationem*] 'that your political position is very analogous to what mine was, though the circumstances are so different.' That is, 'you, though high in office, are the victim of secret jealousy, as I was when I was exiled.'

ut . . . oppugnarent] 'in the fact that they are your avowed enemies whom,' &c. The clauses *ut . . . inimici* give the points in which the cases of Lentulus and Cicero were similar; the points of dissimilarity are dwelt on in § 8.

Hortensium . . . Lucullum] cp. 95, 3.

Racilium] 93, 2, 3; 105, 4.

offici . . . sententiae] 'my advocacy of your claims will be looked on more as the discharge of an obligation to you than as an expression of my real view of the merits of the case': cp. 95, 4. The meaning would have been more clear if Cicero had written *magis* instead of *maiorem*. So Horace (Carm. iii. 20, 7) *tibi praeda cedat maior an illi*, 'rather than to him,' where *maior an illa* can hardly be the right reading.

3. *communicare*] The object of this transitive verb is *de te*, which is virtually equivalent to *sermones de te*: cp. Fam. iv. 4, 5 (495). But the word is used absolutely: cp. Clu. 47: Vatin. 3. For an almost exhaustive list of transitive verbs used absolutely in Cicero, see the fine collection in Lebreton, pp. 156–166.

temporibus illis] Pompey had retired to his own house to avoid the violence of Clodius, 102, 2.

liberalitate] your generosity in proposing to give Pompey the corn-commissionership.

opinionem suae cupiditatis] the impression that Pompey wanted for himself the commission to restore Ptolemy: cp. *ut Pompeius cupere videatur*, 95, 3; and 100, 3.

suspiciosissimo] 'even in the Caninian episode, when his feelings towards you

perspectus est a me toto animo de te ac de tuis ornamentis et commodis cogitare. 4. Qua re ea quae scribam sic habeto me cum illo re saepe communicata de illius ad te sententia atque auctoritate scribere: quoniam senatus consultum nullum exstat quo reductio regis Alexandrini tibi adempta sit, eaque quae de ea scripta est auctoritas, cui scis intercessum esse, ut ne quis omnino regem reduceret, tantam vim habet ut magis iratorum hominum studium quam constantis senatus consilium esse videatur, te perspicere posse, qui Ciliciam Cyprumque teneas, quid efficere et quid consequi possis, et, si res facultatem habitura videatur ut Alexandriam atque Aegyptum tenere possis, esse et tuae et nostri imperi dignitatis Ptolomaïde aut aliquo propinquo loco rege collocato te cum classe atque exercitu proficisci Alexandriam, ut, eam cum pace praesidiisque firmaris, Ptolomaeus redeat in regnum: ita fore ut et per te restituatur, quem ad modum senatus initio censuit, et sine multitudine reducatur, quem ad modum homines religiosi Sibyllae placere dixerunt. 5. Sed haec sententia sic et illi et nobis proba-

might well have been misconstrued,' that is, when Caninius proposed that Pompey, with two lictors, should restore Ptolemy: cp. 100, 3.

4. *sic habeto*] It seems hardly possible that Cicero should suddenly pass into the indirect form of narrative in the apodosis of the sentence — that he should have written, in fact, *te perspicere posse*, when the structure of the sentence demanded *tu perspicere potes*. Does not *te perspicere posse* depend on *sic habeto me scribere*? The indicatives *exstat . . . habet* are then regular, as they are the words of Cicero himself, and give a general objective view of the situation; while *possis videatur*, &c., are in the conjunctive, depending on *te perspicere posse*, and giving the grounds on which Lentulus could himself form a better judgment on the situation than his friends at Rome. The whole passage would then mean: 'You may take this as my deliberate conclusion, which is in accordance with the opinion of Pompey and has the weight of his authority, and which is the result of many interviews with him—Since there is no *Sctum* depriving you of the commission, and since the *Senatus auctoritas*, which (you know) was vetoed, can only be regarded as the expression of party feeling, not the deliberate judgment of the Senate—that you, as governor of Cilicia, can take a clearer view than others of the extent of your powers, and your chances of success; and that it is demanded by your dignity, and the dignity of our empire there, that you (if circumstances should give you the chance of holding Alexandria and Egypt) should proceed to Alexandria, having left the king at Ptolemais or some place in the neighbourhood, so that, when you have pacified and garrisoned Alexandria, Ptolemy may return to his throne.' The plan was, that after the military operations had all been finished, Ptolemy would be brought back, and thus the Sibylline oracle would be satisfied in the letter. *Esse* (*tuae dignitatis*) depends on *sic habeto me scribere*, and *proficisci* depends on *esse* (*tuae dignitatis*); lastly, *fore* in the next clause depends on *sic habeto me scribere*.

de illius ad te sententia] For the order of the words, cp. *de meis ad te rationibus scripsi*, Att. i. 2, 1 (11): see Madv. 467 *a*.

Ptolemaïde] in Syria (now Acre), or possibly the city in Cyrenaica.

initio] i.e. in the decree passed in 697 (57) that the next governor of Cilicia should restore Ptolemy: cp. 95, 3.

5. *sententia . . . videremus*] 'our approval of this view did not prevent our perceiving.'

batur ut ex eventu homines de tuo consilio existimaturos videremus; si cecidisset ut volumus et optamus, omnis te et sapienter et fortiter, si aliquid esset offensum, eosdem illos et cupide et temere fecisse dicturos. Qua re quid adsequi possis non tam facile est nobis quam tibi cuius prope in conspectu Aegyptus est iudicare. Nos quidem hoc sentimus: si exploratum tibi sit posse te illius regni potiri, non esse cunctandum: si dubium sit, non esse conandum. Illud tibi adfirmo, si rem istam ex sententia gesseris, fore ut absens a multis, cum redieris ab omnibus collaudere. Offensionem esse periculosam propter interpositam auctoritatem religionemque video. Sed ego te, ut ad certam laudam adhortor, sic a dimicatione deterreo redeoque ad illud quod initio scripsi, totius facti tui iudicium non tam ex consilio tuo quam ex eventu homines esse facturos. 6. Quod si haec ratio rei gerendae periculosa tibi esse videbitur, placebat illud, ut, si rex amicis tuis qui per provinciam atque imperium tuum pecunias ei credidissent fidem suam praestitisset, et auxiliis eum tuis et copiis adiuvares: eam esse naturam et regionem provinciae tuae ut illius reditum vel adiuvando confirmares vel neglegendo impedires. In hac ratione quid res, quid causa, quid tempus ferat tu facillime optimeque perspicies: quid nobis placuisset ex me potissimum putavi te scire oportere. 7. Quod mihi de nostro statu, de Milonis familiaritate, de levitate et imbecillitate Clodi gratularis, minime miramur te tuis ut egregium artificem praeclaris operibus laetari: quamquam est incredibilis hominum perversitas—graviore enim verbo uti non libet—, qui nos, quos favendo in communi causa retinere potuerunt, invidendo abalienarunt: quorum malevolentissimis obtrectationibus nos scito de vetere illa nostra diuturnaque

eventu] So GR and M below, § 5; but here M has *evento*: cp. *eventis*, § 9; *eventi*, Att. iii. 8, 4 (64).

offensum] 'if there were any hitch'; so *offensio* below is 'a slip,' 'a mishap.' Hofmann quotes Verr. v. 131 *multi viri fortes . . . et terra et mari saepe offenderunt*, and De Imp. Cn. Pomp. 28. Cp. πταίειν.

6. *placebat illud*] 'our advice in that case is.'

praestitisset] *Praestare* is properly 'to go security for,' 'to guarantee.' *Praestare fidem* is 'to guarantee (the fulfilment of) an undertaking'; Fam. v. 11, 2 (676) *quamcumque ei fidem dederis praestabo.*

regionem] Hofmann explains this word as meaning *Lage*, 'situation,' 'lie': cp. Balb. 64; Liv. xlii. 50, 7.

eam esse] governed by some word like *videmus*, taken from *placebat*.

7. *ut egregium artificem*] The thought is the same as in Att. ii. 21, 4 (48), 'in the state of things which you have brought about you must feel the delight of an artist in his masterpiece.' Cicero ascribes mainly to Lentulus his restoration and subsequent triumph over Clodius: cp. post red. ad Quir. 11; Sest. 144.

perversitas] 'wrong-headedness' (Jeans).

sententia prope iam esse depulsos, non nos quidem ut nostrae dignitatis simis obliti, sed ut habeamus rationem aliquando etiam salutis. Poterat utrumque praeclare, si esset fides, si gravitas in hominibus consularibus: sed tanta est in plerisque levitas ut eos non tam constantia in re publica nostra delectet quam splendor offendat. 8. Quod eo liberius ad te scribo quia non solum temporibus his quae per te sum adeptus, sed iam olim nascenti prope nostrae laudi dignitatique favisti, simulque quod video non, ut antehac putabam, novitati esse invisum meae: in te enim, homine omnium nobilissimo, similia invidorum vitia perspexi: quem tamen illi esse in principibus facile sunt passi, evolare altius certe noluerunt. Gaudeo tuam dissimilem fuisse fortunam: multum enim interest utrum laus imminuatur an salus deseratur. Me meae tamen ne nimis paeniteret tua virtute perfectum est; curasti enim ut plus additum ad memoriam nominis nostri quam demptum de fortuna videretur. 9. Te vero emoneo cum beneficiis tuis tum amore incitatus meo ut omnem gloriam, ad quam a pueritia inflammatus fuisti, omni cura atque industria consequare, magnitudinemque animi tui, quam ego semper sum admiratus semperque amavi, ne umquam inflectas cuiusquam iniuria. Magna est hominum opinio de te, magna commendatio liberalitatis, magna memo-

depulsos] 'driven from my old standpoint of principle, not indeed into forgetting my position, but into taking thought for my security.'

Poterat] sc. *fieri*; see on 96, 4.

levitas] 'paltriness,' 'little-mindedness,' 'lack of principle.'

8. *temporibus*] 'position.'

iam olim] It is not known to what previous services of Lentulus Cicero is alluding.

non . . . meae] 'that it was not my want of nobility which excited dislike' (Watson).

quem tamen] 'yet in your case too' (though you were a noble of exalted rank): cp. *ita molesta ut tamen sine pernicie*, Att. ii. 21, 1 (48); *multae tamen artis*, 131, 4. For *evolare* Watson compares De Orat. ii. 209.

laus imminuatur] This would be the case of Lentulus if refused the commission.

salus deseratur] This was the fate of Cicero when exiled.

meae] sc. *fortunae*.

demptum de fortuna] This word seems not to refer to *fortune* in the sense of *property*, but to mean *position*. In later Latin *fortuna* referred specially to the position of the Emperor: *libentius cum fortuna nostra quam nobiscum loquuntur*, 'they prefer to address us as Emperors than as men,' Tac. H. i. 15.

9. *emoneo*] This is the reading of the mss. Professor Ellis also reads it in Avianus Fab. 3, 4 *Talibus alloquiis emonuisse datur*, where *praemonuisse* of most mss is impossible, as the advice of the mother crab comes *after* the injury has been done; besides one ms is said to read *semonuisse*. For other readings see Adn. Crit.

commendatio liberalitatis] *liberalitatis* is not so probably subjective gen., 'your liberality is a great source of popularity,' as the objective, meaning 'men loudly commend your liberality.' Lentulus had given very splendid entertainments as Aedile in the year of Cicero's consulate: cp. Off. ii. 57.

ria consulatus tui. Haec profecto vides quanto expressiora quantoque illustriora futura sint, cum aliquantum ex provincia atque ex imperio laudis accesserit. Quamquam te ita gerere volo quae per exercitum atque imperium gerenda sunt ut haec multo ante meditere, huc te pares, haec cogites, ad haec te exerceas sentiasque—id quod quia semper sperasti non dubito quin adeptus intellegas—, te facillime posse obtinere summum atque altissimum gradum civitatis. Quae quidem mea cohortatio ne tibi inanis aut sine causa suscepta videatur, illa me ratio movit ut te ex nostris eventis communibus admonendum putarem ut considerares in omni reliqua vita quibus crederes, quos caveres. 10. Quod scribis te velle scire qui sit rei publicae status, summa dissensio est, sed contentio dispar. Nam qui plus opibus, armis, potentia valent, perfecisse tamen mihi videntur stultitia et inconstantia adversariorum ut etiam auctoritate iam plus valerent. Itaque perpaucis adversantibus omnia quae ne per populum quidem sine seditione se adsequi arbitrabantur per senatum consecuti sunt: nam et stipendium Caesari decretum est et decem legati et ne lege Sempronia succe-

expressiora] 'more marked.'

haec . . . meditere] *haec* refers to what follows, his prospects at Rome. Observe that *huc* is used quite as a synonym of *ad haec*, 'in this direction.'

obtinere] 'maintain.' It is commonly held that *obtinere* never means 'to obtain.' Prof. Reid, however, on Cic. pro Balb. 61 *voluimus quaedam, contendimus, experti sumus: obtenta non sunt*, remarks that, 'in spite of the traditional objection to translating *obtineo* by *obtain*, it will be seen that this passage admits, and almost requires, such a rendering.' Many passages, no doubt, admit the rendering of *obtinere* by *obtain*, but is there a single passage in which 'make good,' 'carry out,' would not more truly represent the sense of the word than 'obtain'? And may not the words, in the passage commented on by Prof. Reid, mean, 'we failed to hold them'?

ratio . . ut . . putarem] 'the consideration which moved me [thus to exhort] was my feeling that you ought to be warned by the incidents which your career and mine have had in common, to be careful whom to trust, and whom to be wary of.' *Illa ratio . . . ut putarem* = 'this consideration, viz. my thinking': cp. Att. i. 19, 4 (25).

10. *contentio dispar*] 'the energy displayed on each side is very different,' i.e. the optimates are supine. The context seems to show that this is the meaning of the words, not 'the dispute is between parties unequally matched,' which rendering, indeed, seems hardly to lie in the words.

tamen] This is the reading of the mss. It is to be explained on the same principle as that in Att. ii. 20, 6 (47). What one would expect from men with power at their back is that they would carry things with a high hand; *yet* (*tamen*) such was the folly of the constitutional party that the triumvirs have now much more moral (*auctoritate*) weight than their opponents: cp. for this use of *tamen* 132, 3.

se adsequi] 'which ends they did not think that they were gaining even with the aid of the people except by causing disorder in the State.' This is a strange use of the imperfect infinitive; we should have expected the future *adsecuturos*. Somewhat parallel, but less harsh, is Att. iii. 15, 6 (73) *haec nisi vides expediri*. Perhaps Ern. is right in reading *se posse adsequi*.

Sempronia] the law of C. Gracchus, which required that the Senate should name the provinces to be governed by the

deretur facile perfectum est. Quod ego ad te brevius scribo quia me status hic rei publicae non delectat: scribo tamen ut te admoneam, quod ipse litteris omnibus a pueritia deditus experiendo tamen magis quam discendo cognovi, tu tuis rebus integris discas, neque salutis nostrae rationem habendam nobis esse sine dignitate neque dignitatis sine salute. 11. Quod mihi de filia et de Crassipede gratularis, agnosco humanitatem tuam, speroque et opto nobis hanc coniunctionem voluptati fore. Lentulum nostrum eximia spe summae virtutis adulescentem cum ceteris artibus quibus studuisti semper ipse, tum in primis imitatione tui fac erudias; nulla enim erit hac praestantior disciplina: quem nos et quia tuus et quia te dignus est filius et quia nos diligit semperque dilexit in primis amamus carumque habemus.

consuls before the consuls were elected. Hence, if the Senate now assigned the Gauls to the consuls, who should be elected for 699 (55), this would be tantamount to Caesar's recall. In this case the law of Gracchus was not dispensed with; but in assigning proconsular governments, according to its provisions, to the consuls for 699, the Senate were induced not to name the Gaulish provinces: cp. Balb. 61 *Idem* (sc. *senatus*) *in angustiis aerari victorem exercitum stipendio affecit, imperatori decem legatos decrevit, lege Sempronia succedendum non censuit. Harum ego sententiarum et princeps et auctor fui* [one would not gather that from the letter to Lentulus], *neque me dissensioni meae pristinae putavi potius adsentiri quam praesentibus reip. temporibus et concordiae convenire.* See also Prov. Cons. 28, a passage which gives a very definite statement of the prominent position which Cicero took as regards these decrees in Caesar's interest.

11. *Crassipede*] cp. 106, 1, 2. The betrothal of Tullia to Crassipes took place at the beginning of April. As it took about forty-seven days for a letter to reach Cilicia (cp. Att. v. 19, 1 (220)), Cicero could not have received an answer in less than three months. So this letter was probably not written before July.

Lentulus] the son of the Lentulus to whom this letter is addressed.

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115. TO Q. VALERIUS ORCA, PROCONSUL IN AFRICA (FAM. XIII. 6a).

ROME; MONTH UNCERTAIN, ABOUT MIDDLE OF YEAR, A. U. C. 698; B. C. 56; AET. CIC. 50.

M. Cicero Q. Valerio P. Cuspii amicos omnes commendat, in primis L. Iulium.

M. CICERO Q. VALERIO Q. F. ORCAE PROCOS.

1. S. V. B. E. V. Credo te memoria tenere me et coram P. Cuspio tecum locutum esse cum te prosequerer paludatum, et item postea pluribus verbis tecum egisse ut quoscumque tibi eius necessarios commendarem haberes eos in numero meorum necessariorum. Id tu pro tua summa erga me benevolentia perpetuaque observantia mihi liberalissime atque humanissime recepisti. 2. Cuspius, homo in omnis suos officiosissimus, mirifice quosdam homines ex ista provincia tuetur et diligit, propterea quod fuit in Africa bis, cum maximis societatis negotiis praeesset. Itaque hoc eius officium quod adhibetur erga illos ego mea facultate et gratia soleo quantum possum adiuvare. Qua re Cuspianorum omnium commendationis causam hac tibi epistula exponendam putavi. Reliquis epistulis tantum faciam ut notam apponam eam quae mihi tecum

publica-norum

Q. Valerius Orca held the praetorship, and was now governor of Africa: cp. note to Fam. xiii. 4 (672). It is inferred by Man. from the words *vellem expertus esses*, § 4, that Valerius had recently arrived at his province. This, too, is borne out by the formal mode of address (*si vales bene est: valeo*, see vol. I³, pp. 57, 58). This would probably be the first letter written by Cicero to Valerius. In subsequent letters to him, Cicero drops the ceremonious preamble.

1. *coram P. Cuspio*] This is the only passage in Cicero (if the text is sound; and it seems hard to correct it with certainty) where *coram* is a preposition; for the passage in Pis. 12 *mihi vero ipsi coram genero meo quae dicere ausus es* is simply and probably emended by Dr. Reid (on Lael. 3), who inserts *et* before *genero*. *Coram* is almost always an adverb throughout Republican and Augustan Latin, and is used *commonly* as a preposition only by Tacitus. It is possible that here Cicero wrote *me et coram pro P. Cuspio*, or *me et coram cum P. Cuspio et tecum locutum esse*, in which cases *coram* would, of course, be an adverb, as usual.

paludatum] It was customary for a magistrate to wear the *paludamentum* when proceeding to his province: cp. Fam. xv. 17, 3 (541).

2. *societatis*] sc. *publicanorum*.

Cuspianorum] 'the friends of Cuspius.' He says he is bound to give them all letters of recommendation.

notam apponam] Cicero had arranged with Valerius, before his departure, that when he was really sincere in his recommendations, he should affix a certain mark on his letter to indicate to Valerius the sincerity of his opinion. On the question of the honourableness of this and similar acts of Cicero, see vol. I³, Introd. I., pp. 48–50.

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convenit et simul significem de numero esse Cuspi amicorum. 3. Sed hanc commendationem quam his litteris consignare volui scito esse omnium gravissimam. Nam P. Cuspius singulari studio contendit a me ut tibi quam diligentissime L. Iulium commendarem. Eius ego studio vix videor mihi satis facere posse, si utar verbis iis quibus cum diligentissime quid agimus uti solemus. Nova quaedam postulat et putat me eius generis artificium quoddam tenere. Ei ego pollicitus sum me ex intima nostra arte deprompturum mirificum genus commendationis. Id quoniam adsequi non possum, tu re velim efficias ut ille genere mearum litterarum incredibili quiddam perfectum arbitretur. 4. Id facies si omne genus liberalitatis quod et ab humanitate et potestate tua proficisci poterit non modo re sed etiam verbis, vultu denique exprompseris: quae quantum in provincia valeant vellem expertus esses, sed tamen suspicor. Ipsum hominem quem tibi commendo perdignum esse tua amicitia, non solum quia mihi Cuspius dicit, credo, tametsi id satis esse debebat, sed quia novi eius iudicium in hominibus et amicis diligendis. 5. Harum litterarum vis quanta fuerit propediem iudicabo tibique, ut confido, gratias agam. Ego quae te velle quaeque ad te pertinere arbitrabor omnia studiose diligenterque curabo. Cura ut valeas.

3. *eius generis artificium quoddam tenere*] 'that I am a master of this kind of literature.'

genere] 'that he may conceive that some miracle has been worked by the nature of my letter,' that is, by 'a letter of this kind from me.' Cp. *genus scriptorum tuorum*, 109, 1.

4. *vultu denique*] See on Q. Fr. i. 1, 1 (30).

expertus esses] This would be his *first experiment* of his influence, as he had just arrived. It is possible that Madvig (Opusc. Acad. 151, ed. 2) is right in reading *expertus esse*; for though Cicero had been quaestor in Sicily, he had never been governor of a province; 'I should like to have had the actual experience; but all the same I have my surmises on the point.'

suspicor] sc. *te mox experturum esse*. The verb *suspicor* is often used of an agreeable or favourable surmise. Cicero politely intimates that the *experiment* to which he refers is certain to show the strength of the new governor's influence.

116. TO Q. VALERIUS ORCA, IN AFRICA (FAM. XIII. 6*b*).

ROME; MONTH UNCERTAIN, A. U. C. 698; B. C. 56; AET. CIC. 50.

M. Cicero Q. Valerio P. Cornelium commendat.

M. CICERO Q. VALERIO Q. F. ORCAE PROCOS.

P. Cornelius, qui tibi litteras *has* dedit, est mihi a P. Cuspio commendatus cuius causa quanto opere cuperem deberemque profecto ex me facile cognosti. Vehementer te rogo ut cures ut ex hac commendatione mihi Cuspius quam maximas quam primum quam saepissime gratias agat. Vale.

117. TO QUINTUS CICERO, ON HIS JOURNEY TO ROME FROM SARDINIA (Q. FR. II. 6).

ROME; MAY (MIDDLE), A. U. C. 698; B. C. 56; AET. CIC. 50.

M. Cicero scribit de supplicatione A. Gabinio negata et suo fratris videndi desiderio.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

1. O litteras mihi tuas iucundissimas exspectatas, ac primo quidem cum desiderio, nunc vero etiam cum timore! Atque has scito litteras me solas accepisse post illas, quas tuus nauta attulit Ulbia datas. Sed cetera, ut scribis, praesenti sermoni reserventur. Hoc tamen non queo differre. Id. Maiis senatus frequens divinus fuit in supplicatione Gabinio deneganda. Adiurat Procilius hoc nemini accidisse. Foris valde plauditur. Mihi cum sua sponte

Cuius causa . . . cuperem] Cp. Fam. xiii. 75, 1 (178); 64, 1 (235). The dative is also found, *quid ego Fundanio non cupio?* Q. Fr. i. 1, 10 (30).

1. *cum timore*] Cicero had begun to fear that his brother had met with some mishap on his journey.

divinus fuit] 'acted splendidly in refusing a *supplicatio* to Gabinius.' Gabinius, governor of Syria, had applied to the Senate to give him a *supplicatio*, probably for his success in Palestine against Aristobulus and his son Alexander, or perhaps, as Drumann says (iii. 47, n. 35), on account of some previous victories over the Arabs. The use of *divinitus* = 'splendidly' has been already noticed; viz. Att. i. 16, 9 (22); ii. 21, 6 (48).

Procilius] a tribune.

hoc nemini accidisse] 'never was anyone so slighted.'

foris] i.e. *a populo*.

sua sponte] *sua sponte* is often applied to things as well as persons, as in 2 Verr. i. 108; iii. 5; Liv. xxii. 38, 13.

iucundum tum iucundius quod me absente. Etenim εἰλικρινὲς iudicium sine oppugnatione, sine gratia nostra erat. 2. Ante quod Idibus et postridie fuerat dictum de agro Campano actum iri, non est actum. In hac causa mihi aqua haeret. Sed plura quam constitueram: coram enim. Vale, mi optime et optatissime frater, et advola; idem te pueri nostri rogant. Illud scilicet: cenabis, cum veneris.

quod me absente] sc. *actum est.*

εἰλικρινὲς] 'unbiassed.'

2. *Ante quod*] For the reading of this passage see Adn. Crit. Cicero had carried a Sctum on the Nones of April that the question of the disposal of the Campanian land, as arranged by Caesar's laws, should be brought before the Senate on the Ides of May. He here says: 'The previous arrangement for the discussion of the question of the Campanian land on May 13 and 14, fell through.' It is plain from the last letter written to Quintus, and from other considerations, that Cicero must now have been in Rome. *Me absente* means only absence from the meeting of the Senate. This proposal of Cicero, which met the approval of the Senate on April 5, that the Senate should, on May 15, discuss the legality of the allotment of the Campanian domain under the agrarian laws of 695 (59), was, in reality, a blow aimed at Caesar, and had for its object the repeal of the Caesarean legislation of 698 (56). When Cicero withdrew his motion on the Campanian domain, or allowed it to fall through (as he tells us here), he took a step of far greater moment than his casual mention of it here would seem to indicate. It may be called his first overt act against the *optimates* and in support of the triumvirs.

aqua haeret] 'I am in a fix.' The metaphor is taken from running water meeting with an obstacle: cp. Off. iii. 117. The phrase is not noticed in L. & S. In the new Thesaurus it is stated that the proverb is taken 'ex usu clepsydrae,' which seems to mean that if the water ceased to flow in the clepsydra, the orator had to discontinue his speech. Cicero cannot now continue his attack on Caesar's laws. Cicero's difficulty was whether he should withdraw all opposition to the triumvirs on the Campanian land question or should continue the opposition to it, with no better support than the selfish and untrustworthy Senate.

plura] sc. *scripsi*: cp. Att. viii. 9, 2 (340).

coram enim] sc. *colloquemur*: cp. Att. xii. 21, 2 (557).

pueri nostri] 'your son and mine.'

scilicet] Here we have, I think, a case of the ante-classical usage (found also in Sallust: cp. Jug. 102, 9; 113, 3) whereby *scilicet* is regarded as = *scire licet*, and so governs an object. This is very common in Plautus, and is another of the coincidences between the language of Cicero's letters and that of the comic stage. So *videlicet datas*, for comment on which passage see vol. I², p. 62. This usage of Cicero in his letters is not recognized by the grammars and dictionaries. Yet, so many are the other coincidences, surely we may add this one. *Videlicet* governs an object in post-classical Latin. The meaning is, 'This *va sans dire*; you dine with me on your arrival.' [I cannot think that *scilicet* here is anything more than the ordinary 'of course.' Understand *est* with *illud*: 'There is this of course,' cp. Att. vi. 3, 10 (264) *Haec sunt; etiam illud; orationem Q. Celeris mihi velim mittas.*—L. C. P.]

cenabis cum veneris] See Adn. Crit.

118. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. IV. 8b).

TUSCULANUM; NOVEMBER, A. U. C. 698; B. C. 56; AET. CIC. 50.

De lege Trebonia, de Domitii calamitate et misera rei publ. condicione, de Natta, de Fabio Lusco. In rebus publicis maiore prudentia sibi sane opus esse scribit de iisque cotidie ab Attico certior fieri cupit.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Apenas vix dicesserat, cum epistula. Quid ais? putasne fore ut legem non ferat? Dic, oro te, clarius: vix enim mihi exaudisse videor. Verum statim fac ut sciam, si modo tibi est commodum. Ludis quidem quoniam dies est additus, eo etiam melius hic eum diem cum Dionysio conteremus. 2. De Trebonio prorsus tibi adsentior. De Domitio.

Σύκῳ, μὰ τὴν Δήμητρα, σῦκον οὐδὲ ἓν
οὕτως ὅμοιον γέγονεν,

quam est ista περίστασις nostrae, vel quod ab iisdem vel quod

The date of this letter has been fixed with tolerable accuracy. It is to be assigned, not, with Rauschen (pp. 45, 46), to September, but, with Körner, to the first half of November. It is plain from § 2 that the intention of Pompey and Crassus to stand for the consulship had been declared (§ 2 *Domitium . . . fieri consulem non posse*: and also the end of the § *Si vero id sit ut non minus longas iam in codicillorum fastis futurorum consulum paginulas habeant quam factorum*). Now this occurred towards the end of the year, as it is the last event mentioned by Dio Cassius (xxxix. 30) in his history of the year 698 (56). After the declaration of Pompey and Crassus, most of the senators abstained from attending the senate οὐ μέντοι οὔτε τὴν ἔσθητα μετημπίσχοντο οὔτε ἐς τὰς πανηγύρεις ἐφοίτων οὔτε ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ τῇ τοῦ Διὸς ἑορτῇ εἱστιάθησαν. Now the *epulum Iovis* was held on November 13th (cp. Marquardt, iii. 335), in connexion with the Ludi Plebeii (November 4 to 17), so that they are most probably the *ludi* referred to in § 1 *ludis quidem quoniam dies est additus*.

1. *Apenas*] a letter-carrier. See Adn. Crit.

epistula] *sc.* a te venit.

legem] There are no data for discovering what *lex* is referred to.

Dic, oro te, clarius] This phrase, like *ain' tu*, signifies that the intelligence is incredible: 'can I believe my ears?'

exaudisse] 'caught the words,' used in just the same sense in Att. i. 14, 4 (20).

Ludis] sc. the Ludi Plebeii.

hic] Probably the *Tusculanum* is referred to, as he expects letters from Atticus daily: cp. *cotidie*, § 4.

2. *adsentior*] probably that he will be a zealous supporter of the triumvirs.

Domitio] Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus was a candidate for the consulship. Cicero ascribes his failure to the influence of the triumvirs. 'His case,' he says, 'is as like mine as two peas: the same influences brought about my exile and his defeat: the issue was in both cases unexpected; and the *optimates*, in both cases, were not to be found when wanted. The only point of dissimilarity was that Domitius tempted his fate (he had declared that he would deprive Caesar of his army, if elected). Perhaps his case was even harder than mine, that he who was born to the consulate, so to speak, should fail to obtain it, and that he should fail with no (plebeian) candidate, or at most one, in the field against him.'

οὐδὲ ἕν] when οὐδὲν takes this emphatic form, it is never elided, that is, οὐδ' ἕν is not found.

praeter opinionem vel quod viri boni nusquam. Unum dissimile, quod huic merito. Nam de ipso casu nescio an illud melius. Quid enim hoc miserius quam eum, qui tot annos quot habet designatus consul fuerit, fieri consulem non posse, praesertim cum aut solus aut certe non plus quam cum altero petat? Si vero id est, quod nescio an sit, ut non minus longas iam in codicillorum fastis futurorum consulum paginulas habeat quam factorum, quid illo miserius nisi res publica? in qua ne speratur quidem melius quidquam. 3. De Natta ex tuis primum scivi litteris: oderam hominem. De poëmate quod quaeris, quid, si cupiat effugere? quid? sinas? De Fabio Lusco quod eram exorsus, homo peramans semper nostri fuit nec mihi umquam odio. Satis enim acutus et permodestus ac bonae frugi. Eum, quia non videbam, abesse putabam: audivi ex Gavio hoc Firmano Romae esse hominem et fuisse adsiduum. Percussit animum. Dices, tantulane causa? Permulta ad me detulerat non dubia de Firmanis fratribus. Quid

hoc miserius quam] *Hoc* is ablative neuter. It is used pleonastically here before *quam*. Cp. *quo* nihil turpius *quam* . . . dicere, Fin. i. 19; quid *hoc* fieri turpius potest *quam*, De Or. i. 169; and Madvig's note. This pleonasm is also common in Plautus: cp. Mil. Glor. 22:—

Periuriorem *hoc* hominem si quis viderit,
Aut gloriarum pleniorem *quam illic est*.

tot annos] He is said to have been consul-elect all his life, because his election in his proper year was regarded as certain.

solus . . . petat] Domitius was the only plebeian candidate except Pompey (Crassus being a patrician); but Cicero hesitates whether he can rightly call Pompey a candidate at all, since he was not elected, but appointed colleague of Crassus after an *interregnum*. By the Licinian constitution one of the consuls was necessarily a plebeian. Others think that Pompey is not here referred to, but some plebeian rival of whom no further mention is made, possibly C. Memmius, or P. Nigidius Figulus, who were colleagues of Domitius in the praetorship.

Si vero] 'But if it is true—and I am not sure that it is not—that Pompey has, in the archives of his pocket-book, as long lists of future as of past consuls, then what is more sad than his (Domitius') condition, except that of the Republic, which does not leave room even for hope of improvement?' *Codicillorum* is the *gen. epexegeticus* (Draeger i. 466, 467), 'the state archives which are now one and the same as the pocket-book of Pompey,' like *mercedem gloriae*, 'the reward which consists in being famous,' Tusc. i. 34. Nearly the same is the gen. in *pestes hominum*, Fam. v. 8, 2 (131).

habeat] Gronovius thinks that the reference is not merely to Pompey but to the three triumvirs: accordingly he reads *habeant*.

3. *Natta*] L. Pinarius Natta was the pontifex under whom the *consecratio* of the site of Cicero's house by Clodius was carried out (Dom. 118, 134: cp. Mur. 73).

poëmate] Probably the poem *De temporibus suis*, to which he refers in 153, 23.

effugere] 'to see the light.'

quod eram exorsus] 'to recur to what I began to tell you' (in another letter).

bonae frugi] This is a contemptuous kind of praise, as we learn from Att. vii. 4, 1 (295), where he says that to use such words of a man is like giving a character to a freedman.

Gavio] This Gavius of Firmum is perhaps the person called *P. Clodi canis*, Att. vi. 3, 6 (264).

fuisse adsiduum] 'has been at Rome all along.'

Percussit] 'made a deep impression on me.'

Firmanis fratribus] These may be the

sit quod se a me remorit, si modo removit, ignoro. 4. De eo quod me mones, ut et πολιτικῶς me geram et τὴν ἔσω γραμμὴν teneam, ita faciam. Sed opus est maiore prudentia, quam a te, ut soleo, petam. Tu velim ex Fabio, si quem habes aditum, odorere et istum convivam tuum degustes et ad me de his rebus et de omnibus cotidie scribas. Ubi nihil erit quod scribas, id ipsum scribito. Cura ut valeas.

Gavius just mentioned and his brother. They seem to have been ill-disposed to Cicero. Fabius had disclosed to Cicero some hostile act on their part. Hence Cicero looks on Fabius as a well-wisher, and is surprised that he failed in the customary *salutatio*.

remorit] So Ern. for *removit* of the mss. The subjunctive seems required by the order of the words, though Cicero might well have written *quod se a me* removit, *si modo* removit, *quid sit ignoro*. C. F.W. Müller defends *removit* (perhaps rightly) by referring to such passages as Ter. Eun. 559 *quid est quod laetus es*. But it must be confessed that all the passages he quotes are direct questions, not indirect (as here), except Tac. Germ. 40 *sanctaque ignorantia quid sit illud quod tantum perituri vident*.

πολιτικῶς] 'with moderation,' like a citizen of a free state—a common usage: cp. such passages as Plutarch Sull. 30, 4.

τὴν ἔσω γραμμὴν] The reading of M is ΕΩ, which admits of the alteration either to ἔξω or ἔσω. We adopt the latter. The former is adopted by Manutius, who thinks the reference is to the chariot race, and the 'safe' course (which is apparently the meaning of the passage) in the chariot race was the 'outside' one, in which there was no danger of disaster when rounding the *meta*. But could γραμμὴ have this meaning? It can, of course, mean the 'starting-line,' the 'scratch'; but that is quite different from the line the chariots pursued during the race. We think the reference is not to the chariot-race, but to a game of the same nature as draughts or chess, called πεττεία, or more specifically ἐπὶ πέντε γραμμῶν (Pollux 97, 98). The details of the game are obscure (see Becq de Fouquières' *Les jeux des anciens*, pp. 391–405); but this much seems certain, that there was a dividing line in the middle of the board called ἱερὰ γραμμὴ, and if the player moved his pieces across that line, he played an aggressive and venturesome game: cp. Theocritus vi. 18 καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ γραμμᾶς κινεῖ λίθον, 'she plays the advancing game,' 'she moves her king from the boundary line' (if we should not read πάντα δ' ἀπὸ γραμμᾶς κινεῖ λίθον): Alcaeus 82 (ed. Bergk.) νῦν δ' αὖτ' οὗτος ἐπικρέτει κινήσαις τὸν ἀπ' ἴρας πύματον λίθον, 'moving his last piece across the border,' i.e. making his last desperate effort: cp. Paroem. Graeci, p. 196, ed. Gaisford, κινήσω τὸν ἀφ' ἱερᾶς: ἐπὶ τῶν τὰ ἔσχατα κινδυνεύοντων. Cicero says he will play the safe game, the defensive game; and he will keep his men within the ἱερὰ γραμμή, he will keep his actions within the bounds of prudence. He will make no such aggressive move as he did earlier in the year when he proposed the reconsideration of the Campanian Land Question.

convivam] Perhaps the Epicurean Saufeius.

id ipsum] sc. *nihil esse*. Cp. Att. vi. 3, 10 (264) *litteras mitte quam primum; si nihil, nihil fieri vel per tabellarium*, 'if there is no news, write to say so, or even send a verbal message.'

LETTERS OF THE FOURTEENTH YEAR OF CICERO'S CORRESPONDENCE.

EPP. 119–131.

A. U. C. 699; B. C. 55; AET. CIC. 51.

COSS. CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS, M. LICINIUS CRASSUS.

THIS year began with an *interregnum*: but towards the end of January or the beginning of February Pompey and Crassus were elected consuls, the opposition of Domitius (cp. 118, 2) having been withdrawn owing to the violence exercised against him and his supporters. In the middle of February praetors were elected. A motion was carried that they enter upon office forthwith, after an amendment that they be *privati* for two months (so as to admit of their being accused of *ambitus*) had been defeated. Then by colossal bribery (cp. Plut. Cat. Min. 42) Vatinius defeated Cato, and was elected praetor. Cicero supported Cato. Milo and Sestius also appear to have been elected praetors. The tribunes who were hostile to Pompey and Crassus were Ateius Capito and Aquillius Gallus.

About April or May Gabinius restored Ptolemy to Egypt with an army, doubtless at the instigation of Pompey and Caesar. About May Trebonius proposed a law which gave to Pompey and Crassus the governments of Spain and Syria for five years: and another law, proposed by the consuls, added five years to Caesar's tenure of Gaul, notwithstanding the earnest warnings of Cato (Plut. Cat. 43). Pompey carried a *lex iudiciaria* which limited the choice of judges by the Praetor Urbanus and his assisting Quaestors to the wealthiest and most respectable members of three orders. Crassus carried his law *de sodaliciis* of which we hear in Cicero's speech for Plancius. In the autumn, about September, Pompey opened his theatre with spectacles of unusual magnificence. This was the occasion of a very interesting letter from Cicero to M. Marius, which should, however, most probably be regarded rather as a

rhetorical exercise than as a genuine expression of opinion as to the morality of such public entertainments. About the same time Cicero delivered his speeches *in L. Pisonem* and *pro L. Caninio Gallo*. In November Crassus left Rome for his province of Syria, after having been reconciled with Cicero. The elections for 700 (54) were very much delayed, that for the curule aedileship apparently not having been completed when the year closed. It was in this year that Cicero composed his charming treatise *De Oratore*, and his poem *De temporibus suis* in three books.

This was the year of Caesar's expedition against the Usipetes and Tencteri, German tribes on the right bank of the Rhine. He treacherously seized their chiefs and defeated the host. His conduct was severely assailed by men of conscience like Cato (Plut. Caes. 22, Suet. Jul. 24). He made a bridge across the Rhine "to teach the Germans what Roman science could do" (Rice-Holmes, *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*, p. 74). He also received the submission of the Morini, and made his first expedition into Britain.

Wiel. II p. 295

119. TO P. LENTULUS, PROCONSUL OF CILICIA (FAM. I. 8).

ROME; JANUARY OR FEBRUARY, A. U. C. 699; B. C. 55; AET. CIC. 51.

De statu rei publicae questus P. Lentulum consolatur de spe exigua causae regiae aut paene fracta: certiorem spem supplicationis ostendit.

M. CICERO S. D. P. LENTULO PROCOS.

1. De omnibus rebus quae ad te pertinent, quid actum, quid constitutum sit, quid Pompeius susceperit, optime ex M. Plaetorio cognosces, qui non solum interfuit his rebus sed etiam praefuit neque ullum officium erga te hominis amantissimi, prudentissimi, diligentissimi praetermisit. Ex eodem de toto statu rerum communium cognosces, quae quales sint non facile est scribere. Sunt quidem certe in amicorum nostrorum potestate atque ita ut nullam mutationem umquam hac hominum aetate habitura res esse videatur. 2. Ego quidem, ut debeo et ut tute mihi praecepisti et ut me pietas utilitasque cogit, me ad eius rationes adiungo quem tu in meis rationibus tibi esse adiungendum putasti. Sed te non praeterit quam sit difficile sensum in re publica praesertim rectum et confirmatum deponere. Verum tamen ipse me conformo ad eius voluntatem a quo honeste dissentire non possum: neque id facio, ut forsitan quibusdam videar, simulatione: tantum enim animi inductio et mehercule amor erga Pompeium apud me valet ut, quae illi utilia sunt et quae ille vult, ea mihi omnia iam et recta et vera videantur. Neque, ut ego arbitror, errarent ne adversarii quidem eius, si, cum pares esse non possent, pugnare desisterent. 3. Me quidem etiam illa res consolatur, quod ego is sum cui vel maxime concedant omnes ut vel ea defendam quae Pompeius velit vel taceam vel etiam, id quod mihi maxime libet, ad nostra me studia referam

1. *amicorum*] the triumvirs.

2. *in meis rationibus*] 'when my interests (i.e. my return from exile) were in question.'

amor erga Pompeium] Weidner (*Quellenbuch* ii. 3, p. 131) says: 'Cicero durchschaute die Eitelkeit und Nichtigkeit des Pompeius, und doch führte ein dämonischer Zug ihn immer wieder zu ihm hin. So war Cicero's Herz und Verstand immer getheilt. Vgl. das scharfe Urtheil des Cicero über Pompeius Phil. ii. § 38 sq.'

possent] 'feeling themselves to be no match for him'; such is the force of the imperf. subjunct.

3. *ad nostra me studia . . . litterarum*] This is the course which in the next

litterarum: quod profecto faciam, si mihi per eiusdem amicitiam licebit. Quae enim proposita fuerant nobis, cum et honoribus amplissimis et laboribus maximis perfuncti essemus, dignitas in sententiis dicendis, libertas in re publica capessenda, ea sublata tota sunt, nec mihi magis quam omnibus. Nam aut adsentiendum est nulla cum gravitate paucis aut frustra dissentiendum. 4. Haec ego ad te ob eam causam maxime scribo ut iam de tua quoque ratione meditere. Commutata tota ratio est senatus, iudiciorum, rei totius publicae. Otium nobis exoptandum est: quod ii qui potiuntur rerum praestaturi videntur, si quidam homines patientius eorum potentiam ferre potuerint. Dignitatem quidem illam consularem fortis et constantis senatoris nihil est quod cogitemus: amissa culpa est eorum qui a senatu et ordinem coniunctissimum et hominem clarissimum abalienarunt. 5. Sed ut ad ea quae coniunctiora rebus tuis sunt revertar, Pompeium tibi valde amicum esse cognovi, et eo tu consule, quantum ego perspicio, omnia quae voles obtinebis: quibus in rebus me sibi ille adfixum habebit neque a me ulla res quae ad te pertineat neglegetur. Neque enim verebor ne sim ei molestus cui iucundum erit etiam propter se ipsum cum me esse gratum videbit. 6. Tu velim tibi ita persuadeas, nullam rem esse minimam quae ad te pertineat quae mihi non carior sit quam meae res omnes. Idque cum sentiam, sedulitate mihimet ipse satis facere possum, re quidem ipsa ideo mihi non satis facio quod nullam partem tuorum meritorum non modo referenda sed ne cogitanda quidem gratia consequi possum. 7. Rem te valde bene gessisse rumor erat. Exspectabantur litterae tuae de quibus eramus iam cum Pompeio locuti: quae si erunt adlatae, nostrum studium exstabit in conveniendis magistratibus et senatoribus: ceteraque quae ad te pertinebunt cum etiam plus contenderimus quam possumus, minus tamen faciemus quam debemus.

Pomp.

letter, 120, 2, he indicates by the words *ad nostrum Iovem revertamur*.

eiusdem] objective gen., 'my friendship for the same.'

4. *quidam*] certain extreme optimates, esp. Cato, Bibulus, Domitius.

ordinem] sc. *equestrem*. How Cato alienated the knights from the Senate by his conduct as regards the contract for the taxes of Asia is told in Att. i. 17 and 18 (23, 24).

hominem] Pompey, who was offended chiefly by Lucullus, Cato, and Metellus Celer.

6. *quod nullam partem*] 'not even in *feelings* of gratitude, much less in *acts* of gratitude, can I come up to what you deserve from me in any degree.'

7. *Rem . . . gessisse*] against the robber-tribes in Cilicia. Lentulus was desirous of obtaining the honour of a *supplicatio* for these successes.

W II p. 278

120. TO HIS BROTHER QUINTUS (Q. FR. II. 7 (9)).

ROME; FEBRUARY, A. U. C. 699; B. C. 55; AET. CIC. 51.

M. Cicero librum de temporibus suis fratri placuisse gaudet, eius se negotium Pompeio commendasse et de ambitu senatus consultum in Afranii sententiam factum esse scribit.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

1. Placiturum tibi esse librum meum suspicabar: tam valde placuisse quam scribis valde gaudeo. Quod me admones de nostra Urania suadesque ut meminerim Iovis orationem quae est in extremo illo libro, ego vero memini et illa omnia mihi magis scripsi quam ceteris. 2. Sed tamen postridie quam tu es profectus, multa nocte cum Vibullio veni ad Pompeium, cumque ego egissem

1. *librum meum*] Cicero's poem *De temporibus suis*, in which he was now engaged: cp. 153, 23; 148, 24; 147, 5.

nostra Urania] With some hesitation we retain this, the ingenious conjecture of Mal. for the unmeaning *non curantia* of M. While the words *librum meum* refer to the poem *De temporibus suis*, the words *nostra Urania* refer to a quite different poem — the poem *De consulatu suo*, of which three verses are quoted by Cicero in Att. ii. 3, 3 (29). But the passage there quoted cannot be the passage here alluded to. The passage quoted in Att. ii. 3, 3 (29) was the conclusion of the *third* book of his poem *on his consulate*, and was put in the mouth of Calliope (see note *ad loc.*); now, the passage here referred to is spoken by Urania, and we learn from de Div. i. 17–22, that Urania was a speaker in the *second* book. This, then, is very important, for if we supposed the allusion here to be to the passage quoted in Ep. 29, the meaning of this passage would be, 'you remind me of the verses, *interea cursus quos prima a parte iuventae*, &c. Yes, I remember them well, and I mean to follow their precept, *and adhere to my old optimate principles and party*.' But such is by no means what Cicero here wishes to intimate. We may, perhaps, infer from what Quintilian says (xi. 1, 24 *In carminibus utinam pepercisset* (*Cicero*) *quae non desierunt carpere maligni: 'Cedant arma togae, concedat laurea linguae' et 'O fortunatam natam me consule Romam' et 'Iovem illum a quo in concilium deorum advocatur' et 'Minervam quae artes eum edocuit': quae sibi ille secutus quaedam Graecorum exempla permiserat*: cp. Pseudo-Sallust in Cicero § 7) that the poem represented Cicero as called into the council of the gods by Juppiter, and probably addressed by the Muses. At the end of each book Juppiter may have made a speech bearing on the principal themes touched on by the Muses. The long extract from the speech of Urania quoted in de Div. i. 17–22 concludes with the lines—

Tu tamen anxiferas curas requiete relaxans
Quod patriae vacat, id studiis nobisque sacrasti,

and to this point Juppiter may have referred, urging Cicero to consider literature and philosophy as recreations or solaces in case political life should become burdensome or impossible. We know that Cicero, in periods of despondency at the course politics were taking, *did* have recourse to literature. The whole meaning may be thus conveyed: 'I am glad you like the poem *De temporibus*. But you remind me of the precept of another poem of mine (the poem *De consulatu*, second book), which tells me to give up politics, and devote myself to philosophy and literature: yes, I remember the precept well. It was more to confirm myself than to amuse others I wrote the whole thing. I will give up politics. *Yet*,

de istis operibus atque inscriptionibus, per mihi benigne respondit: magnam spem attulit: cum Crasso se dixit loqui velle mihique ut idem facerem suasit. Crassum consulem ex senatu domum reduxi. Suscepit rem dixitque esse quod Clodius hoc tempore cuperet per se et per Pompeium consequi: putare se, si ego eum non impedirem, posse me adipisci sine contentione quod vellem. Totum ei negotium permisi meque in eius potestate dixi fore. Interfuit huic sermoni P. Crassus adulescens, nostri, ut scis, studiosissimus. Illud autem quod cupit Clodius est legatio aliqua—si minus per senatum, per populum—libera aut Byzantium aut *ad* Brogitarum aut utrumque. Plena res nummorum. Quod ego non nimium laboro, etiam si minus adsequor quod volo. Pompeius tamen cum

I must tell you, I called on Pompey the very day after you left.' He called on Pompey to ask a favour for Quintus. He writes below (§ 2) *si perficiunt, optime: si minus, ad nostrum Iovem revertamur*, that is, 'if I find my political influence unavailable in your interest, then I will indeed follow the precept of Jove, which I have violated for your sake. I have strayed once more into the sphere of politics on an errand for you; if I fail, let us never enter it again.'

Gurlitt, however (Rhein. Mus. 56 (1901), pp. 596 ff.), objects to this view (1) that there is no evidence that in the work *De consulatu* any speeches of Juppiter were introduced: and (2) that the passage quoted above from Quintilian, taken in connection with 148, 24, would rather point to the view that the first book of the *De temporibus* ended with a speech of Juppiter inviting Cicero to a council of the gods; and that the opinion may be held that, in that speech, Juppiter may have advised Cicero to devote himself to literature rather than to politics. If these contentions are sound, there is no allusion to the *De consulatu*, and thus *Urania* must disappear. He thinks we should read *de nostra curatione*, and supposes the reference to be to the business which Cicero undertook of erecting a statue to his brother near the temple of Tellus (see next note). Gurlitt further points out that in some way or other Cicero had the administration of the temple of Tellus: cp. Harusp. Resp. 31 *aedes Telluris est curationis meae*. He also thinks that we might possibly read *de mon.* (for *monumentorum*, as O. E. Schmidt in Att. xiii. 46, 2 (663) reads *mun.* for *munerum*) *curatione*. But he justly considers that *nostra* (nra) is more probable.

operibus] We learn from Q. Fr. iii. 1, 14 (148) that Cicero afterwards erected a statue of his brother under the temple of Tellus, bearing probably an inscription recounting his merits and successes. This throws a light on the present passage. Quintus desired to have some record of himself in a public place in Rome. This could be done only by public consent. Pompey assured Cicero that he might get rid of the opposition of Clodius by refraining from opposing the proposal to grant to Clodius a *libera legatio* to Brogitarus or Byzantium, or both. It is possible, indeed, that this passage refers to the building which Cicero had contracted to build for the State before his exile, on which Clodius had inscribed his name: cp. Harusp. Resp. 58 *vestris monumentis suum nomen inscripsit*. This building is also mentioned in Fam. i. 9, 5 and 15 (153): cp. Lange, iii. 333. Then *istis* will have the meaning 'the works I spoke to you of,' 'the works you wot of'; if we do not read *nostris*.

Plena res] 'he may make a great haul by it.' As tribune, Clodius had restored certain Byzantine exiles; and he had made Brogitarus (a Galatian, son-in-law of Deiotarus) priest of Cybele at Pessinus. Clodius was going to raise the money, for which he held bonds from the Byzantine exiles and Brogitarus.

non nimium laboro] 'I am not greatly concerned about his being allowed the official tour, even though I gain not my object (see note on *operibus*, above). However, Pompey has had an interview

Crasso locutus est. Videntur negotium suscepisse. Si perficiunt, optime: si minus, ad nostrum Iovem revertamur. 3. A. d. III. Id. Febr. senatus consultum est factum de ambitu in Afrani sententiam, quam ego dixeram cum tu adesses. Sed magno cum gemitu senatus consules non sunt persecuti eorum sententias qui, Afranio

with Crassus. I fancy they have taken on themselves the fulfilment of your wishes. If so, well, excellent well. If not, let us betake ourselves to the counsel of Jove (and abandon politics).'

3. *de ambitu*] Pompey and Crassus were desirous of securing the election to the praetorship of the infamous P. Vatinius, and the defeat of the illustrious M. Porcius Cato (Uticensis).

Afrani sententiam] This seems to have been a motion that the praetors be elected forthwith, which would imply that they should at once enter upon office (cp. *εὐθὺς ἄρχειν*, Plutarch, quoted below). Some of the senators wished to add a rider that the praetors should be elected, but on condition that for sixty days after their election they should be only praetors designate, and thus retain their private station (and could therefore be proceeded against by law); but the consuls refused to put this amendment. Now, if they had been tried, their condemnation would have been certain, and Cato would have been elected. So the consuls, in rejecting the rider about sixty days, in effect there and then rejected Cato. All this high-handed action seems well-nigh incredible, and this Cicero feels himself. But he explains their proceedings by saying, 'they have unlimited power, *and wish it to be generally understood that it is so.*' *Contra* was inserted by Schütz before *quam*, and similarly Baiter inserts *in*, and C. F. W. Müller reads *quam ego dissuaseram*; but it is easy to understand *quam ego dixeram* to mean 'which I had described to you': cp. Phil. xii. 5 *Discussa est illa caligo quam paulo ante dixi.* In either case the words *cum tu adesses* show that Cicero supposed Quintus to know the exact form of Afranius' *sententia*. This is unfortunate for us; it would have been interesting to have had the very terms of the motion. Its aim, however, is clear from the narrative of Plutarch in his 'Cato.' He says: *πρῶτον μὲν .... ἐψηφίσαντο τοὺς αἱρεθέντας στρατηγοὺς εὐθὺς ἄρχειν, καὶ μὴ διαλιπόντας τὸν νόμιμον χρόνον, ἐν ᾧ δίκαι τοῖς δεκάσασι τὸν δῆμον ἦσαν· ἔπειτα διὰ τοῦ ψηφίσματος τὸ διδόναι [δίκας] ἀνυπεύθυνον κατασκευάσαντες ὑπηρέτας αὐτῶν καὶ φίλους ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν προσῆγον*, Cat. Min. 42. Once having secured that their creatures could not be prosecuted for bribery, the consuls brought them forward as candidates for the praetorship, gave bribes themselves, and stood by while the voting was going on. Even in corrupt Rome this election was a scandal for ever (cp. Seneca, Epist. 118, 4, and vol. v., p. lii). In due course the praetors should have been designated in July; and thus they would have been five months or more *privati* before they entered on their office. But in this case the proceedings were of a very abnormal character. The elections had been so long postponed that now, in February, the election for the current year was beginning to be discussed. There could be no *designatio* at all. Hence, *ut praetores ita* crearentur *ut dies* LX *privati essent.* The authors of the amendment on Afranius' motion, which the consuls shelved, wished to meet the exceptional case by an exceptional measure. As there was no time for *designatio*, the praetors elected would have official position at once. They proposed that during the first two months of their office the praetors should stand in the same position as they would, in the regular course of things, have held for more than five months between their designation and their actual entry into office. The presiding magistrate in the senate had the right of virtually excluding any motion from being voted on: cp. Phil. xiv. 21, 22; Caes. B. C. i. 2, 5; Plin. Ep. iv. 9, 21 *hanc sententiam, quamquam maximae parti senatus mire probabatur, consules non sunt persecuti.* See Mommsen, St. R. iii. 987.

As a matter of fact it came to an election at once; and the consuls would have failed even then had not the *obnuntiatio* been put in force. By thus securing a temporary delay, the consuls were able to work the political machine in such a way as to ensure the return of Vatinius. The account which Plutarch gives of this transaction is: *ἐξαίφνης ὁ Πομπήϊος βροντῆς ἀκηκοέναι ψευσάμενος αἴσχιστα διέλυσε*

cum essent adsensi, addiderunt ut praetores ita crearentur ut dies sexaginta privati essent. Eo die Catonem plane repudiarunt. Quid multa? tenent omnia idque ita omnis intellegere volunt.

121. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. IV. 10).

CUMANUM; MAY 22, A. U. C. 699; B. C. 55; AET. CIC. 51.

De rumore qui fuerit Puteolis Ptolomaeum esse in regno, de vita sua Puteolana, de rebus domesticis quas Attico invisendas commendat, de Pompei adventu in Cumanum suum.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Puteolis magnus est rumor Ptolomaeum esse in regno. Si quid habes certius, velim scire. Ego hic pascor bibliotheca Fausti. Fortasse tu putabas his rebus Puteolanis et Lucrinensibus. Ne ista quidem desunt. Sed mehercule *ut* a ceteris oblectationibus deseror voluptatum propter rem publicam, sic litteris sustentor et recreor maloque in illa tua sedecula quam habes sub imagine Aristotelis sedere quam in istorum sella curuli tecumque apud te ambulare quam cum eo quocum video esse ambulandum. Sed de illa ambulatione fors viderit aut si qui est qui curet deus.

τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, εἰθισμένων ἀφοσιοῦσθαι τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ μηδὲν ἐπικυροῦν διοσημίας γενομένης, Cat. Min. 42. For another instance, about this time, of great irregularities, cp. 100, 2, where the elections of the aediles for 698 (56) did not take place till towards the end of January. See also Mommsen, St. R. i² 565, note 3.

ita] sc. ita esse.

On the chronology of Att. iv. 10, 9, 11, see Addenda to the Commentary.

1. *Ptolomaeum esse in regno*] 'that Ptolemy has been restored.' See the earlier letters of 698. He was ultimately restored by Gabinius (95, ff.), who acted on his own authority.

pascor] 'feast on,' 'revel in,' cp. Pis. 45: Sest. 99.

Fausti] son of Sulla the dictator. Sulla had brought to Rome a large number of books from Athens and other cities of Greece and Asia: Plut. Sull. 26.

his rebus] Cicero uses *his rebus* in Att. xii. 9 (649) to signify natural scenery, cetera noli putare amabiliora fieri posse villa litore prospectu maris tum *his rebus omnibus*, 'the whole scene.' This may be the meaning of the words here, 'I am feasting my eyes on the scenery of Puteoli and the Lucrine lake.' *His rebus* is generally taken to mean 'the fare,' 'good things,' which the district supplies, that is, oysters. Horace says (Sat. ii. 6, 110):—

Bonisque
Rebus agit laetum convivam,

and probably Publilius Syrus means the same when he says:—

Bonarum rerum consuetudo pessima est.

The word *pascor*, however, supports the latter view, and so does the clause *ne ista quidem desunt*. Madvig, after Ursinus, would read *ostreis* for *his rebus*.

oblectationibus voluptatum] the *gen. epexegeticus*, see last letter, § 2, 'enjoyment (consisting) of material pleasures.' For the phrase cp. *a mente deserar*, Att. iii. 15, 2 (73).

istorum] Pompey and Crassus.

ambulatione] metaphorical, 'the tenor

2. Nostram ambulationem et Laconicum eaque quae Cyrea sint velim quod poterit invisas et urgeas Philotimum ut properet, ut possim tibi aliquid in eo genere respondere. Pompeius in Cumanum Parilibus venit: misit ad me statim qui salutem nuntiaret. Ad eum postridie mane vadebam, cum haec scripsi.

of my political path.' In the next sentence the same word is used in its literal meaning of a *promenade* or artificial colonnade for walking, sometimes roofed and sometimes open to the air.

2. *Laconicum*] a *sudatorium* or 'Turkish bath,' said by Vitruvius to have been so called because the *sudatorium* was first used by the Lacedaemonians. This appears to be the first mention of the term *Laconicum*. Plautus (Stich. 229), however, speaks of *unctiones Graecas sudatorias*. In 148, 2, Cicero calls it *assa*, with which we are apparently to supply *loca*, though the usual word supplied seems to be *cella*.

Cyrea] 'in the province of Cyrus, the architect.'

quod poterit] sc. *fieri*, 'as far as possible.' In Cicero's Epistles *potest* very often = *fieri potest*, as has often been pointed out. This being so, there is no conceivable reason why *poterit* should not = *fieri poterit*. Yet *poterit* of the mss has here been corrected to *poteris* with one accord by the editors, who do not think of changing *potest* (= *fieri potest*) to *potes* in the many passages where such an usage is found. See note on Fam. i. 2, 4 (96).

respondere] 'to match you in this branch of domestic architecture.' This sense of the word is often found in the comic poets, where *par pari respondere* means 'to give tit for tat.' So also in Cic. Att. xvi. 7, 6 (783), Atticus is quoted as writing *ut par pari respondeatur*. Cp. also Fam. xv. 21, 3 (450) *cui quidem ego amori utinam ceteris rebus possem! amore certe respondebo*.

Cumanum] His own Cuman villa, which was near Cicero's.

vadebam] = *iturus eram*. Cp. *paucis diebus habebam* (= habiturus eram) *certos homines*, Att. v. 17, 1 (209); *Quinto . . . dabam . . . me Laodiceam recipiebam*, Att. v. 20, 5 (228).

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122. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. IV. 9).

CUMANUM; MAY 26, A. U. C. 699; B. C. 55; AET. CIC. 51.

M. Cicero ab Attico de censura a tribunis impedita certior fieri cupit, de Pompeio quocum una fuerit, de Lucceio, de Q. fratre, de itinere suo de Cumano in Pompeianum.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Sane velim scire num censum impediant tribuni diebus vitiandis—est enim hic rumor—totaque de censura quid agant, quid cogitent. Nos hic cum Pompeio fuimus. Multa mecum de re publica, sane sibi displicens, ut loquebatur—sic est enim in hoc homine dicendum—, Syriam spernens, Hispaniam iactans: hic quoque, ut loquebatur, et, opinor, usquequaque, de hoc cum dicemus, sit hoc quasi καὶ τόδε Φωκυλίδου. Tibi etiam gratias agebat

1. *censum*] the taking of the census by the newly-elected censors. The new censors were M. Valerius Messalla Niger and P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus.

vitiandis] Prof. Reid thinks that this does not mean *obnuntiatione eximendis* rendering them disqualified for the transaction of public business by observing the heavens and announcing unfavourable omens; for *obnuntiatio* had been abolished three years before by the law of Clodius. Therefore he holds that the word *vitiandis* is used in a non-technical sense. The tribunes stopped the *census* by continually summoning the people for other purposes. If the censors had gone on, the tribunes would have complained (as they do in Livy) *contionem a se avocari* and *se in ordinem cogi*. But Mr. Greenidge has adduced good evidence (*The Repeal of the Lex Aelia Fufia* in the *Classical Review*, vii. 158–161) to show that Clodius only abolished the *spectio* of the patrician magistrates; and that the augur, the plebeian magistrate, and the private citizen could still exercise *obnuntiatio* based on the professed chance observation of *auspicia oblativa*: and with great learning he shows that after 696 (58) all instances of *obnuntiatio* have as their authors tribunes or augurs: cp. also Mr. Greenidge's *Roman Public Life*, pp. 172, 173. He notes that the plebeian magistrates sometimes watched for such signs for purposes of obstruction, and were then improperly said *servare de caelo*: cp. Att. iv. 3, 3 (92). The words are properly used only of the *spectio*.

totaque de censura] The *lex Clodia* which was afterwards repealed by Q. Scipio Metellus, consul, 702 (52), seriously impaired the censorial power of *notatio*. It enacted that the refusal to allow an ex-magistrate to be adopted into the senate could only have force if the magistrate was formally accused before them and condemned. For the political significance of this law, see Lange, iii. 298. Cicero may have thought the tribunes might be disposed to follow up the attack of Clodius on the censorship. The conclusion of the *lustrum* seems to have been delayed for a long time; cp. 144, 8.

Syriam spernens] 'expressing his contempt of Syria (the province of Crassus) and extolling Spain' (his own province). Thus is the passage explained by Boot, and all the edd. save Man., *iactans* being read for the obviously corrupt *laetans* for M. But Man. gives a quite different meaning to *iactans*, which he translates, *ita exagitans quasi fastidiret*. This gives a far better sense to the passage. Pompey wished to display an ostentatious indifference to provincial governorships, which others coveted so much. If *iactans* here means 'extolling,' the passage lacks all point. Now, undoubtedly, *iactare* can

quod signa componenda suscepisses, in nos vero suavissime hercule est effusus. Venit etiam ad me in Cumanum a se. Nihil minus velle mihi visus est quam Mesallam consulatum petere: de quo ipso si quid scis velim scire. 2. Quod Lucceio scribis te nostram gloriam commendaturum et aedificium nostrum quod crebro invisis, gratum. Quintus frater ad me scripsit se, quoniam Ciceronem suavissimum tecum haberes, ad te Nonis Maiis venturum. Ego me de Cumano movi ante diem v. Kal. Maias. Eo die Neapoli apud Paetum. Ante diem IV. Kal. Maias iens in Pompeianum bene mane haec scripsi.

mean to 'run down,' 'depreciate,' as Prof. Palmer has shown on Hor. Sat. ii. 2, 47, where he rightly translates the Lucilian line—

O lapathe ut *iactare* nec es satis cognitus qui sis,

'O sorrel, how thou art *scorned*,' and aptly compares Plaut. Rud. 374.

Novi. Neptunus ita solet. Quamvis fastidiosus Aedilis est; si quae improbae sunt merces, *iactat* omnes.

A somewhat similar meaning of *iactare* 'to torment,' 'to knock about,' is found in Fam. i. 5*b*, 1 (103); Div. in Caec. 45.

καὶ τόδε] Just as Phocylides was in the habit of prefixing to his gnomic verses 'this too is a gnome of Phocylides,' so when one speaks of Pompey (says Cicero) one must always add a sort of refrain, 'as he said,' for he thought that Pompey often used his words only to conceal his thoughts; cp. Fam. viii. 1, 3 (192); Q. Fr. i. 3, 9 (66).

componenda] the arrangement of the statues in the theatre of Pompey, which was dedicated this year.

a se] So Man. for *at si* of the mss. Boot reads *Etsi* = *sed*; but there is no contrast in the two sentences.

2. *Quod*] For some arguments tending to show that this may belong to another letter, see Addenda to the Commentary, Note 1.

commendaturum] as a subject for eulogy.

Ciceronem] the son of Q. Cicero.

me . . . movi] See note to Att. iii. 14, 2 (70).

Neapoli] It might be thought that *fui* should be added; but the verb *esse*, even when predicate, is sometimes omitted in such short sentences: cp. Att. xiii. 47*b*, 1 (654) *itaque hodie Anti; cras ante meridiem domi.*

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123. TO QUINTUS (Q. FR. II. 8).

CUMANUM; APRIL OR MAY, A. U. C. 699; B. C. 55; AET. CIC. 51.

M. Cicero respondet ad epistulam Q. fratris qua ille se metuere scripserat ne fratrem litteris suis incommode interpellaret.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

1. Tu metuis ne me interpelles? Primum, si in isto essem, tu scis quid sit interpellare? An te Ateius? Mehercule mihi docere

The date of this letter is uncertain. Körner (p. 31) attributes it to May, 699 (55): and this is the ordinary view, and probably the correct one. But O. E. Schmidt (*Ciceros Villen*, p. 44, note) thinks it belongs to 698 (56), when Cicero made a short run through his villas, from about April 9 to May 6 (106, 4). In that passage he states that he intended to be at Arpinum from April 11 to 16, then to go to Pompeii, and on his return to have a look at his Cumanum. But during that visit, Cicero must have been constantly moving about: he does not appear to have settled down for work. Now, from this letter (123), it seems that Quintus expressed a fear that he would interrupt his brother: that presupposes that Marcus was hard at work. He was so in April 699 (55) (121, 124). The journey of 698 (56) was one of inspection of his villas: that of 699 (55) was straight down to the Cumanum for study. It is moreover very doubtful whether Quintus was in Italy during April and May in 698 (56). There is no difficulty in supposing that Cicero did not begin to get his Cumanum, his most fashionable villa, elegantly fitted up until 699 (55). Some part of it was evidently habitable in that year, though many workmen were engaged throughout the mansion; and it was doubtless in that habitable portion that Cicero received the visit of Pompey (122, 1), which seems to have been a mere morning call. Körner (p. 31) doubts if this letter (123) was written from the Cumanum, and asks 'cur ille cum fabris mansit in ea villa cum aliae non longe abessent quo se conferret?' We may perhaps reply that the use of the library of Faustus (121, 1) counterbalanced the disadvantage of living in the midst of workmen. Madvig (A. C. iii. 195) supposes that this letter was written from Antium, as he wishes to read *Antiates* for *Ante a te is* of M, in § 1. So, too, O. E. Schmidt (op. cit. 38, 5) and C. F. W. Müller. This may be right; but Madvig is in error in speaking of the 'officiosa molestia' of the Antiates. He must have been thinking of the Formiani: Att. ii. 14, 2 (41): 15, 3 (42). It was quite the contrary at Antium: cp. Att. ii. 6, 2 (33) *esse locum tam prope Romam . . . ubi me interpellet nemo, diligant omnes.* We only once hear of Cicero's being at Antium in 699 (55), (125, 1): possibly he went down there to dispose of his house, which he could not afford to keep up, now that he was preparing a more splendid residence at fashionable Cumae. Cicero's house at Antium was in the possession of Lepidus in 709 (45) (Att. xiii. 47*a*, 1 (664)).

1. *in isto*] *in ista re:* sc. *occupatione impeditus.* This use of the neuter of the pronoun is colloquial, and is found often in the comic drama: *hoc* = *hac de causa*, Mil. Glor. 850, *istoc* = *propter istam rem* 851. 'If I was as busy as you think' (Shuckburgh).

interpellare?] 'do you know the meaning of the word "interruption," as applied to me?' That is, 'you must be aware that your arrival could never be looked on as an interruption by us.' We have inserted the mark of interrogation after *interpellare*. It seems requisite for the sense, and stands very naturally between two rhetorical questions.

Ateius] sc. *docuit.* This Ateius seems to have been a quidnunc of the time, who (like a sort of Paul Pry) made frequent visits in quest of news, always making his interruption still more annoying by copious apologies for it. Cicero says, 'you want to give me a lesson in his sort

videris istius generis humanitatem, qua quidem ego nihil utor abs te. Tu vero ut me et appelles et interpelles et obloquare et colloquare velim. Quid enim mihi suavius? Non mehercule quisquam μουσοπάτακτος libentius sua recentia poëmata legit quam ego te audio quacumque de re, publica privata, rustica urbana. Sed mea factum est insulsa verecundia ut te proficiscens non tollerem. Opposuisti semel ἀναντίλεκτον causam, Ciceronis nostri valetudinem; conticui: iterum Cicerones; quievi. 2. Nunc mihi iucunditatis plena epistula hoc aspersit molestiae quod videris ne mihi molestus esses veritus esse atque etiam nunc vereri. Litigarem tecum, si fas esset, sed mehercule istuc si umquam suspicatus ero, nihil dicam aliud nisi verebor ne quando ego tibi, cum sum una, molestus sim. [Video te ingemuisse. Sic fit, † εἰδ' ἐν αἰᾳ ἔζησας: numquam enim dicam, ἓα πάσας.] Marium autem nostrum in lecticam mehercule coniecissem,—non illam regis Ptolomaei Asicianam: memini enim, cum hominem portarem ad Baias Neapoli

of politeness; but it has no place between you and me.' Or we might supply *interpellat* with Ateius, 'Has Ateius been interrupting you?' He may have been the C. Ateius Capito who appears to have been something of a 'crank,' and cursed Crassus when he left for the East. In Att. xiii. 33, 4 (636) we hear that he was assiduous *in rebus novis perquirendis*. The conjecture of Lambinus *An te Statius?* 'How does Statius interrupt you?' is attractive. The next sentence might perhaps be translated, 'On my word you want to give me a lesson in a branch of good manners (a special branch of your own) which I do not want at all from you.'

Tu vero] 'why, I want you not only to look in on me, but to break in on me; not only to talk to me, but talk me down if you like. It is my greatest pleasure. No moonstruck young poet ever read his last effusion with more delight than I hear your conversation.' For *tu vero*, see note on Att. iii. 15, 2 (73).

tollerem] 'take you with me.'

iterum Cicerones] sc. *opposuisti*, 'the second time you urged the health of both your son and mine.'

2. *nihil dicam aliud*] 'I shall merely express a fear that I may be some time in the way when I am with you.' In *verebor . . . sim* Cicero gives the very words which he will use if he ever suspects Quintus of fearing that he may be a bore to his elder brother. *Nisi me vereri* or *nisi hoc, verebor* would have been a more careful phrase.

video . . . πάσας] Schütz, with great probability, transposes these words to § 4, where they stand after the words, *De re publica*. We have printed them there in italics. Not only does the passage interrupt the train of thought here, but it gives a possible sense in the place to which it is transposed. We have very slightly changed the order of the words in making the transposition.

coniecissem] Having said that he regrets that he had not taken Quintus with him, Cicero adds that he would have certainly 'thrust Marius into a litter,' and taken him with him to the country, but that he feared the unfinished state of his villa would be prejudicial to his friend's health. Quintus may have said in his letter that Marcus must be very busy, as he was not enjoying the company of Marius.

Ptolomaei Asicianam] Cicero interrupts the train of thought to advert to a ludicrous incident which had happened on a former occasion when he was conveying his friend Marius to the country. Cicero had borrowed from his friend and neighbour, Asicius, a *lectica octophoros*, which had been the litter of King Ptolemy when in Rome, and now belonged to Asicius. Asicius had bought (or had been given),

octophoro Asiciano machaerophoris centum sequentibus, miros risus nos edere, cum ille ignarus sui comitatus repente aperuit lecticam et paene ille timore, ego risu corrui—hunc, ut dico, certe sustulissem, ut aliquando subtilitatem veteris urbanitatis et humanissimi sermonis attingerem. Sed hominum infirmum in villam apertam ac ne rudem quidem etiam nunc invitare nolui. 3. Hoc vero mihi peculiare fuerit, hic etiam isto frui. Nam illorum praediorum scito mihi vicinum Marium lumen esse. Apud Anicium videbimus ut paratum sit. Nos enim ita philologi sumus ut vel cum fabris habitare possimus. Habemus hanc philosophiam non ab Hymetto, sed ab †araysira. Marius et valetudine est et natura imbecillior.

along with the litter, the bodyguard of one hundred dirkmen, whom Ptolemy had kept as his escort. These followed the litter, much to the alarm of Marius, who, suddenly opening the litter, caught sight of his formidable bodyguard. This is the same Marius to whom are addressed Fam. vii. 1–4. The ordinary reading is *Anicianam* (*-o*); but Bücheler (Rhein. Mus. xxv. (1870), p. 170) is doubtless right in reading (with M) *Asicianam* (*-o*). Asicius was accused by Calvus of having, in conjunction with Ptolemy, murdered an Egyptian envoy; but he was defended by Cicero and acquitted: cp. Cael. 23, 24; Tac. Dial. 21. Bücheler reads *portarent*, apparently regarding the subject as indefinite. But what then brought Cicero to the place where the event occurred?

apertam . . . quidem] 'still exposed to the weather, and not even rudely finished.'

3. *peculiare*] 'it would have been a special treat to me to have him here: you know to have him as a neighbour is the very sunshine of my Pompeian villa (near which Marius lived). I will see about putting him up at the house of Anicius.' For C. Anicius, cp. 94, 2, and Fam. xii. 21 (698).

ita philologi] 'scholar as I am, yet I can put up with workmen to live with,' i.e. 'I am not, like most literary persons, too particular (*nimium mollis*)'; so Man.; but the context makes it better to take *philologi* = 'devoted to my studies' (see Att. ii. 17, 1 (44), rendering 'I am so immersed in my books that I can live in the midst of the workmen's din.'

Hymetto] Prof. Reid (*Hermathena*, xxiii. (1897), p. 111) thinks that possibly we should read *Gargetto*, the reference being to Epicurus, who was born in the deme Gargettus: cp. Fam. xv. 16, 1 (531).

†*araysira*] It seems hopeless to try to emend this passage. Perhaps *ab area Cyrea*, the conjecture of Olivetus and Lallemand, is the least improbable. 'I have drawn this power of concentration not from the effeminate discipline of philosophic study in Athens, but from being inured to the hardship of living amid the din of workmen, owing to the frequent building schemes which I carry out under the direction of my architect Cyrus.' But this is of course very forced, and *areis Cyreis* would seem rather to be indicated. Could Cicero have written *ab arca Cyrea* or *ab arcula Cyrea*? He uses *arculae*, Att. ii. 1, 1 (27), for the *répertoires* of Isocrates' rhetoric. If *arca*, then, or *arcula*, suggested a philosopher's *répertoire*, and if the same word might be used of any box or chest (and why not, then, of a *tool-box*?), Cicero might say, 'this philosophic attitude of mine has its source not in Athens, not in the *arcae* (or *arculae*) of Athenian philosophy, but in another *arca*, the *arca* (tool-box) of Cyrus,' that is, 'I am so habituated to the régime of Cyrus that I am quite prepared to live in a half-finished house.' On this passage Tunstall has made one of his extraordinarily ingenious conjectures. For *araysira* he reads *arce* Ψυρίᾳ, by which name Cicero refers to Arpinum in Att. xvi. 13 (802). This conjecture is indeed rarely ingenious, because Cicero seems to refer here to Arpinum. What more natural thing could Cicero say than, 'I have got my indifference to draughts (my willingness to live in a half-built house), not from the honeyed mountain of Greece,

4. De interpellatione tantum sumam a vobis temporis ad scribendum quantum dabitis. Utinam nihil detis, ut potius vestra iniuria quam ignavia mea cessem! De re publica *video te ingemuisse*: *sic fit*: εἰ δ' ἐν αἰᾳ ἔζησας; nimium te laborare doleo (*nunquam enim dicam* ἔα πάσας) et meliorem civem esse quam Philoctetam, qui accepta iniuria ea spectacula quaerebat quae tibi acerba esse video. Amabo te, advola, consolabor te et omnem abstergebo dolorem, et adduc, si me amas, Marium. Sed approperate. Hortus domi est.

but from the wild hills of Arpinum.' He has, in a passage already quoted, spoken of the *patrios montes* of Arpinum. Everything seems to point to Tunstall's emendation. Yet it can hardly be right. When Cicero, writing in the year 710 (44), speaks of νῆσος Ψυρία, the context shows that he means Arpinum; and he is making use of a quotation of Atticus. It is likely that eleven years before that time he should have written of Arpinum as νῆσος Ψυρία, without a hint from the context as to his meaning? On this passage see also a note of Dr. Reid in *Hermathena*, xxiii. (1897), p. 111, where he argues that we should read *Abdera*, 'This philosophy of mine comes not from refined Athens, but from rude Abdera'; or if we read *Gargetto*, 'I derive this philosophy, I will not say from Epicurus, but rather from Democritus.' We have thought that possibly the allusion may be to some of the parts of Rome where workmen congregated, and that the reading may be either *ab ara Syria*, Eastern religions having begun to germinate in the lower parts of Rome; or perhaps *ab ara Maxima*. If *r* and *m* in some archetype resembled one another, the corruption might have arisen. 'My philosophy does not come from Königsberg, but from the Seven Dials.' The passage is one in which a certain indulgence in guessing may be allowed.

4. *Utinam*] 'my only desire is that you will not leave me any time for writing: then, I can attribute my idleness, not to my own sloth, but to your evil influence.'

εἰ δ'] 'but if you were on the spot?' i.e. 'if you who are absent groan at the state of affairs, what would you do if you were here?' We do not know whence the Greek words are taken, and therefore can only guess about their application.

ἔα πάσας] μελεδώνας, Lambinus; ἔα πάσας τὰς μεληδόνας, Ed. Crat.; but again we are at a loss for the source of the quotation. The sense would be 'I am sorry you are *too* troubled about public affairs (mind I say *too* troubled: I am not one of those who say *begone, dull care*, on public matters); but I am sorry that you are *too* troubled, and that you are a greater patriot than Philoctetes, who, when wronged, enjoyed the sufferings of his country, which gall you.'

Hortus domi est] There are two other passages to be brought into connexion with this, viz., Fam. ix. 4 (466) *si hortum in bibliotheca habes, deerit nihil*; and Plaut. Mil. 193, 194, *Nam mulieri holitori nunquam supplicat si quast mala: Domi habet hortum et condimenta ad omnis mores maleficos. Hortus* seems to be used for 'provisions,' 'food.' Here Cicero says, 'Hurry and come to us. We have our larder well stocked.' In Fam. ix. 4 (466), which is also an invitation, Cicero says to Varro, 'If you have something to eat as well as your library to read [we should probably read *cum* for *in*], we shall want for nothing.' The passage in Plautus seems to mean that a woman has, out of her own resources, not merely the ingredients but also the seasoning for the concoction of any dish of villany? The sentence in 148, 14, *et nunc domus suppeditat mihi hortorum amoenitatem* does not help towards the explanation of this passage, because *horti* means 'a pleasure-garden,' *hortus* 'a kitchen-garden.'

124. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. IV. 11).

CUMANUM; MAY 27, A. U. C. 699; B. C. 55; AET. CIC. 51.

M. Cicero per Atticum cupit certior fieri quid Romae fiat omninoque eius litteras sibi gratissimas esse significat, praeterea de Pompeio ac de rebus domesticis quaedam significat.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Delectarunt me epistulae tuae quas accepi uno tempore duas ante diem v. Kal. Perge reliqua. Gestio scire ista omnia. Etiam illud cuius modi sit velim perspicias: potes a Demetrio. Dixit mihi Pompeius Crassum a se in Albano exspectari ante diem IV. Kal.: is cum venisset, Romam *eum* et se statim venturos, ut rationes cum publicanis putarent. Quaesivi, gladiatoribusne? Respondit, ante quam inducerentur. Id cuius modi sit aut nunc, si scies, aut cum is Romam venerit, ad me mittas velim. 2. Nos hic voramus litteras cum homine mirifico—ita mehercule sentio—Dionysio qui te omnisque vos salutat.

γλυκύτερον οὐδὲν ἢ πάντ' εἰδέναι.

Qua re, ut homini curioso, ita perscribe ad me quid primus dies, quid secundus, quid censores, quid Appius, quid illa populi Appuleia: denique etiam quid a te fiat ad me velim scribas. Non enim, ut vere loquamur, tam rebus novis quam tuis litteris delector. Ego mecum praeter Dionysium eduxi neminem nec metuo tamen ne

1. *Perge reliqua*] sc. *narrare*. The ellipse after *perge* is very common in the letters. We cannot discover what this story can have been about of which Cicero desires to learn the sequel.

illud] refers to what follows.

Demetrio] of Gadara, a freedman of Pompey.

gladiatoribusne] 'is it during the gladiatorial show?'

inducerentur] 'before the gladiators were brought before the public'—a technical word: cp. De Opt. gen. Or. 17: Sest. 134: Pers. 6, 48 *Dis igitur genioque ducis centum paria ob res Egregie gestas induco.*

2. γλυκύτερον] We have transposed οὐδὲν and γλυκύτερον. The verse is then a senarius, wanting the first foot. The usual course has been to read οὐδὲν γλυκύτερόν ἐστιν ἢ πάντ' εἰδέναι. The verse is ascribed by Meineke to Menander.

primus dies] of the gladiatorial show. Some word like *attulerit* is understood.

censores] *acturi sint*, that is, 'will they be permitted to hold the census?' cp. 122, 1.

Appius] was a candidate for next year's consulship.

Appuleia] Clodius, who is called the Appuleius of the people, because he is as turbulent as Appuleius Saturninus; he is called 'that unsexed Appuleius' as being *pudicitiae suae prodigus*: cp. *filiola Curionis*, Att. i. 14, 5 (20); *Pediatia*, Hor. Sat. i. 8, 39.

mihi sermo desit: †abs te opere† delector. Tu Lucceio nostrum librum dabis. Demetri Magnetis tibi mitto, statim ut sit qui a te mihi epistulam referat.

125. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. IV. 12).

CUMANUM; MAY (POSSIBLY), A. U. C. 699; B. C. 55; AET. CIC. 51.

M. Cicero Attico significat quid egerit cum Egnatio et cum Macrone eumque invitat ut secum postridie Kalend. cenet.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Egnatius Romae est. Sed ego cum eo de re Halimeti vehementer Anti egi. Graviter se acturum cum Aquilio confirmavit. Videbis ergo hominem, si voles. Macroni vix videor praesto esse *posse*: Idibus enim auctionem Larini video et biduum praeterea. Id tu, quoniam Macronem tanti facis, ignoscas mihi velim. Sed, si me diligis, postridie Kalend. cena apud me cum Pilia. Prorsus id facies. Kalendis cogito in hortis Crassipedis quasi in deversorio cenare. Facio fraudem senatus consulto. Inde domum cenatus, ut sim mane praesto Miloni. Ibi te igitur videbo et permanebo. Domus te nostra tota salutat.

† *abs te*] Madvig (A. C. iii. 173) reads *ita ab isto puero delector*. But Cicero would hardly call Dionysius *puero* after calling him *homine mirifico* above. Perhaps the simplest reading is that suggested by the Ed. Iensoniana *ab isto <magno> opere delector*. Ziehen's reading *opipare* (Rh. Mus. xli. (1896), p. 591) is unlikely, though adopted in the text by C. F. W. Müller. *Opipare* means 'sumptuously,' 'richly,' and could not well go with *delector*. What Ziehen finds to object to in *magno opere delector* is not clear: cp. Verr. ii. 143: Balb. 42.

librum] The *notes* which he had promised Lucceius above, Fam. v. 12, 10 (109).

Demetri Magnetis] sc. librum περὶ ὁμοιότας: cp. Att. viii. 11, 7 (342). The bearer of the book to Atticus would bring back a letter from him to Cicero.

Egnatius] a money-lender.

Aquilio] possibly the Aquilius who was Cicero's colleague in the praetorship.

Pilia] wife of Atticus.

Crassipedis] son-in-law of Cicero.

Facio fraudem] 'I elude the senatorial decree' by remaining in the neighbourhood of the city; if he had been in the city, he would have been obliged to attend the meeting of the senate. So Boot. But if this is the correct interpretation, Cicero must have used *senatus consultum* loosely for *lex*: cp. De Leg. iii. 11 *Senatori qui nec aderit aut causa aut culpa esto*.

sim . . . praesto] This does not refer to the trial of Milo *de vi* on the prosecution of Clodius, which occurred the year before. The words do not necessarily connote any appearance in court as advocate. They are quite general, and may refer to any appointment with Milo; possibly his betrothal: cp. 130, 1.

permanebo] So Gurlitt for *promonebo* of the mss. Kayser reads *promovebo*, 'I shall move you (i.e. bring you) on with me.' See also Adn. Crit.

126. TO FADIUS GALLUS (FAM. VII. 23).

ROME; A. U. C. 693 (PROBABLY); B. C. 61; AET. CIC. 45.

M. Cicero scribit de signis et statuis a M. Fadio Gallo sibi emptis, quae sibi emi noluisse dicit sed tamen rata se velle habere: tum de domo a Gallo prope se conducta.

M. CICERO S. D. M. FADIO GALLO.

1. Tantum quod ex Arpinati veneram cum mihi a te litterae redditae sunt: ab eodemque accepi Aviani litteras in quibus hoc inerat liberalissimum, nomina se facturum, cum venisset, qua ego vellem die. Fac, quaeso, qui ego sum esse te: estne aut tui pudoris aut nostri, primum rogare de die, deinde plus annua postulare? Sed essent, mi Galle, omnia facilia, si et ea mercatus esses quae ego desiderabam et ad eam summam quam volueram. Ac tamen ista ipsa quae te emisse scribis non solum rata mihi erunt sed etiam grata: plane enim intellego te non modo studio, sed etiam amore usum quae te delectarint, hominem, ut ego semper iudicavi, in omni iudicio elegantissimum, quia me digna putaris, coëmisse. 2. Sed velim maneat Damasippus in sententia:

Most editors now suppose that this letter was written in 693 (61), when Cicero was adorning the house on the Palatine which he had bought in 692 (62). In 694 (60) he facetiously speaks of the load of debt he had incurred by his expenditure on works of art: cp. Att. ii. 1, 11 (27). For the reason why we have retained this and other letters in the positions originally assigned them, though these positions are wrong, see Preface to vol. I., ed. 3.

1. *Tantum quod . . . veneram*] sc. *tantum factum est quod veneram*, 'I had only just arrived.' This phrase is also found in Att. xv. 13*a*, 7 (795). So with negatives, *tantum quod hominem non nominat*, 'he only omits the name,' Verr. i. 116.

nomina se facturum] 'that he will not debit my account till I wish.' Gallus had bought certain statues from Avianius for Cicero. Avianius generously proposed to wait for payment till it should suit Cicero's convenience. Literally, 'that he will enter the debt on whatever day I please.' According to strict law the procedure which Avianius would follow as regards Cicero was exactly similar to that which Pythius followed as regards Canius in the story related in Cic. Off. iii. 59. That procedure, as Mr. Roby (*Roman Private Law*, ii. p. 287) has shown, involved three entries in the ledger of Pythius, who sold and delivered a villa to Canius without receiving the purchase-money. 1° Pythius debits Canius with the purchase-money. 2° He credits him with the price as if received. This completed the sale and entitled Canius to actual delivery. 3° He debits him with a loan to the same amount. It is this last entry which is described generally as *nomina facere*, 'to make entries,' which is mostly used in the sense of 'to make a loan.' As soon as this entry or loan was made, interest would begin to accrue.

Fac] 'put yourself in my place.'

rogare de die] sc. *solutionis*, 'to ask for credit.'

plus annua] 'to ask for more than a year's credit.'

rata . . . grata] 'not only do I *ratify* your purchase, but I am *gratified* so to do.' This, or 'accepted . . . acceptable,' will reproduce the play on the words.

2. *Damasippus*] This is the Damasippus

prorsus enim ex istis emptionibus nullam desidero. Tu autem ignarus instituti mei, quanti ego genus omnino signorum omnium non aestimo, tanti ista quattuor aut quinque sumpsisti. Bacchas istas cum Musis Metelli comparas. Quid simile? primum ipsas ego Musas numquam tanti putassem atque id fecissem Musis omnibus approbantibus: sed tamen erat aptum bybliothecae studiisque nostris congruens. Bacchis vero ubi est apud me locus?—At pulchellae sunt.—Novi optime et saepe vidi. Nominatim tibi signa mihi nota mandassem, si probassem. Ea enim signa ego emere soleo quae ad similitudinem gymnasiorum exornent mihi in palaestra locum. Martis vero signum quo mihi pacis auctori? Gaudeo nullum Saturni signum fuisse: haec enim duo signa putarem mihi aes alienum attulisse. Mercuri mallem aliquod fuisset: felicius, puto, cum Avianio transigere possemus. 3. Quod tibi destinaras trapezophorum, si te delectat, habebis: sin autem sententiam mutasti, ego habebo scilicet.—Ista quidem summa ne ego multo libentius emerim deversorium Tarracinae, ne semper hospiti molestus sim. Omnino liberti mei video esse culpam cui plane res certas mandaram itemque Iuni quem puto tibi notum esse, Aviani familiarem. Exhedria quaedam mihi nova sunt instituta

mentioned in Hor. Sat. ii. 3, 16. Damasippus had said that he was willing to take the statues off Cicero's hands. Cicero says, 'I hope he will adhere to his offer.' Damasippus is also mentioned in Att. xii. 29, 2 (565); 33, 1 (566). Other characters mentioned by Horace, in common with Cicero, are Tigellius, Craterus, Arrius, Trebatius, the son of Aesopus, Arbuscula, Laberius, Tarpa.—See Palmer, Horace, *Satires*, p. xv.

quanti . . . tanti] With the reading in the text *tanti* and *quanti* must be correlative; and the sense must be, 'But you, in ignorance of my practice, took four or five of those works at a price I would not give for all the statues in the world.'

genus . . . omnium] 'statues of all kinds.' Cp. 109, 2; 115, 3. For the gen. *signorum* (which is the *genetivus epexegeticus* of Draeger, i. 466), cp. unum genus est *eorum*, Cat. ii. 18; propter eam causam *sceleris* (viz. 'crime'), Verr. iv. 113; insidias *caedis atque incendiorum*, Cat. ii. 6. Add *proeli dimicationem*, Q. Fr. i. 1, 5 (30)

erat] '(such a purchase) would have been suitable.' Cp. et nisi longe alium late iactaret odorem laurus *erat*, Virg. Georg. ii. 132; peream male si non optimum *erat*, Hor. Sat. ii. 1, 6; Palmer, on Hor. Sat. ii. 1, 16, calls this 'the imperfect of neglected duty.'

pacis auctori] 'a votary of peace,' alluding most probably to his feat in crushing Catiline without unsheathing the sword: hence *cedant arma togae* and other such boasts. Others, supposing the reference to be to his attitude as peace-maker between Pompey and Caesar, place this letter very much later.

duo signa] of two such inauspicious gods as Mars and Saturn. Mercury, on the other hand, was the god of treasure-trove and good luck.

3. *trapezophorum*] See Addenda to the Commentary.

deversorium Tarracinae] Cicero would often use a lodge at Tarracina on his journeys to his Cumanum and Pompeianum.

Exhedria] See Addenda to the Commentary.

in porticula Tusculani. Ea volebam tabellis ornare: etenim, si quid generis istius modi me delectat, pictura delectat. Sed tamen, si ista mihi sunt habenda, certiorem velim me facias ubi sint, quando arcessantur, quo genere vecturae. Si enim Damasippus in sententia non manebit, aliquem Pseudodamasippum vel cum iactura reperiemus. 4. Quod ad me de domo scribis iterum, iam id ego proficiscens mandaram meae Tulliae: ea enim ipsa hora acceperam tuas litteras. Egeram etiam cum tuo Nicia, quod is utitur, ut scis, familiariter Cassio. Ut redii autem prius quam tuas legi has proximas litteras, quaesivi de mea Tullia quid egisset. Per Liciniam se egisse dicebat (sed opinor Cassium uti non ita multum sorore), eam porro negare se audere cum vir abesset—est enim profectus in Hispaniam Dexius—illo et absente et insciente migrare. Est mihi gratissimum tanti a te aestimatam consuetudinem vitae victusque nostri, primum ut eam domum sumeres ut non modo prope me sed plane mecum habitare posses, deinde ut migrare tanto opere festines. Sed ne vivam si tibi concedo ut eius rei tu cupidior sis quam ego sum. Itaque omnia experiar. Videō enim quid mea intersit, quid utriusque nostrum. Si quid egero, faciam ut scias. Tu et ad omnia rescribes et quando te exspectem facies me, si tibi videtur, certiorem.

Pseudodamasippum] 'I must look out for some imitator of Damasippus to sell them to, even at a loss.' Palmer, on Hor. Sat. ii. 3, 16, remarks that Damasippus must have been quite at the head of his trade, as he had imitators in it.

4. *Cassio*] Gallus had bought a house from Cassius, inhabited by Cassius' sister Licinia and her husband Dexius. Licinia did not wish to move out in the absence of her husband. Not being on good terms with her brother, she was not anxious to consult the convenience of the purchaser of his house.

uti non ita multum] 'is not on very good terms with.'

porro] 'in her turn.'

Dexius] The name is found in C. I. L. ix. 6078, 73.

ne vivam si tibi concedo] 'upon my life, I won't admit.' Cp. *ita vivam ut maximus sumptus facio*, Att. v. 15, 2 (207), 'upon my life, I am living very extravagantly.'

127. TO M. MARIUS (FAM. VII. 1).

ROME; SEPTEMBER OR OCTOBER, A. U. C. 699; B. C. 55; AET. CIC. 51.

M. Cicero probat, quod M. Marius ludos a Pompeio II. cos. editos spectatum non venerit. Se quoque interea Canini causam egisse narrat et optare se ait ut, omissis rebus forensibus, libere possit in villis et cum Mario vivere.

M. CICERO S. D. M. MARIO.

1. Si te dolor aliqui corporis aut infirmitas valetudinis tuae tenuit quo minus ad ludos venires, fortunae magis tribuo quam sapientiae tuae: sin haec quae ceteri mirantur contemnenda duxisti et, cum per valetudinem posses, venire tamen noluisti, utrumque laetor et sine dolore corporis te fuisse et animo valuisse, cum ea quae sine causa mirantur alii neglexeris; modo ut tibi constiterit fructus oti tui, quo quidem tibi perfrui mirifice licuit cum esses in ista amoenitate paene solus relictus. Neque tamen dubito quin tu ex illo cubiculo tuo ex quo tibi Stabianum perforasti et

It is uncertain in what month Pompey dedicated his theatre; probably it was in September: cp. Val. Max. ii. 4, 6 *Cn. Pompeius ante omnis aquae per semitas decursu aestivum minuit fervorem.* A few days before, Cicero delivered the speech against Piso (§ 65). In that speech Cicero knew (81) of Caesar's having crossed the Rhine (end of July), but not of his having crossed into Britain (latter part of September).

1. *ludos*] This very interesting and beautiful letter was written on the occasion of the dedication of Pompey's theatre and the temple of Venus Victrix, when Pompey delighted the people with spectacles of unusual magnificence, including not only dramatic and athletic performances in the theatre, but races and combats with wild beasts (*venationes*) in the circus. In these were killed five hundred lions and twenty elephants, according to Pliny. The letter is remarkable as showing a refinement very rare in the age of Cicero. It seems to us, however, that the value of the letter from this point of view is somewhat overestimated. It seems clear from § 6, *haec ad te . . . paeniteret*, that the letter must be regarded to some extent rather as a rhetorical exercise on a theme suggested by his friend, than as the expression of the writer's own opinion of the question of the morality of such spectacles as he describes. Strangely enough, this particular show seems to have supplied incidents so affecting as to move even the callous mob of Rome. Pliny (N. H. viii. 20, 21) tells us that the cries and piteous bearing of the elephants, when they found escape impossible, touched the people so much that they rose in a mass and cursed Pompey, *tanto populi dolore, ut, oblitus imperatoris ac munificentiae honori suo exquisitae, flens universus consurgeret dirasque Pompeio quas ille mox luit imprecaretur.*

modo ut tibi constiterit] 'always provided you made a good use of your leisure.' *Constiterit* may come from *consto*, in the sense of 'to be,' 'exist,' ὑπάρχειν, as in *si ipsa mens constare potest vacans corpore*, N. D. i. 25; or from *consisto*, in the same sense, *vix binos oratores laudabilis constitisse*, Brut. 333.

ex quo tibi Stabianum perforasti] There seems to be corruption here. *Stabianum perforasti* is usually explained 'you have opened a window giving on the Stabian waters of the Bay.' But is this a possible

patefecisti sinum, per eos dies matutina tempora lectiunculis

meaning of the verb? *Perforare* means (1) 'to bore through,' a meaning which is clearly impossible here; (2) 'to make by boring'; and this last signification is common in Cicero; e. g. *duo lumina ab animo ad oculos perforata*, N. D. iii. 9; *viae . . . a sede animi perforatae*, Tusc. i. 46. But *perforare Stabianum* = *perforando patefacere Stabianum* is impossible, as was seen by Boot (Obs. Crit., p. 12). Under *Stabianum* lurks some direct object of *perforasti*. Boot conjectures *tablinum*, 'a balcony': cp. Varro ap. Nonium, p. 83, 16 *ad focum hieme et frigoribus cenitabant: aestivo tempore in loco propatulo: rure in chorte: in urbe in tablino, quod menianum possumus intellegere tabulis fabricatum*. We might suggest, to account for *Stabianum* of the mss, *istud maenianum*. For *maeniana*, 'timber balconies' thrown out for the purpose of affording a view, and taking their name from Maenius, who was consul 416 (338), see Reid on Acad. ii. 70. Either conjecture involves a violent departure from the mss; but a puzzled copyist would be very likely to suppose a reference to *Stabiae* S. of Pompeii, where the villa of Marius was situated. The whole sentence, *ex quo maenianum perforasti et patefecisti* for *ex quo maeniano perforato patefecisti* supplies an example of *parataxis* for *hypotaxis*, not rare in the letters. The reading of the mss MR is *senum*, which Wölfflin shows to be another form of *sinum*, as *semol* is of *simul* (Archiv x. 451). But it is a slight change to alter to *sinum* with Boot; and it is unlikely that Cicero would use an unusual form of the word just here. *Misenum* is the emendation of Lambinus. Perhaps we should adhere to *Stabianum*, and interpret *perforasti et patefecisti* as a διὰ μέσου construction = *perforando patefecisti*: cp. Plaut. Aul. 270 *pure propera atque elue* for *propera atque pure elue*. Prof. Reid thinks that we have an example of a very common kind of error in mss when the first part of one word is attached to the last part of the following word. He holds that Cicero may have written *perforando patefecisti*. Cf. Plaut. Mil. 1022, where Ritschl read *propera exspectando* for *properando*. In Acad. ii. 70, all mss have *facerent* for *facere dicerent*; in Pro Sull. 1, all but three give *suspicarentur* for *suspicari viderentur*; in Phil. vii. 24, all but one have *conlaudaremus* for *conlaudare debemus*. In Att. x. 4, 11 (382) Orelli with probability conjectured *facere solet* for *faceret*. Halm and Christ give in Div. i. 56, *petere dubitanti* for *petenti*. In Balb. 1, C. F. W. Müller writes *valere debent* for *valent*. Many other illustrations of the principle are to be found in the texts of almost all authors.

lectiunculis] 'little dips into books.' This is, we think, what Cicero wrote. He had said above (or implied) that the leisure of Marius was not properly employed unless he did something useful. Now, to take little dips into books would be very useful as compared with dozing over bad farces. Kl. conjectured *spectiunculis* for *lectiunculis*; but would taking 'little peeps' at the beauties of the Bay of Naples satisfy the condition expressed above, *modo ut tibi constiterit fructus oti tui*? Moreover, *spectarent* is just the word that would *not* be used after *spectiunculis*. But the editors have treated this passage very badly: in the words *neque dubito quin tu* ex *illo cubiculo* ex quo *tibi Stabianum perforasti . . . per eos dies matutina tempora lectiunculis consumpseris*, it seems at first sight that for *ex illo cubiculo* we should certainly read *in illo cubiculo*; and this has been the course adopted by every editor from Lallemand to Müller. But this is unscientific. If Cicero wrote the easy *in illo cubiculo*, why do all the mss give us the difficult *ex illo cubiculo*? The fact is, that in *ex illo cubiculo ex quo* we have an example of that *inverse attraction*, which is quite in the manner of Plautus, with whose diction I have already pointed out so many marked parallelisms in the letters of Cicero: cp. for instance, Plaut. Cist. 63 inidem unde *oritur facito ut facias stultitiam sepelibilem*; again, *ego te hodie reddam madidum si vivo probe* tibi quoi *decretum est bibere aquam*, Aul. 574; *quid illum ferre vis qui*, tibi quoi *divitiae domi maxumae sunt . . . numum nullum habes*, Epid. 329. Hence I would by no means change *ex illo* to *in illo*, with Lallemand. Such a course would be truly 'from the purpose' of criticism. Either Cicero wrote *ex illo . . . lectiunculis*, or *ex illo . . . spectiunculis*; certainly not *in illo . . . lectiunculis*. I believe he wrote *ex illo . . . lectiunculis*; and that this passage supplies another striking instance of the close parallelism between the diction of the letters of Cicero and of the comic drama. For a good example of inverse attraction in Greek, cp. βῆναι

consumpseris, cum illi interea qui te istic reliquerunt spectarent comminus mimos semisomni. Reliquas vero partis diei tu consumebas iis delectationibus quas tibi ipse ad arbitrium tuum compararas, nobis autem erant ea perpetienda quae Sp. Maecius probavisset. 2. Omnino, si quaeris, ludi apparatissimi sed non tui stomachi: coniecturam enim facio de meo. Nam primum honoris causa in scaenam redierant ii quos ego honoris causa de scaena decessisse arbitrabar. Deliciae vero tuae, noster Aesopus, eius modi fuit ut ei desinere per omnis homines liceret. Is iurare cum coepisset, vox eum defecit in illo loco, 'Si sciens fallo.' Quid tibi ego alia narrem? nosti enim reliquos ludos: qui ne id quidem leporis habuerunt quod solent mediocres ludi: apparatus enim spectatio

κεῖθεν ὅθενπερ ἥκει, Soph. O. C. 1226. [I should prefer to adopt *in illo cubiculo*. It is very common for these mss to omit *in* (see C. F. W. Müller's note on Fam. p. 25, 22), and also to add adjacent words (*ib.* p. 32, 26, and his note on Att. p. 24, 8). The Plautine passages do not seem so strong as the present; and it is improbable that Cicero would use such a rare construction in such a studied composition as this letter (cp. Lebreton, p. 14). Surely κεῖθεν in the passage in Sophocles is not defensible.—L. C. P.]

comminus] While Marius has a *distant* view of Misenum, those who left him to come to Rome have a *close* (too close) view of the farces which Cicero found so tiresome. *Comminus* for *communes* is the admirable conjecture of Madvig (Adv. Crit. iii. 158). *Communes* is usually explained 'hackneyed,' 'gewöhnliche,' 'alltägliche' (Süpfle). But this is not a meaning which *communis* ever bears (*communes loci*, 'common places,' in no way defends it); nor, if it did, would it be suitable here, as Madvig justly observes. Prof. Reid is inclined to think *communes* right after all. Marius had (he says) the sole enjoyment of his estate and his privacy, while those who remained in town looked at the *mimes*, the spectacle of which was common property. The contrast is between that which belongs to *one* and that which belongs to the public generally. But Prof. Reid confesses that the contrast between the distant view of Misenum and the close view of the *mimi* seems forced, frigid, and trivial.

Sp. Maecius] This is the Maecius Tarpa mentioned by Horace. He was appointed by Pompey to be public licenser of plays, like the Lord Chamberlain amongst ourselves. According to the Schol. (Comm. Cruq.) on Horace, Tarpa was again appointed to discharge the same functions, as president of a court of five members, by Octavius.

probavisset] 'if only Tarpa gave his sanction, we had to sit out the play.' The subjunctive is used because *ea* expresses 'the *kind*' of plays which they had to witness. The point of the antithesis is that Marius could choose his own amusements, while Cicero and the other spectators of the games were depending on the taste of Tarpa.

2. *non tui stomachi*] 'not such as you would have stomached.' This is the genitive which Draeger, i. 461, calls *der Genitiv der Eigenschaft*: cp. *plurimarum palmarum gladiator*, Rosc. Am. 17; *non multi cibi hospitem accipies, multi ioci*, Fam. ix. 26, 4 (479); it is combined with the qualitative ablative in *multis luminibus ingeni, multae tamen artis*, 133, 4.

honoris causa] This phrase is used in two senses: they had retired from the stage *to preserve their own reputation* (which they were no longer able to maintain); they now came back to the stage *to do honour to the occasion* (by restoring to the stage its past ornaments). One might render 'out of respect for Pompey they came back to the stage which they had left out of respect for themselves.'

Si sciens fallo] This was the form of oath *per Iovem Lapidem*. Schütz remarks that we may hence infer that not only *palliatae fabulae* but *togatae* were represented on this occasion; for in the former there would not have been this purely Roman *formula*. But may not the

tollebat omnem hilaritatem, quo quidem apparatu non dubito quin animo aequissimo carueris. Quid enim delectationis habent sescenti muli in 'Clytaemestra' aut in 'Equo Troiano' creterrarum tria milia aut armatura varia peditatus et equitatus in aliqua pugna? quae popularem admirationem habuerunt, delectationem tibi nullam attulissent. 3. Quod si tu per eos dies operam dedisti Protogeni tuo, dum modo is tibi quidvis potius quam orationes meas legerit, ne tu haud paullo plus quam quisquam nostrum delectationis habuisti. Non enim te puto Graecos aut Oscos ludos desiderasse, praesertim cum Oscos ludos vel in senatu vestro spectare possis, Graecos ita non ames ut ne ad villam quidem tuam via Graeca ire soleas. Nam quid ego te athletas putem desiderare qui gladiatores contempseris? in quibus ipse Pompeius confitetur se et operam et oleum perdidisse. Reliquae sunt venationes binae per dies quinque, magnificae—nemo negat—, sed quae potest homini esse polito delectatio cum aut homo imbecillus a valentissima bestia laniatur aut praeclara bestia venabulo transverberatur? Quae tamen, si videnda sunt, saepe vidisti, neque nos qui haec spectamus quidquam novi vidimus. Extremus elephantorum dies fuit, in

players have had to take some formal oath? Cicero seems to speak of the words as if it were well known that all players must use them. Moreover, the *Clytaemestra* (of Attius) and *Equus Troianus* (of Livius, or, as Ribbeck (Frag. Trag. p. 234) holds, of some other author, perhaps of Attius) were tragedies, *crepidatae*, not *palliatae*, and in translating a formal oath from the Greek, the regular forms of the Latin oath would doubtless be used.

Clytaemestra] For this form cp. Livius Andr. 11: Ausonius Epitaph. Her. 1, 4: and the mss of Cicero Off. i. 114; where see C. F. W. Müller's note.

creterrarum] another form of *craterarum*: cp. Nonius 547, 25, who quotes the *Lycurgus* of Naevius *aquam creterris sumere ex fonte*. 'Bowls' might have formed part of the spoils in the triumphal procession representing the sack of Troy. Graevius injudiciously conjectured *cetrarum*, 'bucklers,' 'targets.'

3. *Protogeni*] Perhaps Marius' *anagnostes*, or slave, whose duty it was to read aloud.

quidvis] 'anything, except my speeches' (as Cicero modestly adds).

senatu vestro] the municipal senate of whatever town Marius belonged to. Probably, like our town councils and vestries, these bodies furnished much innocent amusement to the judicious. *Oscos ludos = fabulas Atellanas.* Cicero says the town council of Pompeii will supply Marius with plenty of broad farces like the *fabulae Atellanae*. The allusion seems rather far-fetched; but the whole letter, it must be remembered, is probably a rhetorical exercise.

via Graeca] The *via Graeca* (which was apparently a local road in the neighbourhood of Pompeii) was in very bad repair. Cicero jestingly says that such is Marius' aversion from the Greeks that he will not even take the Grecian road to his own villa.

gladiatores contempseris] Graevius conjectures with much probability that this is an allusion to some service which Marius had done to Cicero in defending him against the bravoes of Clodius.

operam et oleum] a proverbial expression for wasted labour. The allusion is to 'midnight oil,' not to the oil used in the training schools; Att. ii. 17, 1 (44); xiii. 38, 1 (658); Plaut. Poen. 332: cp. Otto, 'Sprichwörter,' p. 253.

venationes] 'fights between men and beasts,' 'wild beast baiting.'

quo admiratio magna vulgi atque turbae, delectatio nulla exstitit. Quin etiam misericordia quaedam consecuta est atque opinio eius modi, esse quamdam illi beluae cum genere humano societatem. 4. His ego tamen diebus, ludis scaenicis, ne forte videar tibi non modo beatus sed liber omnino fuisse, dirupi me paene in iudicio Galli Canini, familiaris tui. Quod si tam facilem populum haberem quam Aesopus habuit, libenter mehercule artem desinerem tecumque et cum similibus nostri viverem. Nam me cum antea taedebat, cum et aetas et ambitio me hortabatur et licebat denique quem nolebam non defendere, tum vero hoc tempore vita nulla est. Neque enim fructum ullum laboris exspecto et cogor non numquam homines non optime de me meritos rogatu eorum qui bene meriti sunt defendere. 5. Itaque quaero causas omnis aliquando vivendi arbitratu meo, teque et istam rationem oti tui et laudo vehementer et probo, quodque nos

misericordia] See Plin. N. H. viii. 21 quoted above, § 1.

4. *facilem*] 'ready' (to let me retire). *artem desinerem*] *desinere artem* is found in Suet. Tib. 36; *desinere seditionem* in Gell. ii. 12, 3; and this construction is not rare in the poets. Compare also *orationes a plerisque legi sunt desitae*, Cicero Brut. 123. But it must be confessed that the construction *desinere artem* is a little strange. It would be like 'to cease our profession.' However, as Mendelssohn and C. F. W. Müller have retained it, we have ventured to stand by those scholars. But the objections to be urged are put forward with great learning by Prof. Reid, who has kindly sent us the following note. Of the passage from Cicero Brut. 123 he says: 'This is not a parallel. It seems quite as isolated in Cicero as Acad. ii. 80, where *desinere* is constructed with abl. Looking to the number of times Cicero uses *desinere*, it seems strongly improbable that either passage should be sound. I would read *arte desisterem* here and *desiste* in the other place. *Desiste* is now generally read for *desine* in Ter. Haut. v. 1, 6 (879). Neither Horace nor Vergil has the acc. (for in Ecl. v. 19 and ix. 66 *desine plura*, there is an obvious ellipse of the inf. of a verb of speaking; and similarly in Ecl. viii. 62). So far as I can make out, there is only one example of *desinere* with acc. in Latin before Cicero, i.e. Terence Haut. ii. 3, 64 (305) *mulier telam desinit*. Terence uses the verb in about sixteen other places, either absolutely or with inf. I cannot believe the passage in the Haut. to be sound. Probably Terence wrote *nere* (cf. l. 52) and a copyist added the object *telam*, which then drove out the inf. The example of *desinere* with accus. given in a fragment of Sallust by the Lexicons cannot carry much weight. Nor can much stress be laid on the examples from Ovid, for Met. vi. 215 quoted by the Lexicons is now altered; and the interchange of *desine* and *desere* in a good many other passages must render Ars Am. ii. 726 more than doubtful, to say nothing of the fact that *desere* suits the context far better. I have not noted any other example of *desino* with acc. either in authors of the age of Ovid or later down to Suetonius (the passage you quote), where it seems to me that *destituturos* is the right reading. There is, I think, strong reason for doubting whether the construction *desinere* with acc. occurs in Latin at all, at least before Fronto. We cannot, of course, argue that *orationes desitae sunt legi* justifies *desinere orationes*, any more than *orationes coeptae sunt legi* would justify *coepisse orationes*. Nor even if we found *orationes desitae sunt* (without the inf.) could we say that it made *desinere orationes* possible. E.g., Cicero says *illa coepta sunt*, but never *coepi aliquid*.' Wesenberg would omit *artem*, comparing Fam. vi. 4, 4 (540).

minus intervisis, hoc fero animo aequiore quod, si Romae esses, tamen neque nos lepore tuo neque te—si qui est in me—meo frui liceret propter molestissimas occupationes meas: quibus si me relaxaro—nam ut plane exsolvam non postulo—te ipsum, qui multos annos nihil aliud commentaris, docebo profecto quid sit humaniter vivere. Tu modo istam imbecillitatem valetudinis tuae sustenta et tuere, ut facis, ut nostras villas obire et mecum simul lecticula concursare possis. 6. Haec ad te pluribus verbis scripsi quam soleo non oti abundantia sed amoris erga te, quod me quadam epistula subinvitaras, si memoria tenes, ut ad te aliquid eius modi scriberem quo minus te praetermisisse ludos paeniteret. Quod si adsecutus sum, gaudeo: sin minus, hoc me tamen consolor quod posthac ad ludos venies nosque vises neque in epistulis relinques meis spem aliquam delectationis tuae.

5. *relaxaro . . . exsolvam*] 'remission,' . . . 'release.'

obire et . . . concursare] cp. Verr. v. 80 *aestate summa quo tempore ceteri praetores obire provinciam et concursare consuerunt.*

6. *relinques*] 'you will not leave at the mercy of a letter from me any hope you may have of getting enjoyment out of the games.' Süpfle understands these words to mean 'you will come and see me, and so you will not have to depend on my letters for your entertainment when you will have myself.' But this is a pointless remark, and does not harmonize with the foregoing sentence. Moreover, such a rendering hardly takes *aliquam* into account.

128. TO Q. PHILIPPUS, PROCONSUL IN ASIA (FAM. XIII. 74).

ROME; A. U. C. 699 (?); B. C. 55; AET. CIC. 51.

M. Cicero Q. Philippo L. Oppium praesentem et Egnatii absentis negotia commendat.

M. CICERO Q. PHILIPPO PROCOS. S.

Etsi non dubito pro tua in me observantia proque nostra necessitudine quin commendationem meam memoria teneas, tamen etiam atque etiam eumdem tibi L. Oppium familiarem meum praesentem et L. Egnati familiarissimi mei absentis negotia commendo. Tanta mihi cum eo necessitudo est familiaritasque ut, si mea res esset, non magis laborarem. Quapropter gratissimum mihi feceris si curaris ut is intellegat me a te tantum amari quantum ipse existimo. Hoc mihi gratius facere nihil potes: idque ut facias te vehementer rogo.

129. TO Q. ANCHARIUS, PROCONSUL IN MACEDONIA (FAM. XIII. 40).

ROME; A. U. C. 699; B. C. 55; AET. CIC. 51.

M. Cicero Q. Anchario procos. Macedoniae L. et C. Aurelios commendat.

M. CICERO S. D. Q. ANCHARIO Q. F. PROCOS.

L. et C. Aurelios L. filios quibus et ipsis et patre eorum, viro optimo, familiarissime utor, commendo tibi maiorem in modum, adulescentis omnibus optimis artibus ornatos, meos pernecessarios, tua amicitia dignissimos. Si ulla mea apud te commendatio valuit, quod scio multas plurimum valuisse, haec ut valeat rogo. Quod si eos honorifice liberaliterque tractaris, et tibi gratissimos optimosque adulescentis adiunxeris et mihi gratissimum feceris.

The date of this letter is uncertain. Recent editors place it in 696 (58); Billerbeck in 699 (55); while Hölzl (Fasti Praetorii, pp. 94, 95) postpones it to 709 or 710 (45 or 44). As Egnatius and Oppius had business at Philomelium in Phrygia, as we learn from Fam. xiii. 45, 43 (918, 920), it is possible that Asia was the province which Philippus administered: cp. also Bergmann in 'Philologus' ii. 643, note 24.

Q. ANCHARIO] He was trib. pl. in 695 (59), and opposed Caesar. In 698 (56) he was praetor, and proconsul of Macedonia in 699 (55): cp. Pis. 89.

130. TO ATTICUS, IN ROME (ATT. IV. 13).

TUSCULANUM; NOVEMBER (MIDDLE); A. U. C. 699; B. C. 55; AET. CIC. 51.

M. Cicero significat se venisse a. d. XVII. Kal. Dec. in Tusculanum, fore Romae a. d. XIV. Kal. propter nuptias Milonis et comitiorum opinionem de altercationibus in senatu factis, rogat Atticum ut se de omnibus rebus urbanis edoceat, de Crasso, de libris oratoriis quos in manu habeat.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Nos in Tusculanum venisse a. d. XVII. Kal. Decembr. video te scire. Ibi Dionysius nobis praesto fuit. Romae a. d. XIV. Kalend. volumus esse. Quid dico, volumus? Immo vero cogimur: Milonis nuptiae. Comitiorum non nulla opinio est. Ego, ut sit rata, afuisse me in altercationibus quas in senatu factas audio fero non moleste. Nam aut defendissem quod non placeret aut defuissem cui non oporteret. Sed mehercule velim res istas et praesentem statum rei publicae et quo animo consules ferant hunc σκυλμὸν scribas ad me quantum potest. Valde sum ὀξύπεινος et,

1. *nuptiae*] sc. *me cogunt Romae esse.* Milo was about to be married to Fausta, the daughter of Sulla the Dictator.

Ego, ut sit rata] 'granting that it is confirmed.' Cicero appears to mean that, if an election is imminent, he regrets not having assisted in the canvass, but is glad enough to have escaped the contentions and wranglings which had occurred in the senate. The elections seem to have been very late this year. That for curule aediles was not completed until well on in the following year: cp. Cic. Planc. 49–54, and Holden's Introduction to that speech, § 3. It is uncertain what the altercations in the Senate were about —possibly on granting a *supplicatio* to Caesar (Caes. B. G. iv. 39, 5); or perhaps in consequence of the hindrances offered by Ateius Capito and Aquillius Gallus to the levies which Pompey and Crassus were trying to raise (Dio Cass. xxxix. 39, 1–2; Plut. Crass. 16). It seems uncertain whether *cui non oporteret* refers to Pompey or Crassus. The opposition was mainly against Crassus at this time, and Cicero had just been reconciled to him. Still we think that now, as ever, Cicero felt that Pompey was the leader by whose side he must always stand. The Med. reads *Ergo et si irata*; and the reading given above is that of Bosius. For other suggestions see Adn. Crit. Cicero may have written *ego ut sitio rem ita afuisse me . . . fero non moleste*, 'I, though athirst for the senatorial arena, yet am glad,' &c.

σκυλμὸν] This word is from σκύλλειν, which Hesychius explains τὸ τοῖς ὄνυξι σπᾶν. 'Tangled skein' would go near the thought in English, but the French *tracasserie* would be a better rendering; σκύλλειν is 'to trouble,' 'to worry,' in the N. T. To find the exact meaning of a Greek word used by Cicero we must look to the post-classical, not the classical, usage of the word. Domitius Ahenobarbus and Appius Claudius Pulcher were elected near the end of the year, the elections having been obstructed at the regular time.

si quaeris, omnia mihi sunt suspecta. 2. Crassum quidem nostrum minore dignitate aiunt profectum paludatum quam olim aequalem eius L. Paullum, item iterum consulem. O hominem nequam! De libris oratoriis factum est a me diligenter. Diu multumque in manibus fuerunt: describas licet. Illud etiam *atque etiam* te rogo, τὴν παροῦσαν κατάστασιν τυπωδῶς, ne istuc hospes veniam.

2. *minore dignitate*] This is *litotes*, or *meiosis*. L. Aemilius Paullus in 586 (168) repaired to his province attended *maiore quam solita frequentia prosequentium*, Liv. xliv. 22, 17; Crassus went, followed by the curses of Ateius Capito the tribune, Cic. de Div. i. 30; Plut. Crass. 16. Paullus, when he went to Macedonia, was sixty years of age, as also was Crassus on his departure for Syria. The coincidence that Paullus and Crassus were both sixty years of age, and had both been consuls for the second period, led Cicero to point the contrast between them in respect of popularity.

O hominem nequam] This exclamation strongly contrasts with the sentiments of admiration and affection expressed in Ep. 131. This is one of the many proofs that Cicero did not, when he was writing these letters, contemplate their ultimate publication.

libris oratoriis] the three books *de oratore*.

τὴν π. κ. τυπωδῶς] sc. *describas*, 'give me a sketch of the present state of things.'

LETTERS OF THE FIFTEENTH YEAR OF CICERO'S CORRESPONDENCE.

EPP. 131–166.

A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

COSS. L. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS, APPIUS CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

DURING this year Cicero acquiesced in the government of the Triumvirs; and a tolerable case can be made out for the attitude which he adopted: see Introduction. They put pressure on him to speak in defence of his former enemies, Crassus, Vatinius, and even Gabinius. To defend Gabinius must have been a sore trial to Cicero; and that he yielded after so many protestations is one of the hardest things to justify in his whole career. As an appendix to the trial of Gabinius, he made a speech in defence of the financier Rabirius Postumus. In Ep. 153 (Fam i. 9) we have an elaborate *mémoire justificatif*, in which Cicero explains to Lentulus why he ranged himself along with the Triumvirs, and did not oppose their policy. Cicero also composed a speech for his old friend Cn. Plancius, which is most important as giving us information about the details of Roman elections. He was one of the many counsel for Scaurus when accused of extortion in Sardinia; and he pleaded many other cases which were independent of politics.

Much confusion and corruption prevailed in the matter of the elections. A most scandalous compact between two candidates for the consulship and the actual consuls came to light in the summer (142, 2); and the year ended without any election for consulship having taken place. During this year Cato was praetor—he presided at the trial of Scaurus—and, as far as he could, he opposed all forms of bribery. A very striking example of the high estimation for uprightness in which he was held is found in 142, 4; 143, 8.

To this year belong Cicero's treatise *De Republica* and also poems *De temporibus meis* and on Caesar's exploits. Cicero occasionally received letters from Caesar, who found time during his military affairs to take an interest in literary matters.

In the early summer Quintus joined the camp of Caesar in Gaul. Caesar made his second expedition into Britain in the late summer: but at the end of the year he was hard pressed by the insurrection of the Eburones under Ambiorix. Early in September occurred the death of Julia, daughter of Caesar and wife of Pompey.

131. TO CRASSUS, AFTER HIS DEPARTURE FOR SYRIA (FAM. V. 8).

ROME; PROBABLY JANUARY (LATTER HALF); A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero M. Licinio Crasso in Syriam profecto scribit quanta cum contentione in eum senatu defenderit. Excusat quae intercesserat simultatem et pristina amicitia restituta suam operam, consilium, auctoritatem, gratiam in omnibus rebus large pollicetur.

M. CICERO M. LICINIO P. F. CRASSO.

1. Quantum a. d. . . . meum studium exstiterit dignitatis tuae vel tuendae vel etiam augendae non dubito quin ad te omnes tui scripserint. Non enim fuit aut mediocre aut obscurum aut eius

Lange (R. A. iii. p. 354) and Körner (pp. 51–52) hold an opinion as to the date of this letter which is at variance with that held by all previous scholars. They put it in August, 700 (54). This is probably wrong: as it would appear, from § 2, that Publius and Marcus Crassus the younger were in Rome; yet Marcus was serving with Caesar in the summer of 700 (54) (Caes. B.G. v. 24, 2), and Publius also appears to have been with Caesar during the same summer: cp. Plut. Crass. 17, 4 δεξόμενος αὐτόθι (in Syria) τὸν υἱὸν ἥκοντα παρὰ Καίσαρος ἐκ Γαλατίας. Körner seems to be influenced by the fact that, in 153, 19, 20, Cicero defends himself against the strictures of Lentulus for having spoken in behalf of Vatinius and Crassus. Now Vatinius was acquitted of sodalicia at the end of August (147, 3). Accordingly Körner thinks that the attack on Crassus which Cicero repelled was made about the same time. He cannot say what the nature of the attack was; but he rejects Lange's view, that Gabinius refused to give up the province of Syria to a legatus sent by Crassus; for it is unlikely that Crassus would have delayed to send a legatus until the summer. Far more probable is the view of Rauschen (p. 51), that the letter was written early in January. Cicero had become reconciled to Crassus at the end of the previous year; and they had parted the best of friends (153, 20 fin.). But the ill-omened departure of Crassus stimulated his enemies to attack him; they may have moved a curtailment of his powers, and perhaps voted scanty supplies. Cicero would seem to have urged that the powers and resources of Crassus, so far from being diminished, should be increased (§ 1). As the reconciliation was recent, the warmth of Cicero's zeal was the greater.

Bardt (Hermes xxxii. (1897) pp. 267–270) holds that §§ 1, 2, and §§ 3, 4 are two drafts of the same letter: and that Cicero did not intend to send both. The similarity of ideas is marked. Cicero would naturally take the greatest pains with a communication like this, which renewed friendly relations with an important personage towards whom he had been for a long time hostile. But we think the view of Gurlitt (N. Jahrb. für das klass. Altertum, 1901, p. 540) preferable, that we have here the same letter written twice for despatch by different messengers, as was natural in the case of an important letter sent to a distant place. In the case of such despatch by more than one messenger, it seems to have been considered etiquette to vary the expression, and not to write exact duplicates, as may perhaps be inferred from Fam. vii. 18, 2 (173) *quis solet eodem exemplo pluris dare qui sua manu scribit.* Probably rough copies of both drafts were kept by Tiro, and by inadvertence got joined together.

1. *Quantum a. d. . . .*] 'How I showed my zeal for you on the ——.' The text gives the excellent emendation of Klotz, *a. d.* for *ad.* This is a very frequent error of M; and it is quite natural that Cicero should mention the date of his espousal of

modi quod silentio posset praeteriri. Nam et cum consulibus et cum multis consularibus tanta contentione decertavi quanta numquam antea ulla in causa, suscepique mihi perpetuam propugnationem pro omnibus ornamentis tuis, veterique nostrae necessitudini iam diu debitum sed multa varietate temporum interruptum officium cumulate reddidi. 2. Neque mehercule umquam mihi tui aut colendi aut ornandi voluntas defuit, sed quaedam pestes hominum laude aliena dolentium et te non numquam a me alienarunt et me aliquando immutarunt tibi. Sed exstitit tempus optatum mihi magis quam speratum ut florentissimis tuis rebus mea perspici posset et memoria nostrae voluntatis et amicitiae fides. Sum enim consecutus non modo ut domus tua tota sed ut cuncta civitas me tibi amicissimum esse cognosceret. Itaque et praestantissima omnium feminarum, uxor tua, et eximia pietate, virtute, gratia tui Crassi meis consiliis, monitis, studiis, actionibusque nituntur, et

the cause of Crassus. The date has fallen out. Professor Ellis (Hermathena, vi. (1887), p. 134) suggests *Id.* (= *Idibus*), a view which commended itself also to Mendelssohn. The Senate was often held on the Ides: cp., for example, 96, 1; 135, 2.

consulibus] Domitius Ahenobarbus and Appius Claudius.

interruptum] Cicero and Crassus were thrice estranged, and thrice reconciled. Cicero provoked the first quarrel by ascribing to Pompey the whole credit of the Servile war. The second quarrel arose out of the Catilinarian conspiracy, and Crassus was certainly active in procuring the banishment of Cicero. After Cicero's return a reconciliation was effected, chiefly through the mediation of Publius, the son of Crassus. The third estrangement arose from the espousal of the cause of Gabinius by Crassus, and a reconciliation was effected just before the departure of Crassus for Syria. The warm language of friendship and esteem used by Cicero in this letter contrasts very strongly with the *O hominem nequam* of Ep. 130.

2. *voluntas tui colendi*] This objective gen. is found more frequently in the letters than in the other works of Cicero: cp. *laudis nostrae gratulatio . . . timoris consolatio*, Att. i. 17, 6 (23).

pestes hominum] This is a remarkable coincidence with the language of the comic stage; this *gen. epexegeticus*, in which the governing substantive contains the essence of the expression, and has much of the effect of an adj., is found *only in the letters and in the comic poets*: cp. *scelus viri = vir scelestus*, Mil. 1434; so Curc. 614; Truc. 621; *frustum pueri*, Pers. 848; *flagitium hominis*, Asin. 473; *monstrum mulieris*, Poen. 273; *hominum mendicabula = mendici*, Aul. 703; *deliciae pueri*, Pers. 204; *monstrum hominis*, Ter. Eun. 696. We have just the same construction as in 'a rap of a fellow,' 'a bit of a boy' (meaning 'a little boy'), 'a jewel of a woman,' &c.; *hallex viri* in Poen. 1310 either means 'a hop o' my thumb of a fellow,' *hallex* meaning 'the great toe'; or it is like the Irish expression, 'the broth of a boy,' *hallex* being the sediment of a costly fish sauce; possibly also = 'a foul fellow.' *Scelus hominis clamantes*, Att. xi. 9, 2 (423) is probably another example of this construction, though it might be otherwise explained.

memoria . . . fides] 'what a lively sense I have of our (former) amity, and what a sincere feeling of (present) friendliness.'

uxor tua] Tertulla. Suetonius tells us that she intrigued with Julius Caesar, Jul. 50.

tui Crassi] 'Your sons,' Marcus and Publius.

nituntur] cp. Off. i. 122 *Est igitur adulescentis maiores natu vereri exque iis deligere optimos et probatissimos quorum*

senatus populusque Romanus intellegit tibi absenti nihil esse tam promptum aut tam paratum quam in omnibus rebus quae ad te pertineant operam, curam, diligentiam, auctoritatem meam.

3. Quae sint acta quaeque agantur domesticorum tibi litteris declarari puto. De me sic existimes ac tibi persuadeas vehementer velim, non me repentina aliqua voluntate aut fortuito ad tuam amplitudinem meis officiis amplectendam incidisse, sed, ut primum forum attigerim, spectasse semper ut tibi possem quam maxime esse coniunctus. Quo quidem ex tempore memoria teneo neque meam tibi observantiam neque mihi tuam summam benevolentiam ac liberalitatem defuisse. Si quae interciderunt non tam re quam suspicione violata, ea, cum fuerint et falsa et inania, sint evulsa ex omni memoria vitaque nostra. Is enim tu vir es et eum me esse cupio ut, quoniam in eadem rei publicae tempora incidimus, coniunctionem amicitiamque nostram utrique nostrum laudi sperem fore. 4. Quam ob rem tu quantum tuo iudicio tribuendum esse nobis putes statues ipse et, ut spero, statues ex nostra dignitate; ego vero tibi profiteor atque polliceor eximium et singulare meum studium in omni genere offici quod ad honestatem et gloriam tuam spectet. In quo etiam si multi mecum contendent, tamen cum reliquis omnibus tum Crassis tuis iudicibus omnis facile superabo: quos quidem ego ambo unice diligo, sed, in Marcum benevolentia

consilio atque auctoritate nitatur. Cobet (Mnemosyne, viii. (1880), p. 185) conjectures *utuntur*, comparing Fin. iv. 67, and § 5 below.

3. *incidisse*] 'stumbled on the task of defending your dignity.' We do not know of any other place where *incidere* used metaphorically is followed by *ad*.

forum attigerim] This is the regular expression to denote the appearance of a young Roman for the first time in public life on his assumption of the *toga virilis*: cp. Mur. 21.

liberalitatem] Crassus probably lent Cicero money on some occasion.

Si quae . . . violata] 'If any interruptions of our friendship have occurred meanwhile, let these—based as they were not on fact but mere surmise, and therefore groundless and imaginary—be utterly uprooted from our minds'; *violata* has much the same meaning as *violationes*, which Cicero does not use. The use of the past participle with an indefinite pronoun unsupported by a substantive is rare; but the principle is the same as if he had written *si quae foedera violata interciderunt*, which would be a natural way of expressing *si quae foederum violationes interciderunt*. Cp. Att. i. 17, 7 (23) *illa quae violata expiabuntur*. Süpfle compares Off. ii. 68 *erit id quod violatum videbitur compensandum*, 'the offence given.'

Is . . . sperem fore] 'Such is your character, and mine (I trust), as to lead me to hope,' &c.

4. *quantum tuo iudicio tribuendum esse nobis putes*] A more natural expression would have been *tribuendum sit*. For the pleonasm, see note on Att. ii. 24, 3 (51) *res erat in ea opinione ut putarent*.

ex nostra dignitate] '*with due regard* to my position': cp. *ex offici ratione rem considerare*, pro Quinct. 48.

in Marcum benevolentia pari] Ablatives like this are really *ablativi modi*, and are not to be explained as absolute ablatives

pari, hoc magis sum Publio deditus quod me, quamquam a pueritia sua semper, tamen hoc tempore maxime sicut alterum parentem et observat et diligit.

5. Has litteras velim existimes foederis habituras esse vim, non epistulae, meque ea quae tibi promitto ac recipio sanctissime esse observaturum diligentissimeque esse facturum. Quae a me suscepta defensio est te absente dignitatis tuae, in ea iam ego non solum amicitiae nostrae sed etiam constantiae meae causa permanebo. Quam ob rem satis esse hoc tempore arbitratus sum hoc ad te scribere, me, si quid ipse intellegerem aut ad voluntatem aut ad commodum aut ad amplitudinem tuam pertinere, mea sponte id esse facturum : sin autem quippiam aut a te essem admonitus aut a tuis, effecturum ut intellegeres nihil neque te scripsisse neque quemquam tuorum frustra ad me detulisse. Quam ob rem velim ita et ipse ad me scribas de omnibus minimis, maximis, mediocribus rebus ut ad hominem amicissimum et tuis praecipias ut opera, consilio, auctoritate, gratia mea sic utantur in omnibus publicis, privatis, forensibus, domesticis, tuis, amicorum, hospitum, clientium tuorum negotiis ut, quod eius fieri possit, praesentiae tuae desiderium eo labore minuatur.

with the ellipse of the deficient participle of *esse*. 'With good wishes for Marcus as sincere, I am more completely devoted to Publius for his constant affection and attention towards me,' &c. Such ablatives are very common in phrases like *re recenti*, Fam. xii. 29, 2 (831); *salvis legibus*, Fam. v. 20, 9 (302); *nullo adversario*, Att. ii. 23, 2 (50). Very good examples are *summo dolore meo et desiderio*, Q. Fr. iii. 1, 9 (148); *cuius dubia fortuna* ('as his position was insecure'), *timidius tecum agebamus*, Fam. xiii. 19, 2 (514); *omni statu omnique populo* ('whatever my state or the popular feeling may be'), Att. xi. 24, 1 (441); *hac iuventute* (= cum talis sit iuventus), Att. x. 11, 3 (396); *praesertim hoc genero* (= cum talis sit gener meus), Att. xi. 14, 2 (429); *tirone et collecticio exercitu*, Fam. vii. 3, 2 (464); *aut aliqua rep. aut perdita*, Fam. vi. 1, 6 (538); *florentissimis tuis rebus*, § 2 above. Other editors read *sed in Marco benevolentia impar*, which they explain, 'but in the mind of Marcus there is not the same kindly feeling for me'; but Cicero would not have described the feeling of the young Marcus Crassus for him by the word *benevolentia*, which suitably expresses the feeling of Cicero towards the youth.

5. *Has litteras*] 'This document I should wish you to regard as a sort of covenant between us, not a mere letter.' *Litterae*, the more general form for a communication, is here clearly contrasted with *epistula* : cp. also 148, 8, *venio nunc ad tuas litteras quas pluribus epistulis accepi*.

eo labore] 'by the labour thus imposed on me.' To correct *eo* of the mss to *meo*, as is usually done, weakens the sense of the passage.

132. TO QUINTUS, IN SOME SUBURBAN RESIDENCE (Q. FR. II. 9 (11)).

ROME; FEBRUARY 10 OR 11; A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero Q. fratri scribit, cum nihil quod scribat habeat, de libertate Tenediis negata, de laudibus Q. fratris et de Lucretii ac Salustii poëmatis.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

1. Epistulam hanc convicio efflagitarunt codicilli tui. Nam res quidem ipsa et is dies quo tu es profectus nihil mihi ad scribendum argumenti sane dabat. Sed quem ad modum, coram cum sumus, sermo nobis deesse non solet, sic epistulae nostrae debent interdum alucinari. 2. Tenediorum igitur libertas securi Tenedia praecisa est, cum eos praeter me et Bibulum et Calidium et Favonium nemo defenderet. 3. De te a Magnetibus ab Sipylo mentio est honorifica facta, cum te unum dicerent postulationi L. Sesti Pansae restitisse. Reliquis diebus si quid erit quod te scire opus

1. *codicilli*] These were tablets made of thin pieces of wood (*codices*, *caudices*) and covered with wax. They were used for any sudden exigency requiring haste. Sometimes the words of a letter were hastily jotted down with a *stylus* on these *codicilli*, and then given to the *librarius* to copy on *charta* with a *calamus*. It was by *codicilli* that Acidinus informed Servius at Athens that Marcellus had died of the wounds inflicted on him by the dagger of Magius Chilo: cp. Fam. iv. 12, 2 (613). *Codicilli* were especially useful when an immediate *reply* was required. Cicero sent his *codicilli* to Balbus when he wanted immediate information about a law: cp. Fam. vi. 18, 2 (534). In this case Quintus sent his *codicilli* to his brother, demanding 'in strong language' a reply. *Codicilli* were especially used for writing to those who were near at hand, Sen. Ep. 55, 11. See also Ellis on Catullus 42, 11, and Marquardt iv. 780–782; and Vol. I., p. 55, ed. 3.

alucinari] 'to ramble on' without any consistent train of thought, just as Cicero and his brother chatted to each other when they met: cp. N. D. i. 72 *Ista enim a vobis quasi dictata redduntur quae Epicurus oscitans alucinatus est* ('the drowsy ramblings of Epicurus').

2. *Tenediorum*] The people of Tenedos petitioned the senate for Home Rule, but were refused.

securi Tenedia] *Securis Tenedia* is a proverbial expression for any 'short, sharp, and decisive' act or decision. Tenes, the fabled eponym of Tenedos, was the author of a very severe code for the island. Adultery was to be punished by the immediate execution of the adulterer, and this sentence was carried out by order of Tenes in the case of his own son. Another interpretation is, that Tenes enacted that the executioner with raised axe should stand behind any accuser, and inflict summary penalty if the accusation were shown to be false: cp. Photius, ii., p. 205 (ed. Naber). See also Otto's *Sprichwörter*, pp. 343–4.

3. *cum . . . dicerent*] 'saying as they did.' For this usage, cp. note to 22, 2, and Roby, § 1722.

L. Sesti Pansae] Probably a publicanus, who had made some excessive demands of the Magnetes. The Magnetes of Lydia are called *Magnetes ab Sipylo*, to distinguish them from the Magnetes in Thessaly and in Caria.

sit, aut etiam si nihil erit, tamen scribam cotidie aliquid. Pridie Id. neque tibi neque Pomponio deero. 4. Lucreti poëmata ut scribis ita sunt, multis luminibus ingeni, multae tamen artis. Sed cum veneris. . . . Virum te putabo, si Sallusti 'Empedoclea' legeris, hominem non putabo.

neque tibi neque Pomponio] This must refer to some transaction in which Atticus and Quintus were jointly concerned, possibly affecting in some way the marriage portion of Pomponia.

4. *Lucreti . . . artis*] This is the celebrated criticism of Cicero on the poem of Lucretius, which had just been published about four months after the death of the poet. It is the only place where Cicero mentions Lucretius; and he never quotes from the poet, though his philosophical works undoubtedly show acquaintance with the *sex libri de rerum natura*. It has been observed that it is not the practice of Cicero to quote from his contemporaries. He never mentions Catullus, who so prettily eulogized him in the poem (49) beginning *disertissime Romuli nepotum*. Cicero twice imitates an expression of Catullus. He writes *oricula infima molliorem*, 141, 4: cp. Cat. 25, 2 *mollior . . . imula oricilla*; and again, Att. xvi. 6, 2 (775), he speaks of *ocellos Italiae villulas meas*, which seems to be a reminiscence of *Peninsularum, Sirmio, insularumque Ocelle*, Cat. 31. But he never mentions the poet, with whom he was linked as well by political sympathies as by their common acquaintanceship with Clodia. Hence, it is possible that the tradition mentioned by St. Jerome that Cicero edited the poem of Lucretius may be true, in spite of the silence of Cicero concerning Lucretius. Cicero had probably some time during the last four months read (or heard read to him) the *De rerum natura*, and had sent it to his brother on finishing it. From a passage in Sest. 123 *neque poetae quorum ego semper ingenia dilexi tempori meo defuerunt*, we may infer that Cicero made it a practice to lend the lustre of his name to the works of rising poets. It is very unlikely that Q. Cicero should have been the editor. St. Jerome would not have referred to him as *Cicero*, but as *Q. Cicero*; nor would the friends of Lucretius have been at all likely to submit the poem to Quintus. The criticism of Quintus, with which Cicero expresses his accord, was that Lucretius had not only much of the *genius* of Ennius and Attius, but also much of the *art* of the poets of the new school, such as Catullus, who were fashioning themselves on the model of the Alexandrine poets, especially Callimachus and Euphorion of Chalcis. This new school Cicero refers to as the *νεώτεροι* (cp. Att. vii. 2, 1 (293)), and as *hi cantores Euphorionis* (Tusc. iii. 45). Their *ars* seemed to Cicero almost incompatible with the *ingenium* of the old school. This criticism on Lucretius is not only quite just from Cicero's point of view, but it is most pointed. Yet the editors from Victorius to Klotz will not let Cicero say what he thought. They insert a *non* before either *multis* or *multae*, and thus deny Lucretius either *ingenium* or *ars*. The point of the judgment is that Lucretius shows the genius of the old school, and (what might seem to be incompatible with it) the art of the new. For a full discussion of this point, see Munro's *Lucretius*, Introd. to Notes ii. The views above given are mainly his. For *tamen* compare Lehmann ('De Epp. ad Att. recensendis,' p. 195), and note to Att. iii. 20, 3 (78), ed. 3. See Adn. Crit.

artis] For this gen. see on Fam. vii. 1, 2 (127).

Sed cum veneris . . .] Some such words as *plura de his poematis disseremus* are understood. This is a variation of the common phrase *sed haec coram*: cp. *coram enim* 117, 2.

Virum . . . hominem] 'If you get through Sallust's *Empedoclea*, I shall look on you as a being possessed of the resolution of a man, and none of the weaknesses of humanity.' This antithesis between *vir* and *homo* is found elsewhere in Cicero, and must be read in the light shed on the words by the other passages. In Fam. v. 17, 3 (179), Cicero writes to Sittius, 'I feel it my duty to exhort you *ut et hominem te et virum esse meminisses*'; and he goes on to explain that by this he means that—(1) Sittius should remember that as *homo* he is subject to the chances and changes of this mortal life, that he is not exempt from the lot of humanity, and (2) that as *vir* he is bound to oppose a

133. TO QUINTUS, IN THE COUNTRY (Q. FR. II. 10 (12)).

ROME; FEBRUARY 13; A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero Q. fratri de Commageni regis causa a se acta et de litteris a Caesare ad se missis refert.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

1. Gaudeo tibi iucundas esse meas litteras, nec tamen habuissem scribendi nunc quidem ullum argumentum, nisi tuas accepissem. Nam pridie Id. cum Appius senatum infrequentem coëgisset, tantum fuit frigus ut pipulo, convicio coactus sit nos dimittere.

bold front to fortune. Again, he says of Marius, *tulit dolorem ut vir, et, ut homo, maiorem ferre sine causa necessaria noluit*, Tusc. ii. 53, 'he bore the pain *like a man* but, *as not being above the weaknesses of humanity*, he did not wish to suffer greater pain without any imperative reason for it.' In antitheses with *vir esse* the meaning of *homo esse* always is 'to be subject to the ordinary weaknesses of humanity'; by itself *homo esse* means—(*a*) 'to have the feelings or the sense of a man'; cp. Att. ii. 2, 2 (28); (*b*) 'to have the weaknesses of a mortal,' as *ei moriendum fuit, quoniam homo nata fuerat*, Fam. iv. 5, 4 (555).

Sallusti] Of this author of a poem on the philosophy of Empedocles nothing certain is known. He is probably the same man as the Sallustius mentioned in 155, 1. Schöne considers that Sallust the historian wrote the 'Empedoclea.'

1. *Nam*] Cicero has no news to tell Quintus, because the meeting of the senate ended abruptly.

pipulo, convicio] 'noisy clamour,' i.e. of the senators. The ms reading is *populi convicio*. Boot (Obs. Crit., p. 35) justly observes that he does not understand how the consul was forced by the clamour of the people outside to dismiss the senate. He would read *communi convicio*; but the conjecture given in the text is far less rash: *pipulo* is a Plautine word, and therefore very likely to be used by Cicero; it would almost certainly be mistaken by the scribe for *populo*, which he would naturally change to *populi*, to obtain a construction. This emendation is accepted by Prof. Housman (*Classical Review*, xvi. (1902), p. 443*a*), who, however, thinks that *convicio* should be ejected as a gloss. He quotes several passages from the *Corp. gloss. Lat.* and also Nonius 152, 3, where *pipulo* is interpreted by *convicio*. This is exceedingly probable; but *asyndeton* is quite a characteristic feature in the letters of Cicero, especially asyndeton between *two* words. For two words with asyndeton, cp. *patrimonio, fortuna*, Att. xi. 9, 3 (423); *causae meae, voluntati meorum*, Att. iii. 13, 1 (71); *querentibus, postulantibus*, Att. v. 21, 12 (250); *officiis, liberalitate*, Fam. xiii. 24, 3 (519); *vultu, taciturnitati*, Fam. iii. 8, 2 (222); *gratissimo, iucundissimo*, Fam. xiii. 28, 3 (523); *studiis, beneficiis*, 134, 1. *Pipulo* may, perhaps, signify less articulate exclamations than *convicio* 'hooting and abuse.' We read in 93, 3, that the hired roughs of Clodius *a Graecostasi et gradibus clamorem satis magnum sustulerunt*, and that the consequence was the breaking up of the meeting of the senate. But in that case they were hired by Clodius to do what they did. How could the coldness of the weather bring the people outside to break up the meeting of the senate 'with abuse,' *convicio*? But it is quite credible that the senators themselves should have shouted down every attempt to put a question to the house, with abusive clamour calling on the consul to dismiss the house. Each senator wished to go away on account of the cold, but did not wish to leave behind him a house to pass measures unacceptable to him. With this passage must be discussed the words at the end of the letter, *ut summum periculum esset ne Appio suae aedes urerentur*. Here, again, Boot

2. De Commageno, quod rem totam discusseram, mirifice mihi et per se et per Pomponium blanditur Appius. Videt enim, hoc

asks what is the meaning? It is true that in seasons of great cold there is a greater danger of conflagrations, because larger fires are kept. But why should the consul's house be in more peril than houses of other people? Man. explains, by observing that in the house of the consul, which was frequented by crowds of visitors and by those who would escort him home from the senate, a very large fire would naturally be kept. But such an explanation is manifestly puerile. This being so, we are disposed to explain the two passages—the one in the beginning of the letter, and the one at the end—as jocular, or at least covert allusions to the lack of interest in public affairs, the inactivity and apathy of the senate, and the dulness of the business before them. The first passage would then mean, 'Appius could only get together a small meeting of the senate; and when it did meet, such was the utter dearth of interest, that it ended in noisy clamour for a dismissal of the house.' The sentence at the end would mean, 'The thermometer of public feeling is so near freezing-point that Appius' house runs a great risk of being *frost-bitten*,' that is, utterly deserted by *salutatores* and *deductores*. For examples of *frigus* in the metaphorical sense of 'dulness,' 'apathy,' 'stagnation,' cp. *si Parthi vos nihil calfaciunt nos hic frigore rigescimus*, Fam. viii. 6, 4 (242); *Curioni tribunatus conglaciat*, ib. 3; and the synonymous phrase, ib. 4, *veternus civitatem occupasset*; so also *metuo ne frigeas* ('have nothing to do') *in hibernis... quamquam vos istic satis calere* ('are kept pretty busy') *audio* (161, 2). *Uri* = 'to be frost-bitten,' is common enough; Cicero uses it in this sense in one passage, where it is as susceptible of misapprehension as it is here, *pernoctant venatores in nive; in montibus* uri *se patiuntur*, Tusc. ii. 40. There, however, Professor Dougan reads *pernoctant venatores in montibus, nive uri se patiuntur*, for (he says) '*uri* is not used of the action of *frigus*, unless *frigus* or some such word is expressed.' This explanation, moreover, gives a far more appropriate meaning to *quamquam* in the sentence at the end of the letter. 'I shall give you the news of every day. *Yet* [there is really nothing to tell, for] the thermometer of public interest is so near freezing-point that Appius' house seems likely to be frost-bitten.' It is to be observed that both at the beginning and the end of the letter the mention of *frigus* is introduced to account for the dearth of news. *Frigus* might also be used in the metaphorical sense of *disfavour* (towards Appius); cp. *maiorum ne quis amicus Frigore te feriat*, Hor. Sat. ii. 1, 63; *limina frigescant*, Pers. i. 108; to which the Dictt. add several examples in Quintilian and Pliny. But this use of *frigus* would not account for *quamquam*, and is not so characteristic of the tone of Cicero's letters. *Infrequentem* is sometimes explained as 'extraordinary.' (See L. S.) Dr. Reid says: "This is certainly right. The first words of the letter lead up to this sense of *frigus*. But I should phrase it a little differently. The senate was called to pass certain measures which no one would have. I still do not feel sure that *populi* is wrong. There are a number of passages (most of them are quoted in the footnotes to Willems's *Sénat*, ii. pp. 163 sq.) which seem to show that the public thronged the doors of the meeting-place (which were left open), and either heard or managed to get to know about what was going on inside. They may have assembled on this occasion to show their disapproval of the measure which the senate had been summoned to consider. Appius was hand in glove with Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus. The contemplated business probably was in the interest of the triumvirate. If *frigus* means the 'chilling frost of popular opposition to the designs of Appius,' the word *urerentur* may well have its natural meaning. 'So unpopular are Appius' plans that he may well have his house burnt about his ears.' This contrast between *frigus* in its non-literal sense and *urerentur* in its literal sense is quite in Cicero's style. The *quamquam* does not seem to me to be out of place. 'I will write to you, if anything is done; but nothing is likely to be done, unless maybe A.'s house is burned.'"

2. *Commageno*] Antiochus, king of Commagene, whose capital was Samosata, now *Samsoun*, the birth-place of Lucian. When Syria was made a province, at the end of the Mithridatic war, Antiochus received from Pompey this little division of the kingdom of Syria.

discusseram] 'pulled to pieces,' that is, 'frustrated,' 'brought to nought.'

genere dicendi si utar in ceteris, Februarium sterilem futurum. Eumque lusi iocose satis, neque solum illud extorsi oppidulum quod erat positum in Euphrati Zeugmate, sed praeterea togam sum eius praetextam, quam erat adeptus Caesare consule, magno hominum risu cavillatus. 3. 'Quod vult,' inquam 'renovari honores eosdem, quo minus togam praetextam quotannis interpolet, decernendum nihil censeo. Vos autem homines nobiles, qui Bostrenum praetextatum non ferebatis, Commagenum feretis?' Genus vides

sterilem] 'productive of no profit to him.' If Cicero opposed and defeated all the petitions of foreign nations, for the hearing of which February was reserved, there would be no *douceurs* for him from successful applicants.

oppidulum] We may infer that Antiochus had two requests to make—(1) that he might be allowed to include or retain in his dominion a certain town on the Euphrates; and (2) that the honour, granted to him in the consulship of Caesar, of wearing a *toga praetexta*, should be confirmed by a decree of the senate.

quod ... Zeugmate] 'at Zeugma,' or 'in the territory of Zeugma.' *Euphrati* is the genitive: cp. *Orodi*, Fam. xv. 1, 2 (221), and copious examples in Neue-Wagener i³. 511: cp. Madvig on Fin. i. 14 and v. 12. Billerbeck would take Ζεύγματι in the other sense of 'bridge.' He says that at the site of Bir, or Birtha, there was a bridge over the Euphrates in the time of Alexander, Thapsacus having been before this the customary place of crossing. The town was called *Zeugma*, from the bridge. It would be natural that the senate should refuse to detach from the province of Syria a town so situated.

3. *Quod vult*] 'As to his petition for a renewal of the honours he got in the consulship of Caesar, to save himself the expense of dyeing his *praetexta* anew every year, I am against a decree to that effect. Will you, who would not have the tetrarch of Bostra clothed with the *praetexta*, endure the Commagene in that robe of state?' Such is the explanation of Schütz and Billerbeck. There does not appear to be much play of fancy in the passage. Unless the joke lies in some allusion to the unknown tetrarch or princeling of Bozrah, whom (Cicero says) the Roman nobles would not endure to see clad in the Roman robe of state, we see no joke in the passage, except that Cicero affects to regard Antiochus as seeking a decree of the senate to refurbish his robe, to save himself the expense of redyeing it every year. There would be more humour in the words of Cicero if *renovari* could mean, 'to be put on a new footing.' Thus Cicero would say, 'as regards his petition to have his distinction *put on a new footing* (i.e. given to him absolutely without the necessity of yearly renewal), to save himself the expense of a yearly redyeing (i.e. a yearly embassy to Rome to solicit renewal), I am against such a decree.' The same sense would be got by reading with Lamb. and Ern., *quod non vult renovari honores eosdem*, 'as to his request not to have a renewal of his distinction on the same terms,' that is, 'not to have it renewed for a year, but in perpetuity.' This is the reading which Wieland translates, and may, perhaps, appear a probable solution of the difficulty, though it is very daring to insert *non*. We can hardly hope to get any nearer to the meaning without knowing something of 'the Bozran.' Bostra, the Bozrah of Isaiah, was a considerable town in Arabia Petraea. Another rendering is, however, probably the correct one. 'As to his wish that the same honours be renewed, I am of opinion that no measure should be passed to prevent his doing up his *toga praetexta* each year. But will you, lords, who did not allow the Bozran to wear the *toga praetexta*, allow the Commagenian to do so?' Cicero seems to mean that no decree, not even one refusing the request, should be passed. Such a trumpery matter (he implies) does not call for a decree. The Commagenian is not forbidden to do up his toga each year if he likes. But Cicero presumes that the Roman nobles will not tolerate the princeling if he ventures to wear it. *Quo minus*, according to the legal style, is governed by *nihil decernendum*.

et locum iocandi. Multa dixi in ignobilem regem quibus totus est explosus. Quo genere commotus, ut dixi, Appius totum me amplexatur. Nihil est enim facilius quam reliqua discutere. Sed non faciam ut illum offendam, 'ne imploret fidem Iovis Hospitalis, Graios omnis convocet' per quos mecum in gratiam redit. 4. Theopompo satis faciemus. De Caesare fugerat me ad te scribere. Video enim quas tu litteras exspectaris. Sed ille scripsit ad Balbum, fasciculum illum epistularum, in quo fuerat mea et Balbi, totum sibi aqua madidum redditum esse, ut ne illud quidem sciat, meam fuisse aliquam epistulam. Sed ex Balbi epistula pauca verba intellexerat ad quae rescripsit his verbis: 'De Cicerone te video quiddam scripsisse quod ego non intellexi: quantum autem coniectura consequebar, id erat eius modi ut magis optandum quam sperandum putarem.' 5. Itaque postea misi ad Caesarem eodem illo exemplo litteras. Locum autem illius de sua egestate ne sis aspernatus. Ad quem ego rescripsi nihil esse quod posthac arcae nostrae fiducia conturbaret, lusique in eo genere et

totus est explosus] 'completely, utterly laughed out of court.'

Quo genere] = *cuius generis dictis.*

Iovis Hospitalis] Ζεὺς Ξένιος. We must infer that certain Greeks had been instrumental in bringing about a reconciliation between Cicero and Appius. If he broke with Appius, he would offend these Greeks, and so the god who 'protects them.' Probably we should, with Bücheler, suppose these words a quotation, and print

ne imploret fidem
Iovis Hospitalis Graios omnis convocet.

4. *fugerat me*] 'I forgot'; so *fugit me ratio*, 'I was mistaken,' in Catull. 10, 29. This meaning of *fugere* is very common in Cicero, and very rare in other writers.

magis optandum] Caesar wrote to Balbus that he could see that Balbus had said something about Quintus Cicero in his letter; that he could not make out the meaning; that, if his guess at the meaning was right, it announced a fact which he (Caesar) might wish, but hardly hope, to be true. The announcement was probably that Quintus had determined to transfer his services from Pompey to Caesar. Nothing could be more courteous than Caesar's way of receiving this news.

5. *Locum*] It is by no means certain that the editors are right in changing the ms *locum* to *iocum*. There is no conclusive evidence that Caesar's letter was playful: the little extract we have from it here is full of dignified courtesy. The 'passage about his poverty,' *locum illius de sua egestate*, was, no doubt, in the same strain. He said with regret that he could not promise Quintus an El Dorado in his camp. Cicero advises his brother not to look with disfavour on that passage—not to let it deter him from joining Caesar and serving under him vigorously—and tells him that in reply he has let Caesar know how poor they were—how he (Caesar) 'must not become bankrupt through any reliance on his (Cicero's) resources.' Of course *iocum* can be defended, as Caesar's letters were sometimes jocular: cp. 134, 2: and Cicero seems to have replied to this letter of Caesar's in a sportive vein.

conturbaret] sc. *rationes*, a common, half-slang word for 'to become bankrupt': cp. 111, 1; Planc. 68. Mayor, on Juv. vii. 129, quotes Martial ix. 4, 5: cp. vii. 27, 10 and 96, 9; and Petron. 38 and 81 *postquam conturbavit et libidinis suae solum vertit*. The latter phrase means 'to leave the country.' The business expression for becoming bankrupt is *cedere foro*.

familiariter et cum dignitate. Amor autem eius erga nos perfertur omnium nuntiis singularis. Litterae quidem ad id quod exspectas fere cum tuo reditu iungentur, reliqua singulorum dierum scribemus ad te, si modo tabellarios tu praebebis. Quamquam eius modi frigus impendebat ut summum periculum esset ne Appio suae aedes urerentur.

134. TO CAESAR, IN GAUL (FAM. VII. 5).

ROME; ABOUT APRIL; A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero C. Trebatium Testam iure consultum diligentissime C. Caesari Galliarum procos. commendat.

CICERO CAESARI IMP. S. D.

1. Vide quam mihi persuaserim te me esse alterum non modo in iis rebus quae ad me ipsum sed etiam in iis quae ad meos pertinent. C. Trebatium cogitaram quocumque exirem mecum ducere, ut eum meis omnibus studiis, beneficiis quam ornatissimum domum reducerem. Sed postea quam et Pompei commoratio diuturnior erat quam putaram et mea quaedam tibi non ignota dubitatio aut impedire profectionem meam videbatur aut certe tardare, vide quid mihi sumpserim. Coepi velle ea Trebatium exspectare a te quae sperasset a me, neque mehercule minus ei prolixe de tua voluntate promisi quam eram solitus de mea polliceri. 2. Casus vero miri-

Quamquam] 'Yet,' though I promise you a regular diary. See note on *pipulo, convicio*, § 1.

1. *te me esse alterum*] 'that you are my *alter ego*'; cp. *me alterum se fore*, 90, 7.

C. Trebatium] This is the famous jurist, C. Trebatius Testa, to whom seventeen letters of Cicero are extant in Fam. vii., and to whom is addressed Hor. Sat. ii. 1.

quocumque exirem] Cicero was *legatus* to Pompey, and was liable to be sent somewhere on foreign service. Pompey still held the commission for the corn supply, and the governorship of Spain, with which he was invested by the Trebonian law of 699 (55).

studiis, beneficiis] This *asyndeton* is very common in Cic. Epp. This strongly confirms the reading *pipulo, convicio* in the last letter.

dubitatio] doubts about what steps Clodius might take in his absence.

prolixe . . . polliceri] This use of adverbs instead of adjectives, especially with verbs of promising, is not rare in the letters: cp. *liberalissime polliceri*, Att. v. 13, 2 (203); *sperabis omnia optime*, Fam. iv. 13, 7 (483); *cum optime sentiremus*, Fam. iv. 2, 3 (389). Sallust has *bene polliceri*, Cat. 41. For a similar contrast of *promittere* ('cause to expect' from another) and *polliceri* ('to promise,' 'to undertake,' oneself) cp. Planc. 101.

ficus quidam intervenit quasi vel testis opinionis meae vel sponsor humanitatis tuae. Nam cum de hoc ipso Trebatio cum Balbo nostro loquerer accuratius domi meae, litterae mihi dantur a te quibus in extremis scriptum erat ' M. † itfiuium quem mihi commendas vel regem Galliae faciam, vel hunc Leptae delega, si vis. Tu ad me alium mitte quem ornem.' Sustulimus manus et ego et Balbus : tanta fuit opportunitas ut illud nescio quid non fortuitum sed divinum videretur. Mitto igitur ad te Trebatium atque ita mitto ut initio mea sponte, post autem invitatu tuo mittendum duxerim. 3. Hunc, mi Caesar, sic velim omni tua comitate complectare ut omnia quae per me possis adduci ut in meos conferre velis in unum hunc conferas. De quo tibi homine haec spondeo non illo vetere verbo meo quod, cum ad te de Milone scripsissem,

2. *Balbo*] This was L. Cornelius Balbus, a native of Gades, who had served against Sertorius, and had been made a Roman citizen by Pompey, whose act Cicero defended in the extant speech *pro Balbo*. He was consul in 714 (40), and was the first provincial who reached the consulship. A sketch of his life is given in vol. iv., pp. lxii–lxix.

2. *M. †itfiuium*] See Adn. Crit. It seems quite impossible to restore the lost name here. Mendelssohn conjectures *M. Iteium*, comparing for the name Wilmanns' Inscriptions, 2017; Wesenberg and Böckel *Titinium*; and Professor Ellis *Fufitium*, comparing Catull. 54, 5 : see his note in Hermathena, vi. (1887), p. 134. Schütz proposes *Mescinium Rufum*. He was afterwards a quaestor of Cicero in Cilicia; Lepta was afterwards *praefectus fabrum* to Cicero. He may, as Watson suggests, have accompanied Q. Cicero from Caesar's camp to M. Cicero's in Cilicia. Caesar writes jocularly, 'I will make him king of Gaul, or else do you hand him over to Lepta (your friend, who is with me), and send me someone else to provide for.' Such seems the only rendering to give to the words *vel hunc Leptae delega si vis*; and it is easy to assent to the judgment of Mendelssohn that the words are corrupt. But it is not easy to assent to the conjecture (Jahrbuch, 1886, p. 68) *vel συγκλέπτην de Segontiacis* (a British tribe, cp. Caes. B. G. v. 21, 1), which appears to mean 'or my pal in plundering the Segontiaci' (i.e. or I will bring him with me to Britain to fill his pockets there). Yet so eminent a scholar as Bardt (with some hesitation, however) accepts it and reads it in his text.

sustulimus manus] in wonder.

ita . . . ut] 'with a feeling that my original readiness to present him to you is greatly confirmed by your subsequent invitation to me' (to introduce my friends). This is one of these delicate uses of *ita . . ut*, noticed in vol. I[3], Introd., p. 84.

invitatu] Cp., for such fourth declension formations, *involatus* Fam. vi. 6, 7 (488); *reflatus* Att. xii. 2, 1 (459); *itus* Att. xv. 6, 3 (737).

3. *vetere verbo*] 'hackneyed phrase.' This is best explained by another passage with which it has not, so far as we know, been hitherto compared. In recommending Dionysius to Atticus, he describes him as *cum doctum . . . tum sane plenum offici . . . frugi hominem, ac*, ne libertinum laudare videar, *plane virum bonum*, Att. vii. 4, 1 (295): again, we read *eius libertum hominem frugi et modestum . . . tibi commendo maiorem in modum*, Fam. xiii. 70, 1 (509). Hence *frugi* or *bonae frugi* may be supposed to be *voces propriae* of recommendations given to inferiors in social rank. Some such conventional phrase it was which was ridiculed by Caesar. As in Att. vii. 4, 1 (295), he corrects the epithet *frugi* by the words *ac . . . plane virum bonum*, so here he says he will not recommend Trebatius in the conventional phrase for which Caesar rallied him, but he will say *probiorem hominem, meliorem virum esse neminem*. This plain and unambiguous statement, he says, is made *more Romano*, 'with old-fashioned, outspoken bluntness,' *quo modo homines non*

iure lusisti, sed more Romano quo modo homines non inepti loquuntur, probiorem hominem, meliorem virum, pudentiorem esse neminem. Accedit etiam, quod familiam ducit in iure civili, singulari memoria, summa scientia. Huic ego neque tribunatum neque praefecturam neque ullius beneficii certum nomen peto, benevolentiam tuam et liberalitatem peto, neque impedio quo minus, si tibi ita placuerit, etiam hisce eum ornes gloriolae insignibus: totum denique hominem tibi ita trado, de manu, ut aiunt, in manum tuam istam et victoria et fide praestantem. Simus enim putidiusculi quamquam per te vix licet, verum, ut video, licebit. Cura ut valeas et me, ut amas, ama.

inepti loquuntur, 'in the language of men of the world': *ineptus* is explained by Cicero himself in De Or. ii. 17 *qui aut tempus quid postulet non videt, aut plura loquitur, aut se ostentat, aut eorum quibuscum est vel dignitatis vel commodi rationem non habet, aut denique in aliquo genere aut inconcinnus aut multus est, is ineptus esse dicitur.*

pudentiorem] Possibly we should add some substantive like *sodalem*.

familiam ducit] 'he is at the top of his profession.'

tribunatum] sc. *militum*.

praefecturam] sc. *castrorum*, or *fabrorum*, or *sociorum*.

beneficii certum nomen] 'any specific favour'; the metaphor is perhaps from book-keeping.

hisce . . . gloriolae insignibus] 'these little marks of distinction.' *Gloriola* is found in 109, 9.

de manu, ut aiunt, in manum] The phrase is usually *per manus* (Seneca de Vita beata 1, 4): yet cp. Plaut. Trin. 902 *E manibus dedit mi ipse in manus*. On Prov. Cons. c. 16, § 39, Long (p. 109) says of this phrase *de manu in manum*, "This expression is the origin of the French 'de la main à la main,' which, however, has a particular sense, 'secretly.'" Rather perhaps 'informally.'

Simus . . . licebit] We have accepted Ern.'s *quamquam* for *quam*, as being a very slight change, and, as would seem, quite essential to the sense. Cicero says, 'Let me be somewhat of a bore (in my importunity); though, indeed, such is your kindness (in *inviting* me to present my friends) it is hardly excusable; yet, I can see, you will excuse the liberty.' *Putidiusculus* means 'rather tiresome,' not 'more tiresome'; so *quam* cannot be right; 'more tiresome than is hardly allowable' is nonsense; 'somewhat exacting, which your kindness ought to prevent' (Watson) demands *quod* for *quam*. Boot (Obs. Crit., p. 13) would read *quod*. He thinks the words refer *only* to the *last* expression, *manum tuam istam et victoria et fide praestantem*: the word *putidiusculi* would then mean 'tasteless,' 'vulgar,' 'fulsome'; but even when Boot has made many violent changes in the words, it is doubtful if the meaning which he desires is to be found. He reads *sumus enim putidiusculi, quod per te vix licet, per hunc utique licebit*, and explains 'utimur locutione aliquanto putidiore, quod vix licet quatenus tecum mihi sermo est, qui ipse oratione simplici et incompta uteris, quatenus sermo est de Trebatio certe mihi licebit.' Why should Caesar excuse a fulsome expression because it was used in recommending Trebatius? For *verum, ut video, licebit*, cp. *mihi pro coniunctione nostra vel peccare apud te in scribendo licet*, Fam. xiii. 18, 2 (513). Hence *vix licet* means 'it is hardly excusable, allowable; it is rather a liberty'; and *licebit* means 'you will let me take the liberty.' The word *putidiusculus* means 'a bit of a bore,' and refers not only to the importunity of Cicero, but to the *largeness* of his demand, in making over to Caesar his whole responsibility to Trebatius, and declaring that he will not be content with little distinctions, but will have these and solid benefits besides. It may also be held, as is argued in Hermathena, xxvi. (1900), p. 67, that *putidiusculi* means 'a trifle affected or extravagant'; and it seems to refer to the stilted phrase which just precedes. 'Excuse my slightly affected

135. TO QUINTUS, IN THE COUNTRY (Q. FR. II. 11 (13)).

ROME; FEBRUARY 14TH; A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero Q. fratri de rebus Id. Febr. in senatu actis, de Callisthene et Philisto historicis scribit.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

Risi 'nivem atram,' teque hilari animo esse et prompto ad iocandum valde me iuvat. De Pompeio adsentior tibi vel tu potius mihi. Nam, ut scis, iam pridem istum canto Caesarem. Mihi crede, in sinu est, neque ego discingor. 2. Cognosce nunc

language, although it is scarcely allowable in addressing *you* (who approve of measured language), yet as I see (from the generous tone of your letters) you will allow it.'

1. '*nivem atram*'] It is quite impossible to ascertain what this may mean without the letter of Quintus to which it alludes. The only place in Cicero which could possibly throw a light on this passage is Acad. ii. 72 *Anaxagoras nivem nigram dixit esse. Ferres me, si ego idem dicerem? Tu, ne si dubitarem quidem. At quis est? Num hic sophistes? Sic enim appellantur ii qui ostentationis aut quaestus causa philosophabantur: maxima fuit et gravitatis et ingeni gloria.* Perhaps, then, Cicero had told his brother that Trebatius was going to Caesar, and Quintus had said, in reply, 'He will have to exercise his legal acumen in proving, like a second Anaxagoras, that the British snow (which he will encounter in abundance) is black.' But this is, indeed, far-fetched, and still more so the attempted explanation of Manutius that Quintus said he would soon have to encounter with Caesar snow that would be *atram, quasi tristem minimeque iucundam.* It seems far more probable that *nivem atram* refers to incompatible things supposed to co-exist. Quintus may have written, 'If you expect constancy (or sincerity) in Pompey, you might as well expect to meet black snow': cp. *Midsummer Night's Dream*, v. i. 59, 60 (according to Upton's reading):

> That is, hot ice and wondrous strange black snow;
> How shall we find the concord of this discord?

But perhaps Schütz is right in suggesting *tutius est fateri nos nescire qualis ille Quinti iocus fuerit.*

canto] 'I have been this long time singing the praises of this same Caesar,' in the speeches of the time, especially *de prov. cons.* This is the only place, we think, in classical prose where *cantare* is used in the general sense of praising a person without any accessory idea of the praise being in verse. In post-classical Seneca, Ep. 79, 15, we have *canere* used in this sense (*Epicurus*) *cum amicitiam suam et Metrodori . . . cecinisset.* In the passage of Cicero there is probably no allusion to the poem which Cicero wrote on Caesar, for it does not appear to have been as yet projected (cp. 141, 2; 148, 11; 159, 3; 160, 6); nor to the poem on Cicero's consulship: for, though Caesar approved of that poem up to a certain point (141, 2; 147, 5), it does not seem to have contained any special laudation of Caesar.

in sinu est] 'We are bosom friends': cp. *Balbum . . . in oculis fero*: 148, 9. Having used the word *bosom* in the phrase *in sinu est*, Cicero adds: '*I* never loose my girdle (lest he should fall out of my bosom),' a playful way of saying: 'I, for my part, am careful never to do anything which might lead to an estrangement between us': cp. the advice of Polonius, in *Hamlet*—

> The friends thou hast, and their adoption tried,
> Grapple them to thy soul with hoops of steel.

Hence we may infer that, in the words *de Pompeio adsentior tibi*, Cicero means 'You are right; we cannot depend on Pompey alone.'

Idus. Decimus erat Caelio dies. Domitius iudices ad numerum non habuit. Vereor ne homo taeter et ferus, Pola Servius, ad accusationem veniat. Nam noster Caelius valde oppugnatur a gente Clodia. Certi nihil est adhuc, sed veremur. Eodem igitur die Tyriis est senatus datus frequens, frequentes contra Syriaci publicani. Vehementer vexatus Gabinius, exagitati tamen a Domitio publicani quod eum essent cum equis prosecuti. L. noster Lamia paullo ferocius, cum Domitius dixisset, 'Vestra culpa haec acciderunt, equites Romani: dissolute enim iudicatis,' 'Nos iudicamus, vos laudatis,' inquit. Actum est eo die nihil: nox diremit. 3. Comitialibus diebus qui Quirinalia sequuntur Appius

2. *Idus*] Sc. *Februarias*, Feb. 13th.

Decimus] 'The 13th was the day on which Caelius was to appear' (i.e. was the tenth day from his arraignment). Asconius (p. 59) tells us that ten days intervened between arraignment and trial of an accused, *Cum L. Cassius praetor decimo die, ut mos est, adesse iussisset*, and a shorter interval than that was considered illegal: cp. Plut. Cicero 9; and Greenidge, *Procedure*, p. 466. This was the *second* trial of Caelius, the friend and correspondent of Cicero; the first was the occasion on which he was defended by Cicero, 698 (56). The praetor in the first trial was Cn. Domitius Calvinus. The trial here referred to was before L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, the consul of the year, who was probably appointed a special *quaesitor* by decree of the senate for this trial of Caelius (see Willems, *Le Sénat*, ii., p. 297, note 3). Cn. Domitius, son of the consul, cannot, as has been supposed, have been praetor. At the time of the murder of Caesar he was not even a senator (Appian, Bell. Civ., v. 62). Domitius, the praetor, could not get a panel of jurors, and so the trial could not go on. We hear no more about it.

oppugnatur] Caelius, in a letter written in 704 (50), viz. Fam. viii. 12, 2 (279), complains that Appius Pulcher, the brother of Clodius, urged Pola Servius to accuse him. Servius seems to have been a sort of professional prosecutor.

Eodem igitur die] 'Well, to come back to the 13th, on the same day.' *Igitur* is often used by Cicero in resuming an interrupted topic, or summing up a preceding train of thought.

Tyriis] Perhaps we should read *Syriis* with M².

Gabinius] who, as proconsul, was the predecessor of Crassus in the government of Syria. The publicani appear to have accused Gabinius on other grounds, and also because he left his province in order to restore Ptolemy Auletes. The result was that Syria was harassed by pirates: (cp. Dio Cass. xxxix. 56, 5 καταλιπὼν οὖν ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ Σισένναν τε τὸν υἱὸν κομιδῇ νέον ὄντα καὶ στρατιώτας μετ' αὐτοῦ πάνυ ὀλίγους τὴν μὲν ἀρχήν, ἐφ' ἧς ἐτέτακτο, τοῖς λῃσταῖς ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον ἐξέδωκεν: cp. § 1); and it became difficult, on that account, to collect the taxes. The consul Domitius censured the publicani for having countenanced the expedition of Gabinius to Egypt by escorting him part of the way on his departure.

laudatis] 'are witnesses to character.' L. Lamia was a leading member of the *equites*, who had befriended Cicero at the time of his exile. He had been relegated from the city in 696 (58) by Gabinius on account of his support of Cicero: cp. Sest. 29; Fam. xi. 16, 2 (888); xii. 29, 1 (831).

diremit] This word is frequently used of breaking up a discussion: Rep. i. 17; Liv. xl. 59, 5. But we do not know any other case in which the word is used with the accusative omitted.

3. *Quirinalia*] February 17th. It is very uncertain by what process of reasoning Appius established his point (cp. Mommsen, St. R. iii. 922, note 2). It must have had some plausibility, for otherwise the comitia would not have been put off. Possibly the Lex Pupia, while enacting, as a general rule, that the senate could not be held on comitial days, had a saving clause, making an exception for cases of urgency; and cases of the

interpretatur non impediri se lege Pupia quo minus habeat senatum et, quod Gabinia sanctum sit, etiam cogi ex Kal. Febr. usque ad Kal. Mart. legatis senatum cotidie dare: ita putantur detrudi comitia in mensem Martium. Sed tamen his comitialibus tribuni pl. de Gabinio se acturos esse dicunt. Omnia colligo, ut novi scribam aliquid ad te. Sed, ut vides, res me ipsa deficit. 4. Itaque ad Callisthenem et ad Philistum redeo in quibus te video volutatum. Callisthenes quidem vulgare et notum negotium, quem ad

senate's being held on a comitial day are found (cp. *Cicero's Correspondence*, vol. iii., pp. 298 ff.). Again, the Lex Gabinia stated that, on every day in February, audience of the senate should be devoted to foreign embassies until their affairs were settled. Lange (R. A. iii². 233) speaks of the Lex Gabinia as *de senatu legatis ex Kal. Febr. usque ad Kal. Mart. cotidie dando*. If that was actually the form of the law, it probably meant every day on which a meeting of the senate was allowable; but Appius, who was so eager for purposes of jobbery to have all these embassies heard, may have argued that *cotidie* meant strictly, 'every day,' comitial or non-comitial. The *dies comitiales* in February were only six in number, and they all came after the 17th.

in mensem Martium] See notes on Ep. 120. In the year 699 (55) everything had been done irregularly, through the high-handed action of the consuls Pompey and Crassus, who had been elected, not at the regular time, but *ex interregno*. Hence we read in 120, 3, written at the end of February, about the approaching election of praetors, who ought to have been designated in the previous July. The consuls of this year also were elected after an *interregnum*, and they had now to hold the election of the praetors, who had not been designated the year before. M. Cato, who had been so unfairly defeated in 699 (120, 3), was one of the praetors for this year.

Sed tamen] In spite of the opposition of Appius, the tribunes declare they will use the *dies comitiales* to discuss the legality of Gabinius' restoration of Ptolemy. The Lex Pupia appears to have applied only to the comitia for elections. 'Actual festivals or games were the only days between January and September on which criminal justice was suspended: for the dates of trials show that no mark in the calendar obstructs their performance. They are held indifferently on *fasti* and *nefasti dies*, on comitial days and those marked N' (Greenidge, *Procedure*, page 457). Among the tribunes, the most active was C. Memmius, who afterwards prosecuted Gabinius *de repetundis* (148, 15).

4. *Callisthenem*] Callisthenes, a native of Olynthus (B.C. 387–327), mentioned above in a letter to Lucceius, Fam. v. 12, 2 (109), had written a history of the Phocian war and of the expeditions of Alexander the Great, whom he accompanied to Asia.

Philistum] Philistus, a Syracusan, born about 435 B.C., enjoyed great favour at the court of Dionysius the elder. He was banished by him, but restored by Dionysius the younger. He wrote a history of Sicily, and a life of Dionysius the elder in four books, and of Dionysius the younger in two.

quem ad modum . . . sunt] We formerly bracketed these words on the ground that it was not likely that Cicero should here characterise as 'what some Greeks say' a phrase which he uses without comment elsewhere, e.g. *lentum negotium*, Att. i. 12, 1 (17); (hominem) *sine sensu, sine sapore, elinguem, tardum, inhumanum negotium*, Orat. post red. in sen. 14. For it was a common Greek expression, as M. Lebreton (p. 70) notices, quoting Theocritus xv. 83 σοφόν τοι χρῆμ' ἄνθρωπος. It is quite true, as he remarks, that Att. v. 18, 4 (218) admits of a different interpretation, as it is not necessary to apply *negotia* there to persons. But the reference to the Greeks is probably to their judgment of Callisthenes as a historian, and not to the use of χρῆμα (*negotium*); and this seems borne out by the word *aliquot*. It has been suggested by Muretus that *locuti sunt* only should be bracketed; and it appears to be wanting in a ms which he consulted. Then the meaning would be 'a hackneyed

modum aliquot Graeci locuti sunt. Siculus ille capitalis, creber, acutus, brevis, paene pusillus Thucydides, sed utros eius habueris libros—duo enim sunt corpora—an utrosque nescio. Me magis de Dionysio delectat. Ipse est enim veterator magnus et perfamiliaris Philisto [Dionysius]. Sed quod adscribis, adgrederisne ad historiam? Me auctore potes. Et quoniam tabellarios subministras, hodierni diei res gestas Lupercalibus habebis. Oblecta te cum Cicerone nostro quam bellissime.

Wiel. II 316. Barth Char. 94

136. TO TREBATIUS TESTA, IN GAUL (FAM. VII. 6).

CUMAE OR POMPEII; MAY; A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero C. Trebatium quem C. Caesari commendare non desistit hortatur ut deposito nimio urbis desiderio quod secutus sit id consilium persequatur in provinciaque maneat.

CICERO S. D. TREBATIO.

1. In omnibus meis epistulis quas ad Caesarem aut ad Balbum mitto legitima quaedam est accessio commendationis tuae nec ea vulgaris sed cum aliquo insigni indicio meae erga te benevolentiae.

common-place piece of goods, like many of his countrymen.' This is rendered possible by the fact that Philistus is called *Siculus ille*, not strictly one of the *Graeci*. But such a comparison between *Graeci* and *Siculi* is out of place here; and it is safer to follow M than a ms of whose value we know nothing.

capitalis] 'A writer of the first rank,' a very unusual sense: the dictionaries quote Ovid Fast. iii. 839 *capitale vocamus ingenium sollers*. *Capitalis* generally means 'pernicious,' 'fatal,' when applied to a person.

creber] 'terse,' 'pithy.' This, too, is a rare usage. One meets *creber sententiis* and such phrases, but not generally *creber* alone. Elsewhere Cicero (De Orat. ii. 56) applies *creber* (*rerum frequentia*) to Thucydides, and in the same passage says, *hanc consecutus est Syracosius Philistus, qui, cum Dionysi tyranni familiarissimus esset, otium suum consumpsit in historia scribenda maximeque Thucydidem est, sicut mihi videtur, imitatus.*

acutus . . . Thucydides] 'sagacious, concise, almost a miniature Thucydides.' Cp. *habuimus in Cumano quasi pusillam Romam*, Att. v. 2, 2 (185).

Ipse] 'Dionysius is a regular Machiavelli, and is thoroughly known to Philistus.'

quod adscribis] 'Touching your postscript; so you are going to essay history. I advise you to do so.'

Lupercalibus] On February 15th.

1. *legitima quaedam est accessio commendationis.*] 'There is a kind of statutory (i.e. regular) rider, consisting of a recommendation of you.' *Accessio* is a term for something added (cp. *luckpenny*) to a payment, like ἐπιθήκη (Ar. Vesp. 1391; Plaut. Trin. 1025), and is opposed to *decessio*, 'an abatement'; it is called *legitima*, because it is as regular as if it were ordained by statute. *Commendationis* is the *gen. epexegeticus* (Draeg. i. 467).

nec ea vulgaris] Not in the *vetere verbo* mentioned in 134, 3.

Tu modo ineptias istas et desideria urbis et urbanitatis depone et quo consilio profectus es id adsiduitate et virtute consequere. Hoc tibi tam ignoscemus nos amici quam ignoverunt Medeae

quae Corinthum arcem altam habebant matronae opulentae optimates:

quibus illa manibus gypsatissimis persuasit ne sibi vitio illae verterent quod abesset a patria: nam

multi suam rem bene gessere et publicam patria procul:
multi qui domi aetatem agerent propterea sunt improbati.

Quo in numero tu certe fuisses, nisi te extrusissemus. 2. Sed

ineptias istas et desideria] 'Foolish longing for the city and city life' (cp. 146, 1). For the ἓν διὰ δυοῖν, see note on Att. i. 5, 1 (1). For the use of the *plural*, cp. Introd. I², p. 60 (I³, p. 79).

ignoscemus . . . Medeae] Cicero, as well as Ennius, from whom he quotes, seems to take the difficult passage in the *Medea* of Euripides, 214 ff., beginning

Κορίνθιαι γυναῖκες, ἐξῆλθον δόμων,

in a very strange fashion. The meaning of the Euripidean passage, as understood by Cicero, may be thus loosely represented: You must not condemn me through any prejudice against those who leave their country; 'home-keeping youth have ever homely wits.' The whole train of thought is this: We will excuse your absence on the grounds on which the

Honourable dames that softly lived in
Corinth's lofty keep

pardoned Medea for leaving her fatherland when she, with hands all gypsum-white (extended in entreaty), persuaded them not to blame her for her flight from Colchis; for that

Many a man in foreign far land hath to wealth and honour come,
Many a poor and craven spirit rusts in scathe and scorn at home:

in which class you would certainly have taken your place, if we had not forced you from Rome.' Accordingly, Cicero (with Ennius) seems to have understood the Euripidean passage thus (we enclose in brackets the necessary *supplenda*): 'Dames of Corinth, I have come out [to plead my cause with you]; think not little of me [as a foreigner]; I know many who have [left their own country, and in the country of their adoption have] gained high respect both in private and in public; while the easy-going [who have remained at home] have got the evil report of sluggishness, for men's judgments are shallow.' It is to be observed that this view of the passage is not inconsistent with the Greek, and gives a possible meaning to the Euripidean passage; save that Ennius and Cicero seem to have taken ἐξῆλθον δόμων as meaning 'I left my father's palace in Colchis,' which is certainly not the meaning of the words. Compare also a discussion on the passage in Hermathena, No. x., p. 26. A good deal must be *subauditum* in every interpretation of it.

gypsatissimis] *Gypsum* was used by actors to whiten the hands. This is a characteristic instance of Cicero's *penchant* for superlatives.

multi] The verse *quae Corinthum*, &c., is a *trochaicus octonarius*, or troch. tetram.; so is the verse beginning *multi qui domi*. The verse *multi . . . procul* is a *trochaicus septenarius*, or troch. tetram. cat.; and so is the verse *qui ipsi sibi . . . sapit*, in which verse *sapiens* is two syllables, as *suam* is one syllable in *multi suam rem . . . procul*. But the former verse was probably an *octonarius*, as otherwise the regularity of the metre would be broken in a very formal speech. Possibly <*sua*> should be added after *procul*, or read *relicta* for *procul*; or would it be too daring to suggest *proculsi* from *procello*, as *perculsus* comes from *percello*?

plura scribemus alias. Tu qui ceteris cavere didicisti in Britannia ne ab essedariis decipiaris caveto et, quoniam Medeam coepi agere, illud semper memento:

Qui ipse sibi sapiens prodesse non quit nequiquam sapit.

Cura ut valeas.

Wiel. II 318 Barth Char. 94

137. TO TREBATIUS TESTA, IN GAUL (FAM. VII. 7).

ROME; MAY; A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero queritur quod C. Trebatius raro ad se scribat, se non desistere eum Caesari commendare, ipsius iam opera perficiendum esse ut sit familiaris Caesari.

CICERO TREBATIO.

1. Ego te commendare non desisto, sed quid proficiam ex te scire cupio. Spem maximam habeo in Balbo ad quem de te diligentissime et saepissime scribo. Illud soleo mirari, non me totiens accipere tuas litteras quotiens a Quinto mihi fratre adferantur. In Britannia nihil esse audio neque auri neque argenti. Id si ita est, essedum aliquod capias suadeo et ad nos quam primum recurras. 2. Sin autem sine Britannia tamen adsequi quod volumus possumus, perfice ut sis in familiaribus Caesaris. Multum te in eo frater adiuvabit meus, multum Balbus, sed, mihi crede, tuus pudor et labor plurimum. *Habes* imperatorem liberalissimum, aetatem opportunissimam, commendationem certe singularem, ut tibi unum timendum sit ne ipse tibi defuisse videare.

2. *alias*] = *alio tempore*.

cavere] 'You who are so accustomed to draw up securities for others must not forget to look after your own security, and not be caught unawares by the British charioteers.' For the British *esseda*, see Caes. B. G. iv. 33.

Qui ipse] Cp. μισῶ σοφιστὴν ὅστις οὐχ αὑτῷ σοφός, Fam. xiii. 15, 2 (571). The verse is not found in our copies of the *Medea*. Probably we have here a μνημονικὸν ἁμάρτημα of Cicero, like *Agamemno* for *Ulixes* in de Div. ii. 63.

1. *neque auri neque argenti*] So 144, 7; but Tac. Agric. 12 says *fert Britannia aurum et argentum et alia metalla*.

capias] 'You must capture a war-chariot (the only sort of booty which Britain seems to afford), and in it come to us as soon as you can.' The only product in Britain seems to be the *essedum*, and the only use of it is to take you away. So Dr. Johnson said that the finest prospect which ever met the eye of a Scotchman was the road which took him to London.

2. *quod volumus*] that Caesar gives you a position on his staff.

Habes] This word is added by Cratander, but after *singularem*. Lehmann (Quaest. Tull. p. 57) would prefer *invenisti*: cp. Flacc. 72. Müller proposes *nactus es*: cp. 146, 2; Att. x. 12, 1 (397).

aetatem] Trebatius was now about 35. When in 157, 1 Cicero calls him *mi vetule*,

Wiel. II 369

138. TO ATTICUS (ATT. IV. 14).

CUMAE OR POMPEII; AFTER MAY 10TH; A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

De itinere et valetudine Attici, de libris Attici a se utendis, si quid forte novi habeat, ut ad se scribat et itinere confecto se revisat.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Vestorius noster me per litteras fecit certiorem te Roma a. d. VI. Id. Mai. putari profectum esse, tardius quam dixeras quod minus valuisses. Si iam melius vales, vehementer gaudeo. Velim domum ad te scribas ut mihi tui libri pateant non secus ac si ipse adesses cum ceteri tum Varronis. Est enim mihi utendum quibusdam rebus ex his libris ad eos quos in manibus habeo, quos, ut spero, tibi valde probabo. 2. Tu velim, si quid forte novi habes maxime a Quinto fratre, deinde a C. Caesare, et si quid forte de comitiis, de re publica—soles enim tu haec festive odorari—, scribas ad me: si nihil habebis, tamen scribas aliquid. Numquam enim mihi tua epistula aut intempestiva aut loquax visa est. Maxime autem rogo rebus tuis totoque itinere ex sententia confecto nos quam primum revisas. Dionysium iube salvere. Cura ut valeas.

the expression is merely playful, like 'old boy,' if, indeed, it is not distinctly ironical, referring to the fact that Trebatius had an old head on (comparatively) young shoulders—a view which the context there seems to recommend.

1. *Vestorius*] A rich banker of Puteoli.

putari] So Ascensius. The Med. has *putare*, which Schütz and Boot bracket. The latter proposes *Buthrotum*. Fr. Schmidt gives *mature*, and Müller conjectures *mane*. Faernus altered *dixerat* to *dixeras*. Sternkopf (Hermes, xl. (1905), p. 11) ingeniously retains the ms readings by a slight transposition *Vestorius noster me per litteras fecit certiorem te Roma a. d. vi Idus Maias profectum esse, putare tardius quam dixerat, quod minus valuisses.* 'Vestorius informed me by letter that you had left Rome on the 10th, and presumes that the reason why you did so later than he had told me you would is that you were not very well.'

domum ad te] = *ad tuam domum*, 'to your house in town': cp. Att. xii. 11 (502).

quos in manibus habeo] The books *De Republica*. Cp. 139, 1; 144, 2; 155, 1.

2. *itinere*] Probably to Epirus.

Dionysium] cp. 143, 1.

139. TO QUINTUS, IN GAUL (Q. FR. II. 12 (14)).

CUMAE OR POMPEII; MAY (MIDDLE); A. U. C. 700; B.C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero dicit se πολιτικὰ scribere, Q. fratri operam suam in rebus eius pollicetur, M. Orfium et Trebatium commendat.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

1. Duas adhuc a te accepi epistulas: earum alteram in ipso discessu nostro, alteram Arimino datam: pluris quas scribis te dedisse non acceperam. Ego me in Cumano et Pompeiano, praeterquam quod sine te, ceterum satis commode oblectabam et eram in iisdem locis usque ad Kal. Iun. futurus. Scribebam illa quae dixeram πολιτικά, spissum sane opus et operosum. Sed si ex sententia successerit, bene erit opera posita: sin minus, in illud ipsum mare deiiciemus quod spectantes scribimus: aggrediemur alia, quoniam quiescere non possumus. 2. Tua mandata persequar diligenter et adiungendis hominibus et quibusdam non alienandis. Maximae mihi vero curae erit ut Ciceronem tuum nostrumque videam, si licet, cotidie, sed inspiciam quid discat quam saepissime;

1. *earum*] This is the reading of Lamb. for *quarum*, which seems doubtful. Baiter marks *quarum* as spurious. But it is more probable that *earum* was changed by mistake to *quarum*, than that *quarum* was wrongly inserted. *Earum* is opposed to *pluris*. Cicero first specifies the two letters which he did receive, then adds that the other numerous letters which Quintus says he wrote he never received at all. If *quarum* is retained, after *datam* understand *acceperam*, anticipated from *non acceperam*.

Arimino] This would be the first town in Caesar's province entered by Quintus on his journey to head-quarters.

πολιτικά] The books *De Republica*.

2. *adiungendis . . . alienandis*] The first verb refers to Caesar, the second to Pompey and Crassus.

tuum nostrumque] 'Your son, whom I regard as mine also.'

si licet] 'If I may.' I cannot understand why the edd. with one accord have given the conjecture *scilicet*, instead of *si licet* of the mss. *Si licet*, 'if I may,' is a most natural and courteous phrase; *scilicet* seems to me inexplicable; I certainly know no place where *scilicet* is thus used without a word to qualify or explain, or where it is used in prose so far on in the sentence.

[I cannot help thinking that *scilicet* is right. 'I shall look in on the boys of course every day, but (not only that) I shall as often as I can inspect what they are learning.' See Madvig on Fin. v. 5, p. 609. As qualifying *videam* and *cotidie*, it naturally comes in immediate proximity to those words. Besides, the context seems to point to the fact that Quintus had asked his brother to see after young Quintus. That, Marcus says, will of course be his especial care.—L. C. P.]

sed inspiciam] We should have expected *sed etiam*: *non modo* is often omitted in Cicero's Epp. before *sed etiam*; see on Att. iii. 15, 5 (73). Here even *etiam* is omitted, and that because it follows immediately on the words *etiam*

et, nisi ille contemnet, etiam magistrum me ei profitebor, cuius rei non nullam consuetudinem nactus sum in hoc horum dierum otio, Cicerone nostro minore producendo. 3. Tu, quem ad modum scribis, quod etiam si non scriberes facere te diligentissime tamen sciebam, facies scilicet ut mea mandata digeras, persequare, conficias. Ego, cum Romam venero, nullum praetermittam Caesaris tabellarium cui litteras ad te non dem. His diebus—ignosces—cui darem fuit nemo ante hunc M. Orfium, equitem Romanum, nostrum et per *se* necessarium et quod est ex municipio Atellano, quod scis esse in fide nostra. Itaque eum tibi commendo in maiorem modum, hominem domi splendidum, gratiosum etiam extra domum: quem fac ut tua liberalitate tibi obliges. Est tribunus militum in exercitu vestro. Gratum hominem observantemque cognosces. Trebatium ut valde ames vehementer te rogo.

magistrum me profitebor. The meaning is: 'I shall (not only) see him every day, if I may, but I shall watch his progress as much as I can. I shall even offer myself as a master.'

minore] His own son, who was younger than the son of Quintus. As he had above styled Quintus' son 'his own son too,' he is here obliged to avoid ambiguity by pointing out that he means his own son in this passage, and this he does by referring to his juniority to the son of Quintus. He avoids saying anything which would conflict with the polite fiction that his own son is to him no more than the son of Quintus.

producendo] This has been wrongly changed to *perdocendo*. Boot (Obs. Crit., p. 35) points out that *producere* has the same meaning as προάγειν, 'to bring a boy on,' '*ad progrediendum incitare*.' He quotes for this sense Cassius in Fam. xii. 13, 1 (901), and Suet. Claud. 4.

3. *facies . . . ut*] See on 12, 47, 50.

digeras, persequare, conficias] 'arrange, take in hand, execute.' Manutius says '*digerere* prudentiae, *persequi* diligentiae, *conficere* constantiae.'

cui . . . non dem] 'Without giving him.' Hence *nullum praetermittam* means 'I will let no possible carrier *go by* without giving him': for this *literal* sense cp. Att. ix. 14, 2 (372); Fam. xi. 21, 1 (893); if *praetermittam* here bore its usual sense of *omit, neglect, pass over*, the sentence would be incorrect: 'I will not pass over a carrier without giving him a letter' is a contradiction in terms.

in fide nostra] 'Under my patronage.' The Sicilians also looked on Cicero as their patron: Att. ii. 1, 5 (27).

Wiel. II p. 319, Bardt Char. 95

140. TO TREBATIUS, IN GAUL (FAM. VII. 8).

ROME; AUGUST; A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero C. Trebatium vituperat, quod tribunatum militarem a C. Caesare oblatum non acceperit.

CICERO TREBATIO.

1. Scripsit ad me Caesar perhumaniter nondum te sibi satis esse familiarem propter occupationes suas, sed certe fore. Cui quidem ego rescripsi quam mihi gratum esset futurum, si quam plurimum in te studi, offici, liberalitatis suae contulisset. Sed ex tuis litteris cognovi praeproperam quamdam festinationem tuam, et simul sum admiratus cur tribunatus commoda, dempto praesertim labore militiae, contempseris. 2. Querar cum Vacerra et Manilio: nam Cornelio nihil audeo dicere, cuius tu periculo stultus es quoniam te ab eo sapere didicisse profiteris. Quin tu urges istam occasionem et facultatem qua melior numquam reperietur! Quod scribis de illo Preciano iure consulto, ego te ei non desino commendare: scribit enim ipse mihi te sibi gratias agere debere; de eo quid sit cura ut sciam. Ego vestras Britannicas litteras exspecto.

It is better, with Rauschen (p. 56), to date this letter 'August,' than 'July,' with Körner and C. F. W. Müller. In 143, 10 (written in July 27), Cicero says, *ex Quinti fratris litteris suspicor iam eum esse in Britannia*, and Quintus did arrive in Britain about the end of July, as we may gather from 147, 4 (written at the end of August). It took twenty-seven days for a letter to come from Britain to Rome (148, 17, 25): so that it was probably not a whole month from the time when the letters from Britain might be expected that Cicero said to Trebatius (§ 2), *Ego vestras Britannicas litteras exspecto*. Therefore this letter may be placed about the middle of August.

If this is so, it will then follow that Fam. vii. 9 must be dated in October (cp. § 1 *neque ego ad te his duobus mensibus scripseram*). Julia died in the middle of September.

1. *tribunatus*] 'The advantages of a tribune's commission, especially as you are excused the military duties attaching to the post.

2. *Vacerra et Manilio*] Jurists who may have been teachers of Trebatius. For Manilius cp. 162, 2: for Vacerra perhaps 145, 2.

Cornelio] Q. Cornelius Maximus, an eminent jurist of the day: cp. Dig. i. 2, 2, 45 *Fuit eodem tempore et Trebatius qui quidem Corneli Maximi auditor fuit*, and 146, 3 below.

cuius tu periculo] 'who is responsible for your thick-headedness.'

Preciano] Man. conjectures that this Praecianus belonged to the Gens Praecia, and had been adopted into another family.

enim] '(You may be sure I recommend you to him), for he writes to me himself to say that you owe him thanks for his good offices.'

de eo quid sit] 'Tell me what is the service he has done you.'

Britannicas] Trebatius did not go to Britain after all (146, 3; 161, 1).

141. TO QUINTUS, IN GAUL (Q. FR. II. 13 (15 *a*)).

ROME; JUNE (FIRST HALF); A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero Caesaris in se amorem et liberalitatem laudat atque eius se studiosissimum profitetur, de eiusdem favore in Trebatium et Curtium, de rei publicae statu.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

1. A. d. IIII. Non. Iun., quo die Romam veni, accepi tuas litteras datas Placentia: deinde alteras postridie datas Blandenone cum Caesaris litteris, refertis omni officio, diligentia, suavitate. Sunt ista quidem magna vel potius maxima. Habent enim vim magnam ad gloriam et ad summam dignitatem. Sed mihi crede quem nosti, quod in istis rebus ego plurimi aestimo, id iam habeo: te scilicet primum tam inservientem communi dignitati, deinde Caesaris tantum in me amorem, quem omnibus iis honoribus quos me a se exspectare vult antepono. Litterae vero eius una datae cum tuis, quarum initium est quam suavis ei tuus adventus fuerit et recordatio veteris amoris, deinde se effecturum ut ego in medio dolore ac desiderio tui te, cum a me abesses, potissimum secum esse laetarer, incredibiliter delectarunt. 2. Qua re facis tu quidem fraterne quod me hortaris, sed mehercule currentem nunc quidem, ut omnia mea studia in istum unum conferam. Ego vero ardenti quidem studio hoc fortasse efficiam, quod saepe viatoribus cum properant evenit, ut, si serius quam voluerint forte surrexerint, properando etiam citius quam si de nocte vigilassent perveniant quo velint: sic ego, quoniam in isto homine

1. *Blandenone*] Blandeno is a town near Placentia, not elsewhere mentioned. The ms gives *Blandenonne*. Sigonius suggested *Laude Nonis*. Laus Pompeia, on the site of Lodi Vecchio, not far from the modern Lodi, was some twenty-four Roman miles from Placentia; and Caesar and Quintus may very well have despatched letters from it. But if *-nonne* conceals *Non.*, we must transpose it to follow *postridie*. It would be much better, however, to read *una*, as is suggested by Boot (Obs. Crit., pp. 35, 36), who compares the passage, a few lines below, *Litterae vero eius una datae cum tuis*. Boot, however, does not adopt the reading *Laude*, and prefers to stand by the view that Blandeno is a town in the valley of the Po, not elsewhere mentioned: so does Hülsen in Pauly-Wissowa, iii. 557. But Mommsen (in C. I. L. v., p. 696) admits the possibility, though not the certainty, of *Laude*: for though the town is not elsewhere mentioned in classical authors, it occurs often in the Itineraries.

ista] 'Those tokens of good-will on Caesar's part.'

delectarunt] The object *me* is omitted, as often 144, 1; 148, 5.

2. *currentem*] See Q. Fr. i. 1, 45 (30).

Ego vero] sc. *conferam*. 'Yes; I will do all I can.' For the emphatic use of *ego* in answer to a question, cp. Fam. xiv. 4, 1 (62).

colendo tam indormivi diu, te mehercule saepe excitante, cursu corrigam tarditatem cum equis tum vero, quoniam tu scribis poema ab eo nostrum probari, quadrigis poëticis. Modo mihi date Britanniam quam pingam coloribus tuis, penicillo meo. Sed quid ago? quod mihi tempus, Romae praesertim, ut iste me rogat, manenti, vacuum ostenditur? Sed videro. Fortasse enim, ut fit, vincet tuus amor omnis difficultates. 3. Trebatium quod ad se miserim persalse et humaniter etiam gratias mihi agit. Negat enim in tanta multitudine eorum qui una essent quemquam fuisse qui vadimonium concipere posset. M. Curtio tribunatum ab eo petivi—nam Domitius se derideri putasset, si esset a me rogatus: hoc enim est eius cotidianum, se ne tribunum militum quidem facere: etiam in senatu lusit Appium collegam, propterea isse ad Caesarem ut aliquem tribunatum auferret—sed in alterum annum. Id et Curtius ita volebat. 4. Tu, quem ad modum me censes oportere esse in re publica et in nostris inimicitiis, ita et esse et fore oricula infima scito molliorem. 5. Res Romanae se sic habebant: erat non nulla spes comitiorum sed incerta: erat aliqua suspicio dictaturae, ne ea quidem certa: summum otium forense sed senescentis magis civitatis quam acquiescentis. Sententia autem nostra in senatu eius modi magis ut alii nobis adsentiantur quam nosmet ipsi.

Τοιαῦθ' ὁ τλήμων πόλεμος ἐξεργάζεται.

poema] Probably a poem addressed to Caesar, in which doubtless Cicero intended to treat of the expedition into Britain: cp. 148, 11; 159, 3; 160, 6.

tuus amor] 'My affection for you'; so *amori nostro*, 'your love for me': 109, 3.

3. *M. Curtio*] sc. *Postumo*: cp. 148, 10. It is on account of obtaining for him this tribunate that Cicero calls himself the *patronus* of Curtius, Att. ix. 6, 2 (360). He was a devoted Caesarian in the Civil War. See Index.

isse ad Caesarem] The point of the joke of Domitius was that the consuls were without power; Caesar was the source of patronage; so he says that when his colleague Appius went to Luca two years before to meet Caesar, it was no doubt to get from him some petty office, such as the commission of a *tribunus militum*.

4. *oricula infima ... molliorem*] Bücheler quotes Amm. Marc. xix. 12, 5 *ima quod aiunt auricula mollior, suspicax et minutus.* This may be a reminiscence of an expression of Catullus, 25, 2 *mollior ... imula oricilla*. We have what seems another such echo in *ocellos Italiae villulas*, Att xvi. 6, 2 (775); and Catullus 31, *Peninsularum Sirmio insularumque Ocelle* (cp. the use of ὀφθαλμὸς in the Olympic Odes of Pindar ii. 10; vi. 17). But Cicero never mentions Catullus; see on 132, 4. So that perhaps it is better to suppose the phrase to be an ordinary Latin proverb; cp. Otto, p. 46, and Bährens on Catull. *l.c.* 'As soft as the tip of the ear' is here proverbial for extreme gentleness and sensitiveness. He will have none of the *frons dura* which courts contention. For the form *oricula* for *auricula* cp. *loreolam*, Att. v. 20, 4 (228), and *plostrum* for *plaustrum*.

5. *dictaturae*] of Pompey; cp. 154, 3 *est nonnullus odor dictaturae.*

senescentis .... acquiescentis] 'The calm of decrepitude, not of repose.'

Τοιαῦθ'] Eur. Suppl. 119.

142. TO QUINTUS, IN GAUL (Q. FR. II. 14 (15b)).

ROME; JULY 27; A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero Q. fratrem non vult ante tempus e provincia in urbem redire ac de ambitu iam admodum ingravescente conqueritur.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

1. Calamo *bono* et atramento temperato, charta etiam dentata res agetur. Scribis enim te meas litteras superiores vix legere potuisse, in quo nihil eorum, mi frater, fuit quae putas. Neque enim occupatus eram neque perturbatus nec iratus alicui, sed hoc facio semper ut, quicumque calamus in manus meas venerit, eo sic utar tamquam bono. 2. Verum attende nunc, mi optime et suavissime frater, ad ea dum rescribo quae tu in hac eadem brevi epistola πραγματικῶς valde scripsisti. De quo petis ut ad te nihil occultans, nihil dissimulans, nihil tibi indulgens ingenue fraterneque rescribam, id est, utrum advoles ut dixeramus, an ad expediendum te, si causa sit, commorere. Si, mi Quinte, parva aliqua res esset in qua sciscitarere quid vellem, tamen, cum tibi permissurus essem ut faceres quod velles, ego ipse quid vellem ostenderem.

1. *Calamo . . . agetur*] 'I shall take care to have a good pen, well-mixed ink (neither too thick nor too thin), and cream-laid paper.' Paper was smoothed and polished with ivory; *scabritia levigatur dente conchave*, Plin. N. H. xiii. 81. Persius, iii. 12ff., describes the effects of ink which is not *temperatum*—

Tunc querimur crassus calamo quod pendeat umor,
nigra sed infusa vanescat sepia lympha,
dilutas querimur geminet quod fistula guttas.

hoc facio semper ut . . . utar] 'I have a habit of using the first pen I happen to take up.' See on 12, 47, 50. For the perf. subj. of indefinite frequency, cp. Lebreton, p. 223.

2. πραγματικῶς] 'business-like' (Shuckburgh). For an admirable discussion on the meaning of this word in Polybius see Mr. Strachan-Davidson's edition, Introduction, pp. 1–5.

ingenue] This is the excellent correction of Boot (Obs. Crit. p. 36) for *genuine* of M[1]. The word *genuinus* (when not applied to teeth) does not occur in Cicero except in De Rep. iii. 29, where it is opposed to 'foreign,' *non esse nos transmarinis nec importatis artibus eruditos sed genuinis domesticisque virtutibus*. To read *germane* would introduce a word not elsewhere found in Cicero. Boot compares for *ingenue* Fam. v. 2, 2 (15), Att. xiii. 27, 1 (603), to which we may add Lael. 65. He quotes for the sense, § 3 below and 147, 5 fin.

utrum advoles] 'Whether you are to fly to my arms, as we had arranged, or to stay where you are to clear yourself of difficulties.' The emendation of this passage was begun by Sch., and completed by Wes. We do not require to read, with Sch., *huc* before *advoles*; cp. *quin sis advolaturus*, Att. ii. 15, 2 (42); *ut si inclamaro advoles*, ib. 18, 4 (45); so *si inclamavo ut accurras*, ib. 20, 5 (47).

In hac vero re hoc profecto quaeris cuius modi illum annum qui sequitur exspectem : aut plane tranquillum nobis aut certe munitissimum : quod cotidie domus, quod forum, quod theatri significationes declarant; nec laborant mei conscientia copiarum nostrarum, quod Caesaris, quod Pompei gratiam tenemus. Haec me ut confidam faciunt. Sin aliquis erumpet amentis hominis furor, omnia sunt ad eum frangendum expedita. 3. Haec ita sentio, iudico, ad te explorate scribo. Dubitare te non adsentatorie sed fraterne veto. Qua re suavitatis equidem nostrae fruendae causa cuperem te ad id tempus venire quod dixeras, sed illud malo tamen quod putas magis e re tua ; nam illa etiam magni aestimo, ἀμφιλαφίαν illam tuam et explicationem debitorum tuorum. Illud quidem sic habeto, nihil nobis expeditis, si valebimus, fore fortunatius. Parva sunt quae desunt, pro nostris quidem moribus et ea sunt ad explicandum expeditissima, modo valeamus. 4. Ambitus redit immanis. Numquam fuit par. Idib. Quint. fenus fuit

hoc profecto quaeris] 'Your question amounts to this,' because the question whether Quintus would come to Rome or not would depend on the further question, what kind of times they were likely to have at Rome.

aut plane] Cicero's reply to the further question which he puts into the mouth of Quintus is: 'The year will either be a year of unbroken calm for me, or at least one in which my position will be impregnable.'

theatri significationes] called ἐπισημασίας in Att. i. 16, 11 (22) ; *populi* ἐπισημασίαν, Att. xiv. 3, 2 (705).

laborant] This is the reading of Kahnt for the manuscript *laborant quod mea*; which, though not certain, is as good as any other emendation that has been suggested. 'My friends feel no anxiety for me, through their consciousness of my strong position in enjoying the favour both of Caesar and of Pompey' ; cp. *multo magis est nobis laborandum de Africa*, Att. xi. 12, 3 (427) ; *laborandum est ne*, Fam. ix. 3, 1 (460). Wesenberg would read *nec laborandum de mea confidentia copiarum nostrarum*, but this is not so near the mss, and *confidentia* with objective gen. is very rare. Madvig (A.C. iii. 195) sees that *quod* is impossible, and in *laborant* some word must lie concealed which goes with *conscientia*. He proposes *nec labat antiqua conscientia*. Schütz gives *laboramus conscientia*, deleting *quod mea*.

amentis hominis] P. Clodius.

3. *Qua re . . . tuorum*] 'Wherefore I should indeed wish that you could come at the time you arranged, for the sake of our pleasure in each other's society; but yet I desire more, that you should do what you think your interests demand [and stay in the camp of Caesar] ; for I value other considerations also, your being in easy circumstances and free from embarrassments.' The words *e re tua ; nam* are the emendation of Madvig (A. C. iii. 196) for *etiam*. Already Lambinus had suggested *e re tua*. Wesenberg proposes to add after *magis* some such words as *pertinere* (or *interesse*) *ad nostram dignitatem*.

4. *Ambitus*] On the whole of this passage, cp. the very similar place, 143, 7 ff. ; 149, 2, 3.

Idib. Quint.] 'On July 15 interest rose from 4 to 8 per cent.' Bribery became so eager, and consequently the demand for money was so great, that the rate of interest suddenly doubled itself. This was owing to an infamous compact made between the existing consuls L. Domitius Ahenobarbus and Appius Claudius Pulcher on the one hand, and the candidates for consulship, Cn. Domitius Calvinus and C. Memmius, on the other. The compact was a strange one, and must be thoroughly understood if this passage and the corre-

bessibus ex triente, coitione Memmi et consulum cum Domitio: hanc Scaurus utinam vinceret: Messalla flaccet. Non dico ὑπερβολάς: vel HS centiens constituunt in praerogativa pronuntiare. Res ardet invidia. Tribunicii candidati compromiserunt, HS quingenis in singulos apud M. Catonem depositis, petere eius arbitratu, ut qui contra fecisset ab eo condemnaretur. Quae quidem comitia si gratuita fuerint, ut putantur, plus unus Cato potuerit quam omnes leges omnesque iudices.

sponding passages in the other letters are to be rightly apprehended. The candidates for the consulship for 701 (53) were C. Memmius, Cn. Domitius Calvinus, M. Valerius Messala, and M. Aemilius Scaurus, who had married Mucia Tertia, the divorced wife of Pompey (cp. Ascon., pp. 19, 20). Memmius was favoured by Caesar; Scaurus at first by Pompey, whose quaestor he had been in Asia. Pompey afterwards abandoned Scaurus. Memmius and Domitius made a compact with the existing consuls, Appius and Domitius, binding themselves under a fine, in return for the consuls' influence at the approaching election, to produce (if elected) three augurs who should testify that a *lex curiata* had passed, conferring on the outgoing consuls the *imperium* in the provinces assigned to them, and two consulars who should affirm that a decree had been passed in the senate for the equipment of those provinces, though no such *lex curiata* or decree had ever been passed at all, the whole thing being a complete fabrication. The issue of the compact was disastrous. Memmius, at the instigation of Pompey, laid the whole matter before the senate. Doubtless he looked on the dictatorship of Pompey as a certainty, and hoped that in that event he would be more than compensated for his treachery. Pompey hated the existing consuls, wished to counteract Caesar, who favoured Memmius, and desired an *interregnum*, as a step towards his dictatorship. Caesar was highly indignant at the conduct of Memmius, which no doubt precipitated his breach with Pompey and his party.

coitione Memmi et consulum] 'By means of the coalition which Memmius and the consuls have established with Domitius.' For *est quo* of M we read *et consulum* (= *et cos.*) as we find in 143, 2 *coitio consulum*. The regular word for forming a partnership is *coire societatem*. The candidates formed a partnership to secure their special ends; and the consuls also formed a partnership to secure their special ends: and the two sets of partners enter into an agreement (*pactio*) cp. 149, 2. But it is quite possible that the reading has been corrupted through a confusion between the two Domitii. Perhaps we should read *coitione Memmi, quocum est Domitius, cum Appio et Domitio*. This would then be another case of *parablepsy*. But Cicero, in 149, 2, calls the candidate Domitius, perhaps to avoid ambiguity, *competitor Domitius*, and in 149, 3, *Calvinus*. The margin of Lambinus' edition reads *quam cum Domitio habuit. Scaurus vult vincere.*

utinam vinceret] Scaurus seemed now to have the best chance, being backed by Pompey, who, however, subsequently abandoned him; *Scaurum autem iampridem Pompeius abiecit*: 159, 3.

Messalla] He and Domitius Calvinus were the consuls for 701 (53).

HS centiens] 10,000,000 sesterces = about £85,000.

pronuntiare] 'to contract to pay'; cp. Clu. 78; Planc. 45; Att. i. 16, 13 (22).

compromiserunt] This is the regular word for entering into an agreement to abide by the decision of an arbitrator.

HS quingenis] 5000 *sestertia* a-piece, that is, 500,000 sesterces, which would amount to more than £4000 each. This sum was to be deposited in the hands of Cato, to be forfeited by the candidate whose conduct Cato should not approve, and put to the credit of the rival candidates. This is a strong tribute to the character of M. Cato, who was praetor this year.

gratuita] 'pure,' 'without bribery.'

potuerit] 'will be shown to have more weight.' This use of the future is very common in Plautus and Terence; cp. also Juv. i. 126 *quiescet*, 'she will be found to be asleep.'

Wiel. II p. 381

143. TO ATTICUS, IN ASIA (ATT. IV. 15).

ROME; JULY 27; A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

De Eutychide manu misso, de itinere Attici Asiatico, de litteris suis ad Atticum in Epirum missis, de iudiciis Romae factis quibus Sufenas et Cato absoluti, Procilius condemnatus sit, de causa Reatinorum, de victu cum Axio, de reditu Romam Fontei causa a. d. VII. Id. Quint., de spectaculis et ludis, de ambitu propter comitia instantia de quibus mox accuratius scripturum se promittit, si facta sint, de defensione Messi et de ceteris ad quas se parat defensionibus, de Q. fratre in Britanniam cum Caesare profecto, de Dionysio a se exspectato.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. De Eutychide gratum, qui vetere praenomine, novo nomine T. erit Caecilius, ut est ex me et ex te iunctus Dionysius, M. Pomponius. Valde mehercule mihi gratum est Eutychidem tuam erga me benevolentiam cognosse et suam illam in meo dolore *συμπάθειαν* neque tum mihi obscuram neque post ingratam fuisse. 2. Iter Asiaticum tuum puto tibi suscipiendum fuisse. Numquam enim tu sine iustissima causa tam longe a tot tuis et hominibus et rebus carissimis et suavissimis abesse voluisses. Sed humanitatem tuam amoremque in tuos reditus celeritas declarabit. Sed vereor ne lepore suo detineat diutius praetor Clodius, et homo pereruditus, ut aiunt, et nunc quidem deditus Graecis litteris Pituanius. Sed, si

1. *Eutychide*] Atticus had manumitted a slave, Eutychides, at the request of Cicero. His new name as a freedman was to include Titus, the old *praenomen* of Atticus, and the *nomen* Caecilius, recently assumed by Atticus on his adoption.

Dionysius] He was a literary slave of Atticus, in whom Cicero took an interest. He assumed on manumission part of the name of Atticus, as well as the *praenomen* of Cicero.

tuam erga me] 'That your manumission of him was a compliment to me, and that his sympathy with me in my trouble was not unnoted then, or forgotten afterwards.'

2. *amoremque in tuos*] 'Your love for your friends.'

praetor Clodius] He was probably C. Claudius Pulcher, brother of the tribune P. Clodius, and was proconsul of Asia in 699–700 (55–54): cp. Schol. Bob. 374, 375. However, Bosius may be right in reading *rhetor*, and supposing him to be Sex. Clodius, the Sicilian rhetorician contemptuously mentioned in the Philippics (ii. 42, 43; iii. 22). Notice *te* omitted after *detineat*. For a most extensive list of such omissions, see Lebreton, pp. 156–166—a fine monument of research.

Graecis litteris] This is usually explained as a jesting reference to accounts, which would (perhaps) be drawn up in Greek in the East, or to business with Greeks, which Pituanius might have been transacting for Atticus. It is also supposed that *lepore suo*, above, is ironical. Possibly it is; but we do not see why we should not recognize in the words about Pituanius a serious statement.

vis homo esse, recipe te ad nos ad quod tempus confirmasti. Cum illis tamen cum salvi venerint Romae vivere licebit. 3. Avere te scribis accipere aliquid a me litterarum: dedi ac multis quidem de rebus, ἡμερολεγδὸν perscripta omnia, sed, ut conicio, quoniam mihi non videris in Epiro diu fuisse, redditas tibi non arbitror. Genus autem mearum ad te quidem litterarum eius modi fere est ut non libeat cuiquam dare, nisi de quo exploratum sit tibi eum redditurum. 4. Nunc Romanas res accipe. A. d. IIII. Non. Quint. Sufenas et Cato absoluti, Procilius condemnatus. Ex quo intellectum est τρισαρειοπαγίτας ambitum, comitia, interregnum, maiestatem, totam denique rem publicam flocci non facere: [debemus] patrem familias domi suae occidi nolle, neque tamen id ipsum abunde: nam absolverunt XXII., condemnarunt XXIX. Publius sane diserto epilogo criminans mentes iudicum commoverat. Hortalus in ea causa fuit cuius modi solet. Nos verbum nullum. Verita est enim pusillā, quae nunc laborat, ne animum Publi offenderem. 5. His rebus actis Reatini me ad sua τέμπη duxerunt, ut agerem causam contra Interamnatis apud consulem et decem

homo esse] 'to take your place in the world'; not to be a recluse devoted to studies: cp. Att. xiii. 52, 2 (679) *homines visi sumus*. For *homo* contrasted with *vir*, cp. note 131, 4.

4. IIII.] So Boot: cp. Asconius, p. 19, 2 Or. The mss give III.

Sufenas et Cato] They were accused under the Lex Fufia apparently for obstruction in preventing the holding of the elections: cp. 105, 6 and 144, 5. Procilius was found guilty, it would seem, on a charge of murder: cp. 154, 3 *omnes absolventur, nec posthac quisquam damnabitur nisi qui hominem occiderit.*

τρισαρειοπαγίτας] 'Big-wigs.'

debemus] The word is only found in Δ; it is not in Σ: see Adn. Crit. It is rightly bracketed by Wesenberg, who supposes that it was inserted by a scribe who did not see that *nolle* depends on *intellectum est*. It would be somewhat abrupt to pass from τρισαρειοπαγίτας to *nos*, as the persons whose views are mentioned.

occidi] The mss have *occidere*. Perhaps Cicero wrote *occidere reum nolle*. The *reum* might have fallen out by reason of the *-re* in *occidere*.

XXII. . . . XXIX.] The usual number of a jury was about seventy (cp. 152, 1, and Ascon. 30). It is difficult, as Mr. Greenidge shows (*Procedure*, p. 447 f.), to explain so low a number as fifty.

epilogo] 'peroration': cp. Planc. 83 *hic etiam addidisti me idcirco mea lege exsilio ambitum sanxisse ut miserabiliores epilogos possem dicere*: cp. De Orat. ii. 278, and Aristotle Rhet. iii. 19.

criminans] Madvig (A. C. iii. 175) adds *me* before *mentes*. He thinks that Clodius could not have influenced the minds of the jurors against the defendants, for two were acquitted, and the third all but acquitted; and that it will give a reason, too, why Cicero tenders an excuse for not having made a reply. But Sternkopf (p. 27) is right in considering that the word should not be added: the object to *criminans* is *eum*, understood, not expressed.

Hortalus] i.e. Hortensius.

Nos verbum nullum] sc. *fecimus*: cp. Att. i. 18, 6 (24) *Crassus verbum nullum contra gratiam*; 150, 3 *cum ille verbum nullum*: cp. also § 6, below.

pusilla] Cicero's daughter, Tullia.

5. *consulem*] Note the consul adjudicating on questions of property between the cities of Italy. As Mr. Greenidge (*Roman Public Life*, p. 199) says, they doubtless acted on the instructions of the senate.

legatos, quod lacus Velinus, a M'. Curio emissus, interciso monte, in Narem defluit: ex quo est illa siccata et umida tamen modice Rosia. Vixi cum Axio; qui etiam me ad Septem aquas duxit. 6. Redii Romam Fontei causa a. d. VII. Idus Quint. Veni in spectaculum, primum magno et aequabili plausu—sed hoc ne curaris: ego ineptus qui scripserim—, deinde Antiphonti operam. Is erat ante manu missus quam productus. Ne diutius pendeas, palmam tulit. Sed nihil tam pusillum, nihil tam sine voce, nihil tam . . . Verum haec tu tecum habeto. In Andromacha tamen maior fuit quam Astyanax: in ceteris parem habuit neminem. Quaeris nunc de Arbuscula: valde placuit. Ludi magnifici et grati. Venatio in aliud tempus dilata. 7. Sequere nunc me in campum. Ardet ambitus: σῆμα δέ τοι ἐρέω. Fenus ex triente Idib. Quint. factum erat bessibus. Dices, 'istuc quidem non moleste fero.' O virum! O civem! Memmium Caesaris omnes opes confirmant. Cum eo Domitium consules iunxerunt; qua pactione epistulae committere non audeo. Pompeius fremit, queritur,

lacus Velinus . . . Narem] cp. Tacit. Ann. i. 79. We have no information as to the exact nature of the *causa* in which Cicero was engaged. In Tacitus the Reatines protested against an obstruction of the *lacus Velinus*.

ex quo] 'by which means the celebrated Rosia has been saved from inundation, though it still retains a fair amount of moisture.' *Rosia*, or *Rosea* (see Adn. Crit.), was a very fertile plain in Reate, of which Varro (R. R. i. 7. 10) relates that Caesar Vopiscus, *aedilicius causam cum ageret apud censores, campos Roseae Italiae dixit esse sumen; in quo relicta pertica postridie non appareret propter herbam*. Hence Cicero calls it *illa*, 'the famous Rosea.' Rosea, now Le Roscie, is derived from *ros roris*. It is mentioned by Virgil, *Rosea rura Velini*, Aen. vii. 712. Cicero makes reference to this visit to Reate in his speech *Pro Scauro* (§ 27) delivered Sept. 2 of this year.

Septem aquas] a *pagus* belonging to the territory of Reate. For inscriptions erected by this *pagus*, see C. I. L. ix. 4206–4208 (and Mommsen thereon), and 4399.

6. *Fontei*] We know nothing about this case.

qui scripserim] 'to mention it.' On the estimate which Cicero set on applause given in the theatre to distinguished men, see Sest. 115. Horace seems to have set a higher value on it (Carm. ii. 17, 25; i. 20, 3).

operam] sc. *dedi*, 'turned my attention to': cp. 127, 3 *operam dedisti Protogeni tuo*. This is a rare ellipse; yet cp. Att. xiv. 12, 1 (715) *multa illis Caesar* (sc. *dedit*) . . . *etsi Latinitas erat non ferenda*. It is very similar to that of *fecit* in § 4. Antipho was an actor. He was manumitted before he was brought out (*productus*) by his master, who felt quite sure that he would be a success.

Astyanax] So small was Antipho that, in enacting the part of Andromache, he had to congratulate himself that there was one smaller person on the stage, the little boy Astyanax.

parem] i.e. *non maiorem*, 'only the same size as himself.' So in Att. ii. 14, 2 (41) *parem* is usually taken to mean 'only equal to,' though it is doubtful if that is the right interpretation of the passage.

Arbuscula] The *explosa Arbuscula* of Horace.

Venatio] 'Fighting with wild beasts.'

7. *Ardet*] 'Is at boiling point.' See last letter (§ 4) on this section.

non moleste fero] A money-lender, like Atticus, would regard with complacency the rise in the rate of interest.

Scauro studet, sed utrum fronte an mente dubitatur. Ἐξοχὴ in nullo est: pecunia omnium dignitatem exaequat. Messalla languet, non quo aut animus desit aut amici, sed coitio consulum *et* Pompeius obsunt. Ea comitia puto fore ut ducantur. Tribunicii candidati iurarunt se arbitrio Catonis petituros. Apud eum HS quingena deposuerunt, ut qui a Catone damnatus esset id perderet et competitoribus tribueretur. 8. Haec ego pridie scribebam quam comitia fore putabantur. Sed ad te, v. Kal. Sext. si facta erunt et tabellarius non erit profectus, tota comitia perscribam: quae si, ut putantur, gratuita fuerint, plus unus Cato potuerit quam *omnes leges* omnesque iudices. 9. Messius defendebatur a nobis de legatione revocatus: nam eum Caesari legarat Appius. Servilius edixit ut adesset. Tribus habet Pomptinam, Velinam, Maeciam. Pugnatur acriter: agitur tamen satis. Deinde me expedio ad Drusum, inde ad Scaurum. Parantur orationibus indices gloriosi. Fortasse accedent etiam consules designati: in quibus si Scaurus non fuerit, in hoc iudicio valde laborabit. 10. Ex Quinti fratris litteris suspicor iam eum esse in Britannia. Suspenso animo exspecto quid agat. Illud quidem sumus adepti, quod multis et magnis indiciis possumus iudicare nos Caesari et carissimos et iucundissimos esse. Dionysium velim salvere iubeas et eum roges et hortere ut quam primum veniat, ut possit Ciceronem meum atque etiam me ipsum erudire.

fronte an mente] For another example of the opposition of these words, cp. Planc. 16.

Ἐξοχὴ] 'a lead.'

ducantur] 'postponed.'

9. *Messius*] He had interested himself for Cicero's recall: cp. Post red. in Sen. 21: and had proposed extravagant powers for Pompey as corn commissioner (90, 7). But the charge here referred to is probably one under the Lex Licinia *de sodaliciis*, for illegal procedure in reference to his candidature for the curule aedileship. Appius tried to save him by procuring him the post of *legatus* with Caesar; but Servilius the praetor did not consider that this was a fair case of absence *reipublicae causa*, so he cited Messius to appear. In a trial under the Lex Licinia, the prosecutor named (*edidit*) four tribes of which the accused could reject one, and the jury was chosen out of the remaining three. This procedure is well known from the Oration *Pro Plancio*: cp. Greenidge, *Procedure*, pp. 453, 454.

Drusum] cp. 144, 5; 147, 3; 149, 5. He was accused of *praevaricatio*, and acquitted by four votes.

Scaurum] The trial of Scaurus for extortion was a great case. He had six orators speaking for him, and nine consulars bearing witness to character (Asconius, pp. 20, 28). Scaurus was acquitted by a large majority on September 2, only eight in a court of sixty-five voting against him (ib. 30; cp. 149, 4, 5); though his guilt appears to have been evident (Val. Max. viii. 1, 10).

accedent] 'will be added to the number of my clients' (as *rei de ambitu*).

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144. TO ATTICUS IN EPIRUS (ATT. IV. 16).

ROME; JULY 1 OR 2; A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero multis ab Attico acceptis litteris ad unam potissimum gravem et plenam rerum rescribit de M. Paccio ab Attico commendato, de M. Varrone in aliquem locum librorum de re publica includendo, de Scaevolae persona in libris de oratore ab Attico desiderata, de re Piliae, de Vestorio, de C. Catone absoluto lege Iunia et Licinia, accusato lege Fufia, de Druso, de Procilio, de Hirro, de senatus consulto quod consules de provinciis fecerunt, de Messalla et Domitio consulibus, ut videbatur, futuris et de ratione comitiorum. Deinceps de Q. fratris litteris e Gallia missis, de exitu belli Britannici exspectato, de basilica Aemilia in foro aedificata et aliis aedificationibus, de Attici itinere Asiatico et commercio litterarum inter se et Atticum.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. Occupationum mearum vel hoc signum erit, quod epistula

Mommsen (*Zeitsch. für die Alt.* 1845, No. 98) restored the last letters of the fourth book to Atticus to their true form. He perceived that the leaves of the archetype must have been transposed. Before his discovery, parts of separate letters had been read as one letter, and one and the same letter had been broken up to form parts of many. The Orellian order rests on the supposed *codices* of Bosius, and may, therefore, be readily abandoned. Lambinus adopted a third arrangement, that, too, different from the arrangement of M. The numbers between square brackets indicate the pre-Mommsenian order. See also Addenda to the Commentary, Note V.

Considerable difficulties arise as to the date of this letter. In § 6 (= 17, 2 of the pre-Mommsenian arrangement), we read that Scaurus had been prosecuted by Triarius. The date of that prosecution has been fixed absolutely by Asconius, 19, 9 Or. (= p. 17, 1 ed. Kiessling and Schoell) *postulatus <est> apud M. Catonem praetorem repetundarum, ut in Actis scriptum est, pridie* [this is the best attested reading: Orelli gives *postridie*] *Nonas Quintil. post diem tertium quam <C> Cato erat absolutus.* This necessitates the alteration of *iii* to *iiii Nonas* in 15, 4: and, if the Mommsenian arrangement of 16 is to hold, it would appear at first sight that we cannot date 16 earlier than July 6. Rauschen (p. 54) thinks that § 6 is part of a letter which Cicero wrote between 16 and 15, and appeals to the mutilation of 18, and the generally disordered state of the letters at the end of Att. iv. He thinks the remainder of 16 was written shortly before July 4th, when Cato had not yet been acquitted on the charge of violating the Fufian law, and Procilius had been condemned (16, 5 compared with 15, 4).

Körner (pp. 44, 45) solves the difficulty by supposing the date given by Asconius to be wrong. But Asconius gives the date so very precisely, mentioning not only the day, but adding its position as regards the acquittal of Cato, and stating that he had found the date in the Acta, that we cannot adopt this hypothesis.

But the true explanation is probably that given by Sternkopf (*Hermes*, 41 (1905), p. 16), that the whole letter was written about July 1st; and that when Asconius said that Scaurus *postulatus est*, he was using the word generally in the sense of 'prosecute,' a usage frequently found. Mr. Greenidge (*Procedure*, p. 459) refers to Fam. viii. 8, 2 (223), Q. Fr. ii. 3, 5 (102), Vat. 34, Cornel. ap. Asconium, p. 62. But though Asconius used this word *postulatus*, he was not referring to the *postulatio* in the strict sense, but to the *nominis delatio*, a proceeding subsequent to the *postulatio*, cp. Fam. viii.

librari manu est. De epistularum frequentia te nihil accuso, sed pleraeque tantum modo mihi nuntiabant ubi esses: quod erant abs te vel etiam significabant recte esse. Quo in genere maxime delectarunt duae, fere eodem tempore abs te Buthroto datae. Scire enim volebam te commode navigasse. Sed haec epistularum frequentia non tam ubertate sua quam crebritate delectavit. Illa fuit gravis et plena rerum quam mihi M. Paccius, hospes tuus, reddidit. Ad eam rescribam igitur, et hoc quidem primum: Paccio et oratione et re ostendi quid tua commendatio ponderis haberet. Itaque in intimis est meis, cum antea notus non fuisset. Nunc pergam ad cetera. 2. Varro, de quo ad me scribis, includetur in aliquem locum, si modo erit locus. Sed nosti genus dialogorum meorum: ut in oratoriis quos tu in caelum fers non potuit mentio fieri cuiusquam ab iis qui disputant nisi eius qui illis notus aut auditus esset: *ita* hanc ego de re publica quam institui disputationem in Africani personam et Phili et Laeli *et* Manili contuli: adiunxi adulescentīs, Q. Tuberonem, P. Rutilium, duo Laeli generos, Scaevolam et Fannium. Itaque cogitabam, quoniam in

6, 1 (242) *inter postulationem et nominis delationem uxora Dolabella discessit*; and this, as Sternkopf shows, is borne out by the fact that Asconius in the next clause speaks of the *subscriptores*, who are associated in Roman criminal procedure with the *nominis delatio*.

1. *frequentia*] 'Touching your regularity as a correspondent, I have no charge to bring against you.' See note on Att. i. 5, 2 (1).

vel etiam . . . esse] Most edd. bracket these words as spurious, understanding *a domo tua Buthroto* by *abs te*, and rightly regarding the clause as a meaningless repetition if thus understood. Others transpose the words to stand after *esses* and before *quod*, understanding *quod erant abs te* to mean 'the fact that the letters were written by your own hand.' [This is, I think, right. If we do not make the transposition, the *vel* (if taken with *significabant*) is superfluous. It is difficult to believe that Cicero could have meant *vel* to go with *recte esse*.—L.C.P.] I understand these words in this last sense, but I do not see why we should resort to transposition. Punctuated as in my text, the meaning is: 'in that they were written by your own hand they even showed further that you were well.' *Vel* is often intensive in Cicero with verbs, as well as adjectives, substantives, and adverbs: cp. *vel stertas licet*, Acad. ii. 93; *cum vel abundare debeam*, Att. xv. 15, 3 (748) according to some mss. The fact that here *vel* is separated from the word which it qualifies forms no difficulty; we have in Plaut. Stich. 721 *vel cadus vorti potest*, where *vel* goes with *vorti*. A fair sense would emerge even if we took *quod erant abs te* to merely mean 'the fact that the letters were from you': the fact that Atticus wrote at all saved Cicero from apprehensions about his health, which he might have felt if he had not heard from him. It was the letters addressed from his house in Buthrotum that for the first time showed Cicero that Atticus had got safely over his sea voyage.

oratione et re] See Adn. Crit. This antithesis is common in Cicero, e.g. *Epicurus* re *tollit* oratione *relinquit deos*, N. D. i. 123. So in Plautus, as in Epid. 116—

> 'Nam quid te igitur retulit
> Beneficum esse *oratione* si ad *rem* auxilium emortuumst.'

2. *in aliquem locum*] In the dialogue of Cicero de Republica.

Phili] P. Fulvius Philus, cons. 618 (136).

singulis libris utor prohoemiis, ut Aristoteles in iis quos ἐξωτερικοὺς vocat, aliquid efficere, ut non sine causa istum appellarem: id quod intellego tibi placere. Utinam modo conata efficere possim! Rem enim, quod te non fugit, magnam complexus sum et gravem et plurimi oti, quo ego maxime egeo. 3. Quod in iis libris quos laudas personam desideras Scaevolae, non eam temere dimovi sed feci idem *quod* in πολιτείᾳ deus ille noster Plato. Cum in Piraeum Socrates venisset ad Cephalum, locupletem et festivum senem, quoad primus ille sermo habetur, adest in disputando senex, deinde cum ipse quoque commodissime locutus esset, ad rem divinam dicit se velle discedere neque postea revertitur. Credo Platonem vix putasse satis consonum fore si hominem id aetatis in tam longo sermone diutius retinuisset. Multo ego magis hoc mihi cavendum putavi in Scaevola, qui et aetate et valetudine erat ea qua eum esse meministi et iis honoribus ut vix satis decorum videretur eum pluris dies esse in Crassi Tusculano. Et erat primi libri sermo non alienus a Scaevolae studiis. Reliqui libri τεχνολογίαν habent, ut scis. Huic ioculatorem senem illum, ut noras, interesse sane nolui.—4. De re Piliae, quod scribis, erit mihi curae. Etenim est luculenta res Aureliani, ut scribis, indiciis, et in eo me etiam Tulliae meae venditabo. Vestorio non desum. Gratum enim tibi id esse intellego et ut ille intellegat curo. Sed scis qui *sit*; cum habeat duo facilīs, nihil difficilius. 5. Nunc ad ea *quae* quaeris de C. Catone. Lege Iunia et Licinia scis absolutum:

ἐξωτερικούς] 'popular.' These dialogues are those which Cicero imitates, and which suggested to him those criticisms on the style of Aristotle which seem so unsuitable to his extant works. See 153, 23. For the ἐξωτερικοὶ λόγοι of Aristotle, see Grant's *Ethics of Aristotle*, vol. i., pp. 397–408.

istum] 'your friend Varro.'

3. *non eam temere dimovi*] 'not without good cause,' οὐκ ἐτός. Q. Mucius Scaevola, the augur, son-in-law of L. Crassus, appears in the first book, *De Oratore*, but not in the following. We may perhaps gather from Lael. 1 (*multa breviter et commode dicta*) that he was a sayer of *bons mots*: and perhaps in addition to the reasons assigned in the next sentence Cicero thought that a man of his character and temperament should not take part in a technical discussion.

ioculatorem] See Adn. Crit.

4. *Aureliani . . . indiciis*] 'according to the information given by Aurelianus.'

venditabo] Tullia was greatly attached to Pilia (107, 2).

Sed scis qui sit] 'but pray don't you know what kind of fellow he is? Nothing could be harder to deal with than he is, although he has two such easy-going friends as you and I.'

5. *C. Catone*] cp. 143, 4.

Iunia et Licinia] This enacted *ne clam aerario legem ferri liceret* (Schol. Bob., p. 310), which seems to mean that a copy of every law must be deposited in the *aerarium* when it was promulgated (see Greenidge's *Roman Public Law*, p. 256, who refers to Cicero de Legibus iii. 11 *promulgata proposita in aerario cognita agunto*).

Fufia ego tibi nuntio absolutum iri, neque patronis suis tam libentibus quam accusatoribus. Is tamen et mecum et cum Milone in gratiam rediit. Drusus reus est factus a Lucretio. Iudicibus reiiciendis *dies est dictus* a. d. v. Non Quint. De Procilio rumores non boni, sed iudicia nosti. Hirrus cum Domitio in gratia est. Senatus consultum quod hi consules de provinciis fecerunt, QUICUMQUE POSTHAC, non mihi videtur esse valiturum. 6. [ep. XVII. 2.] De Messalla quod quaeris, quid scribam nescio: numquam ego vidi tam paris candidatos. Messallae copias nosti. Scaurum Triarius reum fecit. Si quaeris, nulla est magno opere commota συμπάθεια. Sed tamen habet aedilitas eius memoriam non ingratam et est pondus apud rusticos in patris memoria. Reliqui duo plebeii sic exaequantur, Domitius ut valeat amicis, adiuvetur tamen non *nihil* gratissimo munere; Memmius Caesaris commendetur militibus, Pompei Gallia nitatur. Quibus si non valuerit, putant fore aliquem qui comitia in adventum Caesaris detrudat, Catone praesertim absoluto. 7. Paccianae epistulae respondi: [ep. XVI. 13.] cognosce cetera. Ex fratris litteris incredibilia quaedam de

Fufia] See vol. I³., *Addenda to Comm.*, note 2.

Iudicibus . . . Quint.] 'The day fixed for the challenging of the jurors is the 3rd of July.' For Drusus and Procilius, see Att. 143, 9, and 4.

Hirrus] The first mention of this man in the Correspondence. For a general sketch of his career see vol. III., p. 305.

hi consules] The consuls of this year L. Domitius Ahenobarbus and Appius Claudius Pulcher.

QUICUMQUE POSTHAC] The first words of the bill introduced by the consuls.

6. *Messalla*] The four candidates for the consulship were two patricians M. Valerius Messalla, M. Aemilius Scaurus, and two plebeians, Cn. Domitius Calvinus and C. Memmius: cp. 142, 4.

aedilitas] Scaurus (cp. 143, 9) was aedile in 696 (58). His shows were of the most splendid nature, and notorious for many generations: cp. Sest. 116, Off. ii. 67; Ascon., p. 18 *aedilitatem summa magnificentia gessit (Scaurus) adeo ut in eius impensas opes suas absumpserit magnumque aes alienum contraxerit.* They are often mentioned by Pliny the Elder; see esp. xxxvi. 113 *docebimus insaniam eorum* (Caligula and Nero) *victam privatis opibus M. Scauri, cuius nescio an aedilitas maxime prostraverit mores civiles maiusque sit Sullae malum tanta privigni potentia quam proscriptio tot milium.*

apud rusticos] 'with the rustic tribes.'

nihil] added by Wesenberg. Sternkopf would retain the ms reading, understanding *non gratissimo* to mean 'even though it was not very popular.'

militibus] See on 150, 3.

Pompei Gallia nitatur] *Gallia* is the reading of M¹: but it is a strange reading. If it is right, it must refer to the colonies founded in Cisalpine Gaul by Cn. Pompeius Strabo, the electors in which were devoted to Pompey who was favourable to Memmius. But it is possible that *gratia*, the reading of M², is right. Dr. Reid suggests *Pompeio et Gallia.*

aliquem] Some tribune who will be very ready for a daring measure, now that C. Cato has been acquitted, and has not suffered for the illegal acts of his tribunate.

7. *cognosce cetera*] The paragraphs from this to the end of the letter are inserted according to Mommsen's arrangement as §§ 7 and 8 of Ep. 144, intervening between *Paccianae epistulae respondi* and *Nunc te obiurgari patere* § 9; and this is right. Holzapfel, however (Hermes, xxv. (1890), pp. 632–5), has argued that these

Caesaris in me amore cognovi, eaque sunt ipsius Caesaris uberrimis litteris confirmata. Britannici belli exitus exspectatur. Constat enim aditus insulae esse muratos mirificis molibus. Etiam illud iam cognitum est, neque argenti scripulum esse ullum in illa insula neque ullam spem praedae nisi ex mancipiis, ex quibus nullos puto te litteris aut musicis eruditos exspectare. 8. [14.] Paullus in medio foro basilicam iam paene texerat iisdem antiquis columnis: illam

paragraphs cannot belong to this letter: for it was written early in July, and Caesar did not even cross into Britain until the end of the month. It would be curious to speak of the *end* (*exitus*) of the expedition being looked for before the expedition had begun. But Sternkopf (Hermes, xli (1905), p. 19) has admirably solved the difficulty. It was in Caesar's camp that the issue of the expedition excited the interest; and the sentence *constat enim aditus insulae*, &c., shows that the expedition had not begun. Caesar's second expedition to Britain seems to have been a matter of interest to the Romans in Gaul all through the summer of 700 (54); and Cicero is constantly alluding to it: 136, 2; 137, 1, 2; 141, 2. In the present passage Cicero is plainly relating to Atticus the purport of letters he had received from the camp in Gaul.

muratos] 'walled.' We are afraid we shall be accused of rashness in ascribing to Cicero here (as Junius already did) a quite post-classical word. The mss read *miratos*, and *munitus* is the universally accepted correction. But why then do the mss give us *miratos*? On the other hand, if Cicero wrote *muratos*—in itself a very good word—the mss would be *well-nigh certain* to present *miratos*. Hence it is probable that Cicero here, in a letter to a friend, used an expression vigorous and picturesque here, but not found again in extant classical literature. But it is unlikely that any copyist found the obvious *munitos* (though that reading is found in E), and wrote the inexplicable *miratos*. But if he found the ἅπαξ εἰρημένον *muratos*, he would be nearly certain to write *miratos*, a common word very near it in form; and that without at all troubling himself as to the sense of the passage; just as a compositor will set up 'serious effusion' if one writes 'serous effusion.' Such is the invariable practice of the best copyists. By 'best' is meant those who did not assume the functions of an editor, but wrote down either the right word, or the wrong word which leads to the right. We must remember that we have in these letters a unique department of literature. A man might easily write in a letter that the approach to Britain was 'absolutely *ramparted* with masses of cliff,' though he would not use that word in a formal composition meant for the public. Even now one uses words like 'interviewed' in a private letter, though one would not use such a word in a serious essay. In short, we firmly believe that Cicero here used, and rightly used, the word *muratos*, not elsewhere occurring in extant Latin till Vegetius—at least so far as we know. Prof. Ellis (Hermathena (1887), p. 135) thinks that the same word is to be introduced for *mutata* into Ciris 105 *Stat Megara Alcathoi quondam mutata labore* instead of the usually received *munita*. See also Adn. Crit.

molibus] 'huge cliffs.' Dr. Reid thinks that owing to this strange use of *molibus* we should add *montium* before it: cp. Caes. B. G. iv. 23, 3 *angustis montibus*.

scripulum] $\frac{4}{5}$ of an *uncia*, and consequently $\frac{1}{288}$ of an *as*. For the lack of the precious metals in Britain, cp. 137, 1.

8. *texerat*] 'had almost roofed,' that is, 'had almost completed to the roof.' *Texuit*, the usual reading, could be said of a nest, or a wicker structure of any kind, even of a ship, but not of a house. *Erexerat* (the reading of Klotz) would be more suitable to a tower or column than to a basilica. *Texerat* is an epistolary tense, *cum haec scribebam* being understood. Boot alters to *refecit*, needlessly. It is not necessary to take *columnis* as instrumental ablative. For further see Adn. Crit.

iisdem] This was the *basilica Aemilia* originally founded by M. Aemilius Lepidus and M. Fulvius Nobilior in 575 (179), and afterwards so frequently restored by Aemilii, that Tacitus called the basilica *Aemilia monumenta* (A. iii. 72). This was now to be restored with the old materials (*iisdem lapidibus*) by L. Aemilius Paullus, afterwards consul in 704 (50), assisted by

autem quam locavit facit magnificentissimam. Quid quaeris? Nihil gratius illo monumento, nihil gloriosius. Itaque Caesaris amici—me dico et Oppium, disrumparis licet—*in* monumentum illud, quod tu tollere laudibus solebas, ut forum laxaremus et usque ad atrium Libertatis explicaremus, contempsimus sescentiens HS. Cum privatis non poterat transigi minore pecunia. Efficiemus rem gloriosissimam. Nam in campo Martio saepta tributis comitiis marmorea sumus et tecta facturi eaque cingemus excelsa porticu ut mille passuum conficiatur: simul adiungetur huic operi villa etiam publica. Dices, 'Quid mihi hoc monumentum proderit?' At quid id laboramus? *Habes* res Romanas? Non enim te puto de

money given by Caesar (App. B. C. ii. 26; Plut. Caes. 29). The succeeding words, *illam . . . . magnificentissimam*, would seem to refer to another *basilica Paulli*. But there was only one *basilica Aemilia*, or *Paulli basilica*, at Rome. Either, then, this second *basilica* was joined to, and became part of, the ancient *basilica* (and then we might perhaps suggest *antiquam* for *iam*), or we must suspect the soundness of the text. Now, it is not at all improbable that Caesar should, though absent in Britain, have given orders for the commencement of the *basilica Iulia*, which stood opposite to the *basilica Aemilia* in the Forum. Boot suspects that for *illam* we should read *ille*, and supposes that *ille* refers to the absent Caesar. It is true that Caesar often is called *ille* in the letters; but it is only where there is some reason for using covert language, which does not exist here. The succeeding words, *Nihil . . . gloriosius*, followed by ITAQUE *Caesaris amici*, are certainly in favour of Boot's ingenious hypothesis. 'It is for this reason (the public spirit which he shows, and which stimulates us to emulation) that we, his friends—myself and Oppius, as I own, though you, who are always warning me against Caesar, should burst with rage—have thought very little of spending sixty millions of sesterces on the public work, about which you used to be so enthusiastic—of opening up the Forum, and clearing the way right up to the Hall of Liberty. We could not settle private claims for a smaller sum.'

But perhaps it is not necessary to make this alteration. Caesar, who was anxious to gain the support or disarm the hostility of Paullus, may have allowed him to give the contract for what was afterwards the Basilica Iulia, as well as give him considerable sums to repair the Basilica Aemilia. Paullus, as engaged in public buildings at this time, would be a suitable person to supervise a building which was really to be a monument to the glory of Caesar. But it does seem as if an alteration should be made not apparently mentioned by the commentators. The Basilica Aemilia can hardly be said to be *in medio foro*. These words, we think, ought to be transferred to follow *autem*. The view that *monumentum illud . . . solebas* is the opening up of the Forum is held by Boot, and is possibly right. But it is a somewhat strange use of *monumentum*, which would rather point to a positive building; yet we cannot imagine what building can be meant. The exact position of the *atrium Libertatis* does not seem to be yet settled.

We can hardly suppose that Cicero means that he and Oppius bore the expense of the works. Rather he and Oppius (who was the agent of Caesar: see vol. IV., p. lxix) strongly supported the motion that the works be carried out.

tecta] 'roofed.'

id laboramus] 'why need we trouble ourselves about that?' The accus. neuter of a pronoun or of a numeral adj. is sometimes joined to an intransitive verb to denote the compass or extent of the action, Madv. § 229: cp. *utrumque laetor*, 127, 1; *sin quid offenderit, sibi totum, nihil tibi offenderit*, Fam. ii. 18, 3 (258); and *quid tibi sim auctor*, Fam. vi. 8, 2 (527), a very strong case. There is no doubt that in this reply (as Boot says) we miss the usual urbanity of Cicero—for it is hardly possible to suppose *mihi* to refer to Cicero himself. But perhaps Cicero means no more than that in questions of public spirit one must not look to 'advantage.'

Habes] This is the conjecture of

lustro, quod iam desperatum est, aut de iudiciis, quae lege †Coctia fiunt, quaerere. [15] 9. Nunc te obiurgari patere, si iure. Scribis enim in ea epistula quam C. Decimius mihi reddidit Buthroto datam, in Asiam tibi eundum esse te arbitrari. Mihi mehercule nihil videbatur esse in quo tantulum interesset utrum per procuratores ageres an per te ipsum ut ab his tot tuis et tam longe abesses. Sed haec mallem integra re tecum egissem. Profecto enim aliquid egissem. Nunc reprimam susceptam obiurgationem. Utinam valeat ad celeritatem reditus tui! Ego ad te propterea minus saepe scribo quod certum non habeo ubi sis aut ubi futurus sis. Huic tamen nescio cui, quod videbatur isti te visurus esse, putavi dandas esse litteras. Tu, quoniam iturum te in Asiam esse putas, ad quae tempora te exspectemus facias me certiorem velim et de Eutychide quid egeris.

Lambinus adopted by Wesenberg. It is the commonest formula for passing from public to private affairs, and is strongly confirmed by the *enim* which follows. The other readings (see Adn. Crit.) are ungrammatical, *laborare rem* being an impossible construction; except the reading of Bosius, *quid? celabo te res Romanas?* which gives an excellent sense. 'What,' says Cicero; 'am I to keep Roman history from you?' ironically calling these embellishments of the city the most important work now being done by the State. This is ingenious, so much so that even Boot at one time accepted it as his reading; but as it rests on no authority except that of Y, it must be regarded as due to the ingenuity of Bosius, and not as the words of Cicero.

†*Coctia*] This word is corrupt, and no correction is certain. The best is *Plotia* or *Clodia*. Cicero would then say: 'the chief feature in the *iudicia* is the constant application of the *Lex Plotia de vi*.' If we read *Clodia* with Lange and Sternkopf, the reference will be to the law of Clodius *de censoria notione*, concerning which Asconius (p. 9) says it enacted *ne quem censores in senatu legendo praeterirent neve qua ignominia afficerent nisi qui apud eos accusatus et utriusque censoris sententia damnatus esset*. A quasi-legal procedure was thus instituted in connexion with removals from the senate; and, as Sternkopf (p. 23) points out, the mention of the law in close proximity to the mention of the *lustrum* renders it highly probable that the reference is to this *Lex Clodia*. For other suggestions see Adn. Crit.

9. *si iure*] sc. te obiurgavero.

nihil . . . ut abesses] 'no reason for your remaining at such a distance from your numerous friends here in a matter in which it made such a trifling difference whether you transacted it yourself or by your agents.' We have adopted the reading of Sternkopf. See Adn. Crit. *Longe* is perhaps not used in the positive in the temporal sense; in *quae venientia longe ante videris*, Tusc. iii. 29, *longe* may be 'from a distance'; *longeque recusat*, Verg. A. v. 406, is 'puts the proposal far from him'; *nec longe*, ib. x. 317, is plainly spatial. But in the comparative and superlative *longe* can have a temporal meaning, especially when used with words denoting time, as *longius anno remanere*, Caes. B. G. iv. 1, 7; Cic. Arch. 1, 1 *quoad longissime potest mens mea respicere spatium praeteriti temporis*.

Wiel. II p. 323

145. TO TREBATIUS, IN GAUL (FAM. VII. 9).

ROME; OCTOBER; A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero litterarum commercium cum C. Trebatio desiderat, monet ut ad Caesarem se applicet nec praepropere ex provincia redeat.

CICERO TREBATIO.

1. Iam diu ignoro quid agas: nihil enim scribis neque ego ad te his duobus mensibus scripseram. Quod cum Quinto fratre meo non eras, quo mitterem aut cui darem nesciebam. Cupio scire quid agas et ubi sis hiematurus. Equidem velim cum Caesare, sed ad eum propter eius *luctum* nihil sum ausus scribere: ad Balbum tamen scripsi. 2. Tu tibi deesse noli. Serius potius ad nos, dum plenior. Quod huc properes nihil est, praesertim Battara mortuo. Sed tibi consilium non deest. Quid constitueris cupio scire. 3. Cn. Octavius est (an Cn. Cornelius) quidam, tuus familiaris,

summo genere natus, Terrae filius:

is me, quia scit tuum familiarem esse, crebro ad cenam invitavit. Adhuc non potuit perducere: sed mihi tamen gratum est.

For the date of this letter, see Introductory Note to 140.

1. *luctum*] This refers to Caesar's mourning for the death of his daughter Julia, the wife of Pompey, who died in September of this year. Cicero says in a letter to Quintus (148, 25) that he did not answer a letter he received from Caesar, *propter eius luctum*. The word *occupationem* was long ago supplied from the next letter to Trebatius (Fam. vii. 10, 1 (161)) by Cratander; see Adn. Crit. But R has a *lacuna* of four to six letters, which is conclusive for *luctum*. Cicero praises the firmness with which Caesar bore his daughter's loss in 159, 3. Plutarch (Pompeius, 53) tells us that in 699 (55), at the election for the following year, there was a riot, and the garments of Pompey were stained with the blood of some one who was struck down near him. Pompey sent the blood-stained garment home; and his wife, who was pregnant, on seeing the blood, fainted. The result of this was a miscarriage. Subsequently, becoming pregnant again, Julia died in giving birth to a female infant, which did not long survive the mother. Plutarch gives an interesting theory of the source of the love which Julia bore to Pompey: *αἴτιον ἔοικεν ἥ τε σωφροσύνη τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἶναι . . . ἥ τε σεμνότης οὐκ ἄκρατον ἀλλ' εὔχαριν ἔχουσα τὴν ὁμιλίαν καὶ μάλιστα γυναικῶν ἀγωγόν.*

2. *plenior*] 'enriched' by Caesar.

Battara] This is supposed to have been a jocular nickname for Vacerra (perhaps because he stuttered), the teacher of Trebatius, mentioned in the last letter to Trebatius (140, 2): cp. Näke ad Val. Catonis Diras, p. 19.

3. *an*] See on Att. i. 3, 2 (8). It is not used for a disjunctive question 'dubium Octavius an Cn. Cornelius,' but for a direct statement to which is appended an expression of hesitation about its truth, 'or was it': cp. Madvig on Fin. ii. 104. Cn. Octavius was the man's name: see 157, 2.

summo . . . filius] Schneidewin acutely saw that this was a quotation from poetry; it is the latter part of a trochaic septenarius, or perhaps we should follow Schneidewin wholly, and suppose *familiaris* part of the verse, thus making the line complete. It describes a well-born nobody; a man of high birth, but personally insignificant—an ancient Lord Tomnoddy. The words are very natural as part of a comedy, but Cicero writing in his own person would hardly have expressed himself thus. For *Terrae filius* cp. Att. i. 13, 4 (19), Juv. iv. 98.

perducere] sc. *ut ad cenam irem.*

146. TO TREBATIUS, IN GAUL (FAM. VII. 17).

ROME; OCTOBER; A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

Laudat M. Cicero C. Trebatium quod urbis desiderium tandem deposuerit et hortatur ut in Caesaris se familiaritem insinuet ex qua eum magnum fructum capturum esse adfirmat.

CICERO TREBATIO SAL.

1. Ex tuis litteris et Quinto fratri gratias egi et te aliquando collaudare possum, quod iam videris certa aliqua in sententia constitisse. Nam primorum mensum litteris tuis vehementer commovebar, quod mihi interdum—pace tua dixerim—levis in urbis urbanitatisque desiderio, interdum piger, interdum timidus in labore militari, saepe autem etiam, quod a te alienissimum est, subimpudens videbare. Tamquam enim syngrapham ad imperatorem, non epistulam attulisses, sic pecunia ablata domum redire properabas, nec tibi in mentem veniebat eos ipsos qui cum syngraphis venissent Alexandream nummum adhuc nullum auferre potuisse. 2. Ego, si mei commodi rationem ducerem, te mecum esse maxime vellem: non enim mediocri adficiebar vel voluptate ex consuetudine nostra vel utilitate ex consilio atque opera tua. Sed cum te ex adulescentia tua in amicitiam et fidem meam contulisses, semper te non modo tuendum mihi sed etiam augendum atque ornandum putavi. Itaque, quoad opinatus sum me in provinciam exiturum, quae ad te ultro detulerim meminisse te credo. Postea quam ea mutata ratio est, cum viderem me a Caesare honorificentissime tractari et unice diligi hominisque liberalitatem incredibilem et singularem fidem nossem, sic ei te commendavi et

1. *subimpudens*] 'a little unreasonable.'
syngrapham] Trebatius seemed to regard the letter to Caesar as a sort of promissory note: 'One would have imagined you had carried a bill of exchange upon Caesar, instead of a letter of recommendation.' He thought he had nothing to do but go to the camp of Caesar, take possession of his fortune, and go back to the delights of life in Rome.
Alexandream] It appears that Ptolemy cheated his Roman creditors, from whom he had borrowed immense sums of money, to be used as bribes in Rome. Some information on the loss which Roman speculators sustained in lending money to Ptolemy is to be gained from Cicero's speech *Pro Rabirio Postumo*.
2. *fidem*] 'protection.'
detulerim] When Cicero thought of going on foreign service as *legatus* to Pompey, he proposed to take Trebatius with him. See 134, 1.
commendavi] in 134.

tradidi ut gravissime diligentissimeque potui. Quod ille ita et accepit et mihi saepe litteris significavit et tibi et verbis et re ostendit mea commendatione sese valde esse commotum. Hunc tu virum nactus, si me aut sapere aliquid aut velle tua causa putas, ne dimiseris et, si quae te forte res aliquando offenderit, cum ille aut occupatione aut difficultate tardior tibi erit visus, perferto et ultima exspectato quae ego tibi iucunda et honesta praestabo. 3. Pluribus te hortari non debeo: tantum moneo, neque amicitiae confirmandae clarissimi ac liberalissimi viri neque uberioris provinciae neque aetatis magis idoneum tempus, si hoc amiseris, te esse ullum umquam reperturum. 'Hoc,' quem ad modum vos scribere soletis in vestris libris, 'idem Q. Cornelio videbatur.' In Britanniam te profectum non esse gaudeo, quod et labore caruisti et ego te de rebus illis non audiam. Ubi sis hibernaturus et qua spe aut condicione perscribas ad me velim.

Quod ille ita et accepit] 'which he took in the same spirit,' i.e. *gravissime diligentissime que*. It is best to retain this reading of MG in preference to *grate* of R and its copy T. The latter is of course a graceful word, and is adopted by many scholars; but this seems one of the cases where the 'lectio facilior' is to be mistrusted. Possibly for *ostendit* we should read *ut ostenderit*. The meaning would then be 'which he received in such a way (and the same feeling he intimated to me often by letter, and to you both in words and deed) as to show that he attached great weight to my introduction.'

tardior] sc. *in te augendo et ornando*.

praestabo] 'I will guarantee, warrant.'

3. *amicitiae . . . tempus*] The genitives *amicitiae confirmandae*, *provinciae*, and *aetatis* all depend on *tempus*; the gen. *clarissimi ac liberalissimi viri* depends on *amicitiae*, 'I only warn you, you will never again get a more favourable opportunity for securing the friendship of a most illustrious and generous patron, never the opportunity of a richer province, never a more suitable period in your own life.' The sentence is awkwardly expressed, but there is no reason to doubt its soundness: *uberis provinciae* (sc. capessendae) would have been more precise; but *uberis* is, as it were, attracted into the comparative by the prevailing character of the sentence.

aetatis] cp. 137, 2.

idem . . . videbatur] 'In this, as you lawyers are wont to say in your Reports, Q. Cornelius concurs': for Q. Cornelius Maximus see 140, 2.

caruisti . . . audiam] 'because you were saved the trouble of the journey, and I shall be spared your descriptions of Britain and your exploits there.'

147. TO HIS BROTHER QUINTUS, IN GAUL (Q. FR. II. 15 (16)).

ROME; AUGUST (END); A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero scribit de negotiis suis, quid sit in senatu actum, quae sint habita iudicia aut instent, materiam carminis scribendi, superata a Caesare Britannia, fratri gratulatur et quid de suis versibus Caesar iudicet sciscitatur.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

1. Cum a me litteras librari manu acceperis, ne paullum *quidem* me oti habuisse iudicato, cum autem mea, paullum. Sic enim habeto, numquam me a causis et iudiciis districtiorem fuisse atque id anni tempore gravissimo et caloribus maximis. Sed haec, quoniam tu ita praescribis, ferenda sunt neque committendum ut aut spei aut cogitationi vestrae ego videar defuisse, praesertim cum, si id difficilius fuerit, tamen ex hoc labore magnam gratiam magnamque dignitatem sim collecturus. Itaque, ut tibi placet, damus operam ne cuius animum offendamus atque ut etiam ab iis ipsis qui nos cum Caesare tam coniunctos dolent diligamur, ab aequis vero aut etiam a propensis in hanc partem vehementer et colamur et amemur. 2. De ambitu cum atrocissime ageretur in senatu multos dies, quod ita erant progressi candidati consulares ut non esset ferendum, in senatu non fui. Statui ad nullam medicinam rei publicae sine magno praesidio accedere. 3. Quo die haec scripsi, Drusus erat de praevaricatione a tribunis aerariis absolutus in

1. *vestrae*] 'of you and Caesar.'

a propensis] We cannot feel with Wesenberg that it is necessary to omit *a*. Cicero is adopting a *via media*, and endeavouring to be all things to all men. He hopes to win the respect and affection, not only of those who regarded Caesar's political position without animosity as being not indefensible (*aequis*), but also of his devoted partisans.

2. *candidati consulares*] Memmius, Calvinus, Messala, Scaurus.

sine magno praesidio] 'without a good backing.'

3. *Drusus*] cp. 143, 9: this is perhaps Livius Drusus Claudianus, whose daughter was Livia, the mother of the Emperor Tiberius.

tribunis aerariis . . . senatores et equites] A law of the praetor Q. Fufius Calenus, passed in 695 (59), so far made the jury responsible for their vote that it enacted that the votes of the separate orders should be put into separate urns (cp. Dio Cass. xxxviii. 8, 1, who gives the reason τὰ τε κρείττω πρὸς σφᾶς ὡς ἑκάστου τῶν γενῶν ἄγοντος καὶ τὰ ἀτοπώτερα ἐς ἑτέρους ἀπωθοῦντος). We find the votes of the different orders stated in the trials of Scaurus (Asc. p. 30), Milo (ib. 53), and Saufeius (ib. 54). Asconius (p. 90) seems to be in error in supposing that this practice existed as early as 689 (65): see Greenidge, *Procedure*, p. 450.

summa quattuor sententiis, cum senatores et equites damnassent. Ego eodem die post meridiem Vatinium eram defensurus. Ea res facilis est. Comitia in mensem Sept. reiecta sunt. Scauri iudicium statim exercebitur, cui nos non deerimus. Συνδείπνους Σοφοκλέους, quamquam a te factam fabellam video esse festive, nullo modo probavi. 4. Venio nunc ad id quod nescio an primum esse debuerit. O iucundas mihi tuas de Britannia litteras! Timebam Oceanum, timebam litus insulae. Reliqua non equidem contemno, sed plus habent tamen spei quam timoris, magisque sum sollicitus exspectatione ea quam metu. Te vero ὑπόθεσιν scribendi egregiam habere video. Quos tu situs, quas naturas rerum et locorum, quos mores, quas gentis, quas pugnas, quem vero ipsum imperatorem habes! Ego te libenter, ut rogas, quibus rebus vis adiuvabo et

Comitia] sc. *consularia*. No election took place till the seventh month of 701 (53), τάς τε ἀρχὰς . . . μόλις ποτὲ τῷ ἑβδόμῳ μηνὶ ἀπέδειξαν, Dio Cass. xl. 17, 2.

Συνδείπνους Σοφοκλέους] There was a satyric drama of Sophocles called Σύνδειπνοι, founded on the indignation of Achilles on being excluded from some banquet in Tenedos: cp. Aristotle, Rhet. ii. 24, 6 (=1401 b. 17) ἢ εἴ τις φαίη τὸ ἐπὶ δεῖπνον κληθῆναι τιμιώτατον. διὰ γὰρ τὸ μὴ κληθῆναι ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐμήνισε τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἐν Τενέδῳ, which is referred to this play. Some similar incident, it is conjectured, must have occurred in the camp of Caesar. Cicero says he did not like the incident, though Quintus played his part well. It is uncertain whether the play was called Ἀχαιῶν σύλλογος ἢ Σύνδειπνοι (or Σύνδειπνον), or whether those were names of two separate plays. The former view is held by Nauck (p. 161), the latter by Welcker: see Dr. Sandys' ed. of Aristotle's Rhetoric, l. c., who considers that the Σύνδειπνον or Ἀχαιῶν σύνδειπνον was derived from the Odyssey, and was descriptive of the riot and revelry of the suitors in Penelope's house. Of the fragments of this drama which remain, there is one which describes a riotous (probably drunken) freak, which may be referred to here:—

> ἀλλ' ἀμφὶ θυμῷ τὴν κάκοσμον οὐράνην
> ἔρριψεν οὐδ' ἥμαρτε· περὶ δ' ἐμῷ κάρᾳ
> κατάγνυται τὸ τεῦχος οὐ μύρου πνέον·
> ἐδειματούμην δ' οὐ φίλης ὀσμῆς ὕπο.

Ernesti thinks Quintus may have jibed at some of Caesar's staff in verses quoted from this play of Sophocles: and indeed verses which might be used in this connexion are found in Plutarch *De adulatore et amico*, c. 36 (Odysseus addressing Achilles):—

> ἐγὼδ' ὁ φεύγεις· οὐ τὸ μὴ κλύειν κακῶς,
> ἀλλ' ἐγγὺς Ἕκτωρ ἐστί· θυμαίνειν καλόν.

But Bücheler's view is doubtless the most probable. He reads *factam*, and supposes that the reference is to an adaptation of the play of Sophocles which Quintus was making: cp. 155, 7 *Quattuor tragoedias sedecim diebus absolvisse cum scribas*, &c. Quintus had a great admiration for Sophocles: cp. Fin. v. 3 *Tum Quintus: Sophocles ob oculos versabatur quem scis quam admirer quamque eo delecter*. The allusion to Philoctetes in 124, 4, does not necessarily prove special reference to Sophocles, as plays on that subject were written by Aeschylus and Euripides, and many other tragic poets.

4. *Reliqua non equidem contemno*] 'I do not underrate what you have still to do; but there is more in your prospects for hope than fear. What made me anxious was not fear for your future, but anxiety to hear whether all was going on as I hoped.' He refers to the impression produced on Caesar by Quintus. He had been afraid that they might meet a storm in the voyage to Britain, or that they might be wrecked in trying to effect a landing on its barbarous coast. These fears were now dispelled by Quintus' letter from Britain. For the dangers of the approach to Britain, cp. 144, 7, also Caes. B. G. iv. 23, 3.

tibi versus quos rogas, hoc est, Athenas noctuam mittam. 5. Sed heus tu, celari videor a te. Quomodonam, mi frater, de nostris versibus Caesar? nam primum librum se legisse scripsit ad me ante, et prima sic ut neget se ne Graeca quidem meliora legisse; reliqua ad quemdam locum ῥᾳθυμότερα; hoc enim utitur verbo. Dic mihi verum, num aut res eum aut χαρακτὴρ non delectat? Nihil est quod vereare; ego enim ne pilo quidem minus me amabo. Hac de re φιλαλήθως et, ut soles scribere, fraterne.

148. TO HIS BROTHER QUINTUS, IN GAUL (Q. FR. III. 1).

PARTLY FROM ARPINUM AND PARTLY FROM ROME; SEPTEMBER; A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero in praediis Q. fratris se quaedam, maxime in aedificandi ratione, correxisse commemorat et ad quinque Q. fratris de variis rebus epistulas respondet: simul quaedam de rebus Romanis perscribit.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

I. 1. Ego ex magnis caloribus—non enim meminimus maiores

versus] In 152, 4, he says he rates his brother's poetical faculties higher than his own. Hence to send him verses for his poem on Caesar's exploits would be like sending 'coals to Newcastle,' or, in ancient phrase, 'owls to Athens,' where the bird itself was common, but still more so, its image stamped on coins. Similar proverbs were: σῖτον εἰς Αἴγυπτον, πύξον ἐς Κύτωρον, ἰχθῦς εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον. Cp. *in silvam . . . ligna*, Hor. Sat. i. 10, 34.

5. *nostris versibus*] *de temporibus suis.* ῥᾳθυμότερα] 'the rest, up to a certain passage, was a little careless.'

utitur] We have retained the reading which all the edd. agree in presenting. But *utimur* is the ms reading; and perhaps a defence of it may be made. The meaning would then be: 'the rest, up to a certain passage, he seems to think—shall I say a little slipshod?' Cicero uses a word of his own which he thinks conveyed what Caesar thought about part of his poem: ῥᾳθυμότερα, *hoc enim utimur verbo*, would mean much the same as *hoc ut utamur verbo*. If Caesar had said ῥᾳθυμότερα, Cicero would hardly have asked Quintus to find out whether Caesar referred to the subject or the style. But if this is only Cicero's own expression of the view which, as it seemed to him, Caesar took, then he might well ask his brother, 'find out if I am right: is it the subject or the style (*res aut* χαρακτήρ) that he does not like?' The word ῥᾳθυμότερα would more naturally point out a defect in the style. But the meaning may also be (reading *utimur*), 'the rest of Caesar's criticism, up to a certain place in his letter (where he spoke warmly), seemed less enthusiastic, more indifferent, as I may say, to use the literary cant.'

This letter was written partly (to § 14 *amoenitatem*) at Arpinum between Sept. 14 and 18: and received three several additions (§§ 14–19; 20–22; 23–25) at Rome between Sept. 20 and 28. At this time Atticus was in Epirus, and was meditating a journey into Asia, so that we can well suppose that messengers were not despatched to him very frequently.

—in Arpinati summa cum amoenitate fluminis me refeci ludorum diebus, Philotimo tribulibus commendatis. In Arcano a. d. IIII Idus Sept. fui. Ibi Mescidium cum Philoxeno aquamque quam ii ducebant non longe a villa belle sane fluentem vidi, praesertim maxima siccitate, uberioremque aliquanto sese collecturos esse dicebant. Apud Herum recte erat. In Maniliano offendi Diphilum Diphilo tardiorem. Sed tamen nihil ei restabat praeter balnearia et ambulationem et aviarium. Villa mihi valde placuit, propterea quod summam dignitatem pavimentata porticus habebat: quod mihi nunc denique apparuit postea quam et ipsa tota patet et columnae politae sunt. Totum in eo est, quod mihi erit curae, tectorium ut concinnum sit. Pavimenta recte fieri videbantur. Cameras quasdam non probavi mutarique iussi. 2. Quo loco in porticu te scribere aiunt ut atriolum fiat, mihi, ut est, magis placebat. Neque enim satis loci videbatur esse atriolo, *neque* fere solet nisi in iis aedificiis fieri in quibus est atrium maius, nec habere poterat adiuncta cubicula et eius modi membra. Nunc haec vel honestate testudinis valde boni aestivi locum obtinebit. Tu tamen

For an attractive and sympathetic account of the estates of the Ciceros at Arpinum see O. E. Schmidt, *Ciceros Villen* (Leipzig, 1899), pp. 9–23, and *Arpinum* (Meissen, 1900).

1. *cum*] 'along with enjoying the greatest pleasure from the loveliness of the stream I recovered my vigour again.' Ern. would read *cum amoenitate <tum salubritate>*. The river was the Fibrenus. De Leg. ii. 1, 6: cp. Val. Max. ii. 3, 6 *abundantissimum fontem*.

ludorum] The *Ludi Romani* held from 4th to 19th September. The games in the circus lasted from the 15th to the 19th. For an account of these games see Dict. Antiq. ii., p. 91.

tribulibus] Cicero handed over his fellow-tribesmen to Philotimus, his freedman, with directions that he should secure for them accommodation for the games. See Att. ii. 1, 5 (27), and Mur. 72.

Arcano] belonging to Quintus: cp. 106, 4.

Mescidium cum Philoxeno] probably contractors for the works now being carried out.

Herum] a steward at Arcanum.

Maniliano] This 'property of Manilius' was probably either the estate of a neighbour for whom Diphilus was working, or the estate of a former neighbour which Quintus had now bought.

Diphilum] an architect. Cicero says he 'surpassed himself' in dilatoriness on this occasion.

tectorium] 'stuccoing': *cameras*, 'arched roofs.'

2. *Quo loco*] 'I like the antechamber, as it is better than in the portico, where they tell me you say in your letter it is to be built.' The sentence would regularly run *atriolum mihi magis placebat ut est* (quam) *in eo loco in quo aiunt te scribere ut fiat*, sc. *in porticu*. Sometimes (Roby 1743) a 'compactness of expression' occurs, in which the relative is used instead of *quod* with the demonstrative; hence Cicero here writes *quo loco in porticu te scribere aiunt ut atriolum fiat*, instead of *quod ibi in porticu*, &c.; cp. *nam quos ab hominibus pervenisse dicis ad deos, tu reddes rationem quemadmodum fieri potuerit aut cur fieri desierit*, N. D. iii. 41, where *quos* = *quod aliquos*.

membra] 'rooms.'

Nunc . . . obtinebit] 'Now, owing to the very fact that the ceiling has a proper (suitable) curve, it will make an admirable summer-room.' Cp. *honeste vergit* (§ 14).

si aliter sentis, rescribe quam primum. In balneariis assa in alterum apodyteri angulum promovi, propterea quod ita erant posita ut eorum vaporarium [ex quo ignis erumpit] esset subiectum cubiculis. Subgrande cubiculum autem et hibernum altum valde probavi, quod et ampla erant et loco posita ambulationis uno latere, eo quod est proximum balneariis. Columnas neque rectas neque e regione Diphilus collocarat. Eas scilicet demolietur: aliquando perpendiculo et linea discet uti. Omnino spero paucis mensibus opus Diphili perfectum fore: curat enim diligentissime Caesius qui tum mecum fuit.

H. 3. Ex eo loco recta Vitularia via profecti sumus in Fufidianum fundum quem tibi proximis nundinis Arpini de Fufidio HS CCCIↃↃↃ emeramus. Ego locum aestate umbrosiorem vidi numquam, permultis locis aquam profluentem et eam uberem. Quid quaeris? Iugera L prati Caesius irrigaturum facile te arbitrabatur. Equidem hoc, quod melius intellego, adfirmo, mirifica suavitate te villam habiturum, piscina et salientibus additis, palaestra et silva †virdicata. Fundum audio te hunc Bovillanum

assa] (sc. apparently *loca*) 'Turkish baths,' 'sweating-rooms,' so called because there was no immersion in water; so *assus sol*, 'a basking in the sun without previous anointing,' Att. xii. 6, 2 (499).

loco posita] 'in their *right* position.' For *loco* = *recto loco*, cp. Fam. ix. 16, 4 (472).

rectas] 'perpendicular;' *e regione* is 'exactly opposite each other.'

perpendiculo et linea] ought both to mean 'plumb-line'; but perhaps here *perpendiculum* refers to the plumb-line which would keep the pillars perfectly perpendicular, *linea* to a measuring string which would ensure that the opposite pillars should be equidistant from each other, and so the two rows should be parallel.

Caesius] probably the M. Caesius whom we find as aedile at Arpinum, Fam. xiii. 11, 3 (452); 12, 1 (453), where we find mention also of Fufidius.

3. *Vitularia via*] "This name belongs certainly to the same category as the *via Salaria* at Rome: the chief product which was transported along this road gave it its name. Accordingly the *via Vitularia* means the 'calf-road,' because along it the meat was conveyed from the region of Arpinum to the Greek cities on the coast; and even still the Arpinates have a trade in live-stock with Naples" (O. E. Schmidt, *Arpinum*, p. 26).

CCCIↃↃↃ] 100,000 sesterces = about £850.

salientibus] '*jets d'eau*.' Mr. Roby quotes from the Digest xix. 1, 15 †*lines et labra, salientes, fistulae quoque quae salientibus iunguntur, quamvis longe excurrant extra aedificium, aedium sunt.*

†*virdicata*] That *viridi* followed *silva* is highly probable: also it is possible that a participle followed *viridi* to balance *additis*. Georges suggested *iuncta*. Perhaps *c<oniunc>ta*. Or perhaps we might read *viridi. Attamen*. See Adn. Crit. The word *ridicata* there quoted means 'provided with stakes' (*ridicae*), the Greek χάρακες, for the support of trees, esp. vines. Hence Kayser would read *silva vitium ridicata*, 'a plantation of vine trees supported on stakes.'

Bovillanum] What is to be understood by *Bovillanum* we do not know. The Medicean and the ed. Romana read *Bovilianum*, or *Bobilianum*; the ed. Iensoniana *Bombilianum*. Reading *hunc* as in the text, there can be no reference to Bovillae, the town in Latium, as the estate of Fufidius was obviously in the

velle retinere. De eo quid videatur ipse constitues. †Calibus aiebat aqua dempta et eius aquae iure constituto et servitute fundo illi imposita, tamen nos pretium servare posse, si vendere vellemus. Mescidium mecum habui. Is se ternis nummis in pedem tecum transegisse dicebat, sese autem mensum pedibus aiebat passuum IIIICIↃ. Mihi plus visum est. Sed praestabo sumptum nusquam melius posse poni. Cillonem arcessieram Venafro. Sed eo ipso die quattuor eius conservos et discipulos Venafri cuniculus oppresserat. 4. Idibus Sept. in Laterio fui. Viam perspexi, quae mihi ita placuit ut opus publicum videretur esse praeter CL passus. Sum enim ipse mensus ab eo ponticulo qui est ad Furinae Satricum

territory of Arpinum. 'Nomen ab ignobili loco ductum,' says Manutius. It is possible that we should read *nunc* for *hunc*; and suppose Cicero to mean, 'I have bought you this beautiful estate: but I understand that you now wish to keep your suburban residence at Bovillae' (which he probably intended to sell in order to get the purchase-money for the *Fufidianus fundus*). Cicero appears to have been in some perplexity about his brother's intentions as regards a suburban residence: cp. § 23.

†*Calibus*] For *Calibus*, perhaps we should read, not *Calvus* (with Cratander), but, as Dr. Reid suggests, *Cascellius*, comparing Att. xv. 26, 4 (763), where he is mentioned in connexion with water.

aqua . . . imposita] Mr. Roby (*Classical Review*, i. 67) has a valuable note on this passage, in which he corrects the views put forward in our former edition. "Calvus" (he says) "—if this is the right reading—was probably a land agent. A jurisconsult is not the man to tell the value of an estate. The precise relations of the estates are not certain; but I understand the *fundus Bouillanus* to be the same as the land said at the beginning of the section to have been bought at Arpinum from Fufidius, and to be well off for water. Arpinum and (the known) Bovillae are many miles apart, so that the meaning of *Bouillanus* is uncertain. I take *Arpini* to be merely the place of purchase. At any rate, Quintus had the intention of taking water from one estate to another. I translate: 'Calvus declared that if the water were taken away, and the right of drawing it were established, and a servitude imposed on that estate, we should still get our price.' As owner of the two estates, Quintus could deal with the water as he liked. But if he sold the estate whence he took the water, he would have to declare in the conveyance that he sold subject to this right. That would be establishing for the dominant estate (where he used the water) a *ius aquae ducendae*, and imposing on the servient estate the obligation to allow the water to be so taken. *Ius aquae* (*ducendae*) *constituere* is a regular technical phrase, Dig. viii. 5. 10 init. ib. 18." This lucid note of Mr. Roby's makes the passage quite clear.

Is . . . dicebat] 'he said he had agreed with you (to make the canal) for three sesterces a foot, and that he had stepped it and made it three miles' (Shuckburgh).

4. *Laterio*] The *Laterium* was another property of Quintus in Arpinum. It seems to have been on higher ground than either the *Arcanum* (which was in the neighbourhood of the modern Rocca d'Arce, cp. 106, 4) and the *Fufidianus fundus*, which appears to have been in a woody valley (§ 3).

Viam] A road on the construction of which Quintus was now employing labourers.

Furinae] sc. *templum*. Nothing is known of this goddess. The *Furinalia* were held on July 25.

Satricum] This cannot well refer to the town in Latium. It must be a village in or near the territory of Arpinum. In Livy ix. 12, 5; 16, 2, we hear of certain Satricani, who revolted, and joined the Samnites, apparently in connexion with Fregellae: so there must have been a Satricum near Arpinum. It is this village to which both Cicero and Livy seem to refer. O. E. Schmidt, *Arpinum*

versus. Eo loco pulvis, non glarea iniecta est—id mutabitur—et ea viae pars valde acclivis est. Sed intellexi aliter duci non potuisse praesertim cum tu neque per Locustae neque *per* Varronis velles ducere. Varro viam ante suum fundum probe munierat. Locusta non attigerat: quem ego Romae aggrediar et, ut arbitror, commovebo, et simul M. Taurum, quem tibi audio promisisse, qui nunc Romae erat, de aqua per fundum eius ducenda rogabo. 5. Nicephorum, vilicum tuum, sane probavi quaesivique ex eo ecquid ei de illa aedificatiuncula Lateri, de qua mecum locutus es, mandavisses. Tum is mihi respondit se ipsum eius operis HS XVI conductorem fuisse, sed te postea multa addidisse ad opus, nihil ad pretium: itaque id se omisisse. Mihi mehercule valde placet te illa ut constitueras addere: quamquam ea villa quae nunc est tamquam philosopha videtur esse, quae obiurget ceterarum villarum insaniam. Verum tamen illud additum delectabit. Topiarium laudavi: ita omnia convestivit hedera, qua basim villae, qua intercolumnia ambulationis, ut denique illi palliati topiariam facere videantur et hederam vendere. Iam ἀποδυτηρίῳ nihil alsius, nihil muscosius. 6. Habes fere de rebus rusticis. Urbanam expolitionem urget ille quidem et Philotimus et Cincius, sed etiam ipse crebro interviso, quod est facile factu. Quam ob rem ea te cura liberatum volo.

(p. 25, n. 6), considers *Satricum* and *Satrius* (C. I. L. x. 5668, an inscription found in this neighbourhood) to be Volscian.

id mutabitur] 'this defect will be remedied.' *Id* refers to *the fact that* clay, not gravel, was used; *et* and *id* are very frequently confounded, as Wes. (Em. Alt. p. 62) has shown on Q. Fr. i. 2, 10 (53).

Varro viam] So Wes. for *Velvinum* of Cratander, or *vel vinum* of M: see Adn. Crit. 'He (Varro) was the only one who had properly paved the road where it skirted his property; Locusta had never put a hand to it.' Quintus seems to have drawn the road in such a way as not to trench on their property, and in return he expected each proprietor to keep the road in repair where it skirted his estate.

5. *HS* XVI] 16,000 sesterces = about £140.

illa ut constitueras] 'I am quite in favour of your carrying out your proposed additions, though the building, in its present (unadorned) condition, is like some sober moralist, whose mission it is to reproach the frivolity of the other villas.' Observe the force of the subjunctive, '(placed thus) to reproach.'

basim] 'the foundation wall.'

vendere] This is a strange fancy. Cicero says: 'The place is so clothed with ivy that (ivy is its chief feature, and), in a word, the statues of Greek heroes that stand between the columns seem to have taken to fancy gardening, and to be recommending the ivy to our notice.' No matter what the gesture of each statue is, it seems to be calling attention to the ivy, which is everywhere. For this sense of *vendere* cp. Att. xiii. 12, 2 (626) *Ligarianam praeclare vendidisti.*

Iam] 'as it now is.'

6. *ille quidem*] 'He (the fancy gardener) is using all despatch in the adornment of your town house, and he is seconded by Philotimus (Terentia's steward) and Cincius (the agent of Atticus).' For the position of *ille*

III. 7. De Cicerone quod me semper rogas, ignosco equidem tibi, sed tu quoque mihi velim ignoscas. Non enim concedo tibi plus ut illam ames quam ipse amo. Atque utinam mihi his diebus in Arpinati, quod et ipse cupierat et ego non minus, mecum fuisset! Quod ad Pomponiam, si tibi videtur, scribas velim: cum aliquo exibimus, eat nobiscum puerumque educat. Clamores efficiam si eum mecum habuero otiosus; nam Romae respirandi non est locus. Id me scis antea gratis tibi esse pollicitum. Quid nunc putas, tanta mihi abs te mercede proposita? 8. Venio nunc ad tuas litteras, quas pluribus epistulis accepi dum sum in Arpinati. Nam mihi uno die tres sunt redditae, et quidem, ut videbantur, eodem abs te datae tempore: una pluribus verbis, in qua primum erat quod antiquior dies in tuis fuisset ascripta litteris quam in Caesaris. Id facit Oppius non numquam necessario ut, cum tabellarios constituerit mittere litterasque a nobis acceperit, aliqua re nova impediatur et necessario serius quam constituerat mittat, neque nos datis iam epistulis diem commutari curamus. 9. Scribis de Caesaris summo in nos amore. Hunc et tu fovebis et nos quibuscumque poterimus rebus augebimus. De Pompeio et facio diligenter et faciam quod mones. Quod tibi mea permissio man-

quidem, cp. Q. Fr. i. 4, 3 (72). We must not adopt the suggestion of Lambinus *illam quidem*; see Madvig on Fin. iv. 43.

7. *mihi . . . mecum fuisset*] The *dativus ethicus*; see on Att. iv. 2, 4 (91). In *qui mihi accubantes in convivio*, Catil. ii. 10, we have a stronger case of the ethical dative. Render 'would that I had had the pleasure of his company with me.' All the edd. omit the *mihi* of the mss. Cp. Ter. Heaut. 820 *scin ubi nunc sit tibi tua Bacchis.*

Clamores] 'I shall bring down the house (with applause of his progress) if I have the boy with me when I am at leisure. I have not time to draw breath at Rome.' It would seem that Cicero had promised to give some instruction to his nephew.

mercede] 'the gratitude and affection of Quintus and the boy.' There is a similar expression at the end of 151, 4.

8. *litteras . . . epistulis*] 'letter sent in more than one packet.' Though there were several packets, still, when the contents were considered, they virtually formed only one letter. In 131, 5 there is a somewhat different antithesis between *litterae*, 'a formal document,' and *epistula*, 'a mere letter.'

antiquior dies] 'an earlier date.'

facit . . . ut . . . impediatur] literally 'makes a practice of being prevented'; that is, 'he often finds himself prevented.' This use of *facere* with subj. is commented on at 12, §§ 42, 47, 50, above. 'Oppius [who along with Balbus acted as Cæsar's agent at Rome] often finds himself prevented from forwarding the letters by something that turns up; so he often sends them later than he had intended; and I do not take the trouble to correct the dates of the letters already consigned to him.' The passage might thus be rendered, to bring out clearly the *definitive* or *explanatory* character of the subjunctive: 'of that (the wrong date) Oppius often is the cause, that is, he finds himself prevented . . . so we do not see to the correction of the date.'

curamus] M gives *curemus*, which is probably due to the attraction of the other subjunctives. Lehmann (p. 90) has rightly altered to *curamus*.

9. *permissio mansionis tuae*] This permission was given in 142, 3.

sionis tuae grata est, id ego, summo meo dolore et desiderio, tamen ex parte gaudeo. In Hippodamis et non nullis aliis arcessendis quid cogites non intellego. Nemo istorum est quin abs te munus fundi suburbani instar exspectet. Trebatium vero meum quod isto admisceas nihil est. Ego illum ad Caesarem misi, qui mihi iam satis fecit. Si ipsi minus, praestare nihil debeo, teque item ab eo vindico et libero. Quod scribis te a Caesare cotidie plus diligi immortaliter gaudeo. Balbum vero, qui est istius rei, quem ad modum scribis, adiutor, in oculis fero. Trebonium meum a te amari teque ab illo pergaudeo. 10. De tribunatu quod scribis, ego vero nominatim petivi Curtio et mihi ipse Caesar nominatim Curtio paratum esse rescripsit meamque in rogando verecundiam obiurgavit. Si cui praeterea petiero—id quod etiam Oppio dixi ut ad illum scriberet,—facile patiar mihi negari, quoniam illi qui mihi molesti sunt sibi negari *a* me non facile patiuntur. Ego Curtium—id quod ipsi dixi—non modo rogatione sed etiam testimonio tuo diligo, quod litteris tuis studium illius in salutem nostram facile perspexi. De Britannicis rebus cognovi ex tuis litteris nihil esse nec quod metuamus nec quod gaudeamus. De publicis negotiis, quae vis ad te Tironem scribere, neglegentius ad te ante scribebam, quod omnia minima maxima ad Caesarem mitti sciebam.

summo] 'though I am pining sadly for your return'; for this *ablativus modi* see on 131, 4.

Hippodamis] 'men like Hippodamus'; cp. 92, 3 *omnis Catilinas Acidinos postea reddidit*, 'everyone who was a Catiline for ruffianism he made to appear thenceforth as respectable as an Acidinus.' See § 21. But possibly Schütz was right in altering to *Hippodamo*. The *-is* may have arisen from the adjacent words.

isto admisceas] *Isto* = *istue*, and is a word affected by Cicero in his letters, and frequent in the comic drama; *admisceas isto* = *admisceas in* (or *ad*) *istos*. Cicero says: 'You have no reason to include Trebatius in the class of persons like Hippodamus, who will look to have a small property settled on them by you, if you give them any encouragement. I have handed him over to Caesar, who has already made me feel quite easy about his future. If he has not quite done the same for Trebatius himself, I am not responsible for that: I hold you all the same under no obligation to push his fortunes.'

immortaliter] See I[3], Introduction, II. D (3), p. 89.

in oculis fero] 'is as the apple of my eye'; cp. *in sinu fero*, 135, 1.

Trebonium] Gaius Trebonius, who, as tribune, had the preceding year proposed the law giving to the consuls, Pompey and Crassus, the government of Spain and Syria for five years.

pergaudeo] See I[3], Introd., II. D. (4), p. 89.

10. *tribunatu*] *sc.* militum.

Curtio] cp. 141, 3 and Index.

id quod] 'and I told Oppius to tell him this in writing to him.' 'My friends,' says Cicero, 'are annoyed if I refuse to give them letters asking for favours: so I will give them; but I shall not be annoyed if the favours be refused.'

non modo rogatione] 'not only because you ask me to make him my friend, but because of what you tell me about him.'

studium illius in salutem] 'how he worked for my restoration from exile.'

IV. 11. Rescripsi epistulae maximae. Audi nunc de minuscula, in qua primum est de Clodi ad Caesarem litteris: in quo Caesaris consilium probo, quod tibi amantissime petenti veniam non dedit uti ullum ad illam furiam verbum rescriberet. Alterum est de Calventi Mari oratione quod scribis. Miror, tibi placere me ad eam rescribere, praesertim cum illam nemo lecturus sit, si ego nihil rescripsero, meam in illum pueri omnes tamquam dictata perdiscant. Libros meos, omnis quos exspectas, inchoavi, sed conficere non possum his diebus. Orationes efflagitatas pro Scauro et pro Plancio absolvi. Poëma ad Caesarem quod institueram incidi. Tibi quod rogas, quoniam ipsi fontes iam sitiunt, si quid habebo spati, scribam. 12. Venio ad tertiam. Balbum quod ais mature Romam bene comitatum esse venturum mecumque adsidue usque

11. *veniam non dedit*] Caesar had received a letter from Clodius. Quintus had most politely begged him not to leave it unanswered through any feeling of sympathy with him and his brother, and indignation against their enemy. Caesar 'would not comply with his request by writing a single word in reply to that devil' (*i.e.* Clodius).

Calventi Mari] According to Schütz, who is generally followed, the person referred to is L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus. He is called *Calventius* from his maternal grandfather; and is called *Marius* because he is compared with C. Marius in Pis. 20. It seems that L. Calpurnius Piso, after his return from the province of Syria, wrote a speech against Cicero. If the passage in the *orat. in Pisonem* is to be used for the elucidation of this, the case stands thus: When Marius and Saturninus sought to procure the ruin and exile of Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus, Saturninus brought forward an agrarian law with the clause that every senator should swear obedience to it within five days, on pain of a fine and expulsion from the senate. Metellus refused, and was expelled the senate. But Saturninus, not satisfied with this, proposed his exile. Metellus could have easily resisted this oppression; but he retired from Rome rather than be the cause of civil dissension. Cicero often mentions his action in this matter with admiration, e.g. Pis. 20; Planc. 89. Accordingly Cicero must here be supposed to compare Piso with Marius, and himself with Metellus, who, for high reasons, declined a contest in which he might have been victor. *Calventius Marius* would then mean 'that Piso (nicknamed by Cicero *Calventius*), who plays Marius to my Metellus'; that is, 'whom I could easily defeat, but will not meet.' Cicero nicknames him in Pis. 14 *Caesoninus Semiplacentinus Calventius*, because his father was married to a daughter of Calventius, an Insubrian Gaul.

meam in illum] 'while every boy reads mine against Piso (delivered the year before) as a school exercise.'

Libros] Cicero means his treatise *de Republica*.

his diebus] 'in the course of the next few days.' Contrast *diebus illis*, 149, 4.

instituerам] See Adn. Crit.

incidi] I have 'cut short,' 'broken off,' 'stopped writing.' Above, 91, 5, he uses the same phrase of the 'clipping of his wings,' i.e. the humiliation inflicted on him by his exile, *qui mihi pinnas inciderant nolunt easdem renasci*.

ipsi fontes] 'since you, who are the very fount of poesy, have run dry.' *Tibi quod rogas* is 'what you ask for yourself'; that is, 'the verses which you want from me to use as your own in your poem on the exploits of Caesar.'

12. *bene comitatum*] 'well-attended.' That is, say Man. and the other commentators, 'with plenty of money.' But that usage is strange. Perhaps it may mean with a large number of Caesar's army who would take part in the elections during the winter-season: cp. 144, 6 *Memmius Caesaris commendetur militibus*.

ad Id. Maias futurum, id mihi pergratum perque iucundum. Quod me in eadem epistula, sicut saepe antea, cohortaris ad ambitionem et ad laborem, faciam equidem, sed quando vivemus? 13. Quarta epistula mihi reddita est Id. Sept. quam a. d. IIII. Id. Sext. ex Britannia dederas. In ea nihil sane erat novi praeter Erigonam, quam si ab Oppio accepero, scribam ad te quid sentiam, nec dubito quin mihi placitura sit. Et, quod *paene* praeterii, de eo quem scripsisti de Milonis plausu scripsisse ad Caesarem, ego vero facile patior ita Caesarem existimare illum quam maximum fuisse plausum. Et prorsus ita fuit, et tamen ille plausus qui illi datur quodam modo nobis videtur dari. 14. Reddita etiam mihi est pervetus epistula sed sero adlata, in qua de aede Telluris et de porticu Catuli me admones. Fit utrumque diligenter. Ad Telluris quidem etiam tuam statuam locavi. Item de hortis me quod admones, nec fui umquam valde cupidus et nunc domus suppeditat mihi hortorum amoenitatem.

Romam cum venissem a. d. XIII. Kal. Octobr., absolutum offendi in aedibus tuis tectum: quod supra conclavia non placuerat tibi esse multorum fastigiorum, id nunc honeste vergit in tectum inferioris porticus. Cicero noster, dum ego absum, non cessavit apud rhetorem. De eius eruditione quod labores nihil est, quoniam ingenium eius nosti, studium ego video. Cetera eius *sic* suscipio ut me putem praestare debere.

V. 15. Gabinium tres adhuc factiones postulant: L. Lentulus,

quando vivemus] 'when shall I be allowed to live?' Cicero means that he is living his life only when he is allowed to eschew politics and devote himself to study in one of his suburban villas.

13. *Erigonam*] a tragedy by Quintus: cp. note to 155, 7.

de eo quem] 'about the correspondent who, you say, wrote to Caesar on account of the applause given to Milo' (by the people in the theatre, as a recognition of a recent spectacle of great magnificence given by Milo as aedile). The reading of I, *de eo quod*, seems more natural, 'concerning the account which you say you wrote to Caesar of the applause given to Milo'; but I is a very unsafe guide.

14. *aede Telluris*] See on 120, 2.

domus ... amoenitatem] cp. note to 123, 4.

Romam] From this on to the end Cicero wrote at Rome: see Introductory Note.

supra conclavia] The *conclavia* were the day-rooms, dining-rooms, &c., as opposed to the *cubicula*, or sleeping-rooms. Quintus did not wish that this roof should have many gables, and Cicero tells him, 'it has now a proper slope down to the roof of the lower portico.' For *honeste* cp. § 2, above.

Cetera] 'all the rest which appertains to his education (beside his ability and application) I take on myself with full consciousness that I fancy I am bound to make myself responsible for its excellence.' But perhaps Kayser is right in omitting *sic*, which has no ms authority, and reading *puto* for *putem*, 'the rest I take on myself, as, indeed, I think I am in duty bound to take the responsibility.'

15. *tres ... factiones postulant*] Lentulus

flaminis filius, qui iam de maiestate postulavit, Ti. Nero cum bonis subscriptoribus, C. Memmius tribunus pl. cum L. Capitone. Ad urbem accessit a. d. XII. Kal. Octobr. Nihil turpius nec desertius. Sed his iudiciis nihil audeo confidere. Quod Cato non valebat, adhuc de pecuniis repetundis non erat postulatus. Pompeius a me valde contendit de reditu in gratiam, sed adhuc nihil profecit nec, si ullam partem libertatis tenebo, proficiet. Tuas litteras vehementer exspecto. 16. Quod scribis te audisse in candidatorum consularium coitione me interfuisse, id falsum est. Eius modi enim pactiones in ea coitione factae sunt, quas postea Memmius patefecit, ut nemo bonus interesse debuerit, et simul mihi committendum non fuit ut iis coitionibus interessem quibus Messalla excluderetur, cui quidem vehementer satis facio rebus omnibus, ut arbitror, etiam Memmio. Domitio ipsi multa iam feci quae voluit quaeque a me petivit. Scaurum beneficio defensionis valde obligavi. Adhuc erat valde incertum et quando comitia et qui consules futuri essent.

17. Cum hanc iam epistulam complicarem, tabellarii a vobis venerunt a. d. XI. Kal. septimo vicensimo die. O me sollicitum! quantum ego dolui in Caesaris suavissimis litteris! Sed quo erant suaviores, eo maiorem dolorem illius ille casus adferebat. Sed ad tuas venio litteras. Primum tuam remansionem etiam atque etiam probo, praesertim cum, ut scribis, cum Caesare communicaris. Oppium miror quidquam cum Publio; mihi enim non placuerat. 18. Quod interiore epistula scribis me Idib. Sept. Pompeio

de maiestate, the others *de repetundis*. He was acquitted on the first charge, and found guilty on the second.

Cato] M. Cato, who was praetor.

non valebat] = *aegrotabat*.

nec . . . proficiet] Notwithstanding this statement, Pompey *did* succeed, for Cicero shortly after defended Gabinius.

17. *septimo*] So Bardt (Quaest. Tull., p. 32), excellently, for *Sept.* of the manuscripts. He compares § 25 *ex Britannia Caesar ad me K. Sept. dedit litteras quas ego accepi a.d. iiii Kal. Oct.*

casus] used especially of a domestic affliction; cp. *vellem in meo gravissimo casu adfuisses*, Fam. iv. 6, 1 (574), a letter written by Cicero to Sulpicius on the occasion of Tullia's death. This passage does not imply that Cicero had not heard of Julia's death before. He has already twice referred to it. This was the first time that Caesar wrote to him about it.

Publio] Clodius. He is surprised that Oppius should have had anything to do with him.

18. *interiore epistula*] This is explained by Man. to mean 'the end of the letter.' He holds that letters were not folded as with us, but formed into a roll. The letter was rolled up from the bottom, according to him, so that the *end* of the letter would be the inmost part of the roll. He founds this theory on a passage, Fam. iii. 7, 2 (244) *legati mihi volumen a te plenum querelae . . . reddiderunt . . . eadem autem epistula*. But there is no sufficient evidence that single letters, except very long ones, were thus rolled in a cylindrical shape. *Volumen* only means 'a letter as long as a book.' *Complicare*

legatum iri, id ego non audivi scripsique ad Caesarem *neque* Vibullium Caesaris mandata de mea mansione ad Pompeium pertulisse nec Oppium. Quo consilio *nescio*. Quamquam Oppium ego tenui, quod priores partes Vibulli erant; cum eo enim coram Caesar egerat, ad Oppium scripserat. Ego vero nullas δευτέρας φροντίδας habere possum in Caesaris rebus. Ille mihi secundum te et liberos nostros ita est ut sit paene par. Videor id iudicio facere—iam enim debeo—sed tamen amore sum incensus.

VI. 19. Cum scripsissem haec infima quae sunt mea manu, venit ad nos Cicero tuus ad cenam, cum Pomponia foris cenaret. Dedit mihi epistulam legendam tuam, quam paullo ante acceperat,

is the verb used for 'to fold' a letter: cp. § 17 and Att. xii. 1, 2 (505); it is also used of furling a sail: Plaut. Rud. 938, Merc. 192. Accordingly, *interiore epistula* more probably means 'the body (middle) of the letter,' on the analogy of *interiora aedium*, &c. Cicero, as usual, goes right through the letter of his correspondent, dealing with beginning, middle, and end in succession. It is just possible, however, that the phrase may mean 'a more private letter,' one for Cicero's eyes only, and not to be shown to others. Hence Cicero replies to it with his own hand (§ 19). For *interior* in this sense of 'more private' cp. Nep. Hann. 2 *cum se ab interioribus consiliis segregari vidisset*. Usually *interior* applied to compositions means 'more recondite,' 'esoteric': cp. N. D. iii. 42; Fam. iii. 10, 9 (261), vii. 33, 2 (474).

me ... Pompeio legatum iri] The train of thought is as follows:—'You speak of my going to Spain with Pompey as his lieutenant; I have heard nothing about it; but [such is the force of *que* after *non*] I wrote to Caesar at once, and told him that neither Vibullius nor Oppius had delivered to Pompey his message about me, that I should remain in Rome. What did they mean by not delivering the message? [Boot adds *nescio*; but it is hardly necessary.] Yet [Oppius is not to be blamed] I prevented Oppius from delivering the message, because I thought Vibullius had a prior claim to do so, as he had had a personal interview with Caesar, and Oppius only a letter. [As touching the question you put to me,] I assure you I had no second thought, nor could I have such, in any matter concerning Caesar. He comes next to you and the children in my affection, and so near that he almost comes up to them. I think I act on due deliberation in thus regarding Caesar—for I am sure I have good reason for it—yet I know I am carried away by my feelings nevertheless.' Quintus had asked Cicero: 'Was your resolve to remain in Rome in compliance with Caesar's wish a second thought?' When Cicero heard from Quintus that there was a rumour that he was going to Spain as *legatus* to Pompey, he was anxious lest Caesar should suppose that Vibullius or Oppius had already conveyed to Pompey the wish of Caesar, that Cicero should remain in Rome, and that Pompey was, nevertheless, running counter to that wish, and taking Cicero with him. Cicero was desirous that Caesar's wish should be communicated to Pompey, lest he should offend the latter by refusing the *legatio*. The passage can thus be explained. But it would run more smoothly if we made a transposition *nec Oppium—quamquam Oppium ego tenui* ('though it was I who restrained Oppius'). '*Quo consilio?*' ('Why did you do that? you may ask.') *Quod priores*, &c.

δευτέρας φροντίδας] αἱ δεύτεραί πως φροντίδες σοφώτεραι, Eur. Hippol. 436. To a similar purport is ψεύδει γὰρ ἡ 'πίνοια τὴν γνώμην, Soph. Ant. 389. For *ego vero* pointing to a question and introducing the answer, cp. note to Fam. xiv. 4, 1 (62), and above, § 13. For *iudicio* one would have expected *officio*.

19. *foris*] So some of the old edd. for *foras* of M. *Foras* for *foris* is found in Petronius (c. 30), but not in Cicero.

Aristophaneo modo, valde mehercule et suavem et gravem: qua sum admodum delectatus. Dedit etiam alteram illam mihi qua iubes eum mihi esse adfixum tamquam magistro. Quam illum epistulae illae delectarunt! quam me! Nihil puero illo suavius, nihil nostri amantius. Hoc inter cenam Tironi dictavi, ne mirere alia manu esse.

20. Annali pergratae litterae tuae fuerunt, quod et curares de se diligenter et tamen consilio se verissimo iuvares. P. Servilius pater ex litteris quas sibi a Caesare missas esse dicebat significat valde te sibi gratum fecisse quod de sua voluntate erga Caesarem humanissime diligentissimeque locutus esses. 21. Cum Romam ex Arpinati revertissem, dictum mihi est Hippodamum ad te profectum esse. Non possum scribere me miratum esse illum tam inhumaniter fecisse ut sine meis litteris ad te proficisceretur: illud scribo, mihi molestum fuisse. Iam enim diu cogitaveram ex eo quod tu ad me scripseras ut, si quid esset quod ad te diligentius perferri vellem, illi darem; quod mehercule hisce litteris quas vulgo ad te mitto nihil fere scribo quod, si in alicuius manus inciderit, moleste ferendum sit. Minucio me et Salvio et Labeoni reservabam. Labeo aut tarde proficiscetur aut hic manebit. Hippodamus ne numquid vellem quidem rogavit. 22. T. Pinarius amabilis ad me de te litteras mittit: se maxime litteris, sermonibus, cenis denique tuis delectari. Is homo semper me delectavit fraterque eius mecum est multum. Qua re, uti instituisti, complectere adulescentem.

VII. 23. Quod multos dies epistulam in manibus habui propter

Aristophaneo modo] It is impossible to decide whether this means 'as full of wit as Aristophanes, the comic poet,' or 'as full of sound criticism (of the boy's style, &c.) as Aristophanes of Byzantium, the critic': *suavem* perhaps rather points to the former view.

20. *Annali*] L. Villius Annalis, a senator, as we learn from Fam. viii. 8, 5 (223).

21. *Iam enim diu*] 'From what you wrote to me I had long since resolved to make use of him if I had any very special message for you; inasmuch as in my ordinary correspondence with you I hardly ever say anything which would be annoying if it fell into anyone's hands': lit., '[of such a nature] that, if it fell into anyone's hands, it would give me annoyance.'

me . . . reservabam] i.e. *meas litteras reservabam*.

Labeoni] We should wish to add *At* before *Labeo* in the next sentence. Lehmann would alter here to *Labieno*; but Labienus does not appear to have come to Rome this winter: see note to 159, 1.

ne numquid vellem] 'never even so much as asked me whether I had any commands.' This was a common formula of leave-taking, even when no commission was expected; an *abeuntis formula*, as Ussing calls it on Plaut. Amph. 538.

commorationem tabellariorum, ideo multa coniecta sunt aliud alio tempore, velut hoc. T. Anicius mihi saepe iam dixit sese tibi, suburbanum si quod invenisset, non dubitaturum esse emere. In eius sermone ego utrumque soleo admirari, et te de suburbano emendo, cum ad illum scribas, non modo ad me non scribere sed etiam aliam in sententiam [de suburbano] scribere, et, cum ad illum scribas, nihil te recordari [de se] de epistulis illis quas in Tusculano eius tu mihi ostendisti, nihil de praeceptis Epicharmi, γνῶθι πῶς ἄλλῳ κέχρηται, totum denique vultum, sermonem, animum eius, quem ad modum coniicio, quasi *dedidicisse*. Sed haec tu videris. 24. De suburbano cura ut sciam quid velis, et simul ne quid ille turbet vide. Quid praeterea? Quid? Etiam. Gabinius a. d. IIII. Kal. Octobr. noctu in urbem introierat, et hodie H. VIII., cum edicto C. Alfi de maiestate eum adesse oporteret, concursu magno et odio universi populi paene adflictus est. Nihil illo turpius. Proximus tamen est Piso. Itaque mirificum ἐμβόλιον cogito in secundum librum meorum temporum includere, dicentem Apollinem in concilio deorum qualis reditus duorum imperatorum futurus esset, quorum alter exercitum perdidisset, alter vendidisset. 25. Ex

23. *coniecta*] Madvig (A. C. iii. 196) objects that *coniecta* cannot be used absolutely for *coniecta in epistulam*; and that this fact which Cicero was about to relate had not been 'thrown into' the letter. He proposes *conlecta*. The mass of news had accumulated during the days in which he was waiting for the letter-carriers. This is possible: but perhaps *coniecta* means 'thrown together.' As the letter was written piecemeal, it lacked order and system. Cicero added, each time he sat down to write, just whatever topic occurred to him on the occasion.

de se] Schütz omits these words. Madvig (A. C. iii. 197) conjectures *de sedeculis*, but confesses that 'quodnam illae morum Anicii iudicium et vestigium habuerint ignoramus.' See also Adn. Crit.

Epicharmi] Cp. the oft-quoted νᾶφε καὶ μέμνασ' ἀπιστεῖν, ἄρθρα ταῦτα τᾶν φρενῶν, Att. i. 19, 8 (25). Cicero wonders that Quintus had forgotten Epicharmus' rule for judging how a man will behave to you, viz., 'how has he behaved to others?'

dedidicisse] This word is added by Wesenberg. It probably represented the sense. Possibly a Greek word such as ἀπομεμαθηκέναι dropped out.

24. *ille*] Anicius: cp. note to 155, 6.

H.] = *hora*, cp. Att. xv. 24 (757).

Quid? Etiam] 'What? Oh! yes.' For this use of *etiam* cp. Att. i. 13, 6 (19); ii. 6, 2 (33); vii. 3, 12 (294): also Planc. 65 fin.

Alfi] He was tr. pl. in 695 (59). He was *quaesitor* in the trial of Gabinius for *maiestas* (151, 3), and of Plancius for *sodalicia* (cp. Planc. 104). He was probably, but not necessarily, praetor in this year. Some years before he failed for the praetorship (Sest. 113, 114).

Proximus] L. Piso, called Calventius above, 'comes next to' Gabinius in unpopularity.

ἐμβόλιον] 'an *addendum*' to the 2nd book of his poem, *de temporibus suis*.

temporum] So we read with C. F. W. Müller for *librorum* of M. See Adn. Crit.

perdidisset] Piso lost a considerable part of his army in unsuccessful wars which he had himself provoked with the tribes adjoining his province of Macedonia: cp. Prov. Cons. 5; Planc. 86.

vendidisset] Gabinius sold his army

Britannia Caesar ad me Kal. Sept. dedit litteras, quas ego accepi a. d. IIII. Kal. Octobr., satis commodas de Britannicis rebus, quibus, ne admirer quod a te nullas acceperim, scribit se sine te fuisse, cum ad mare accesserit. Ad eas ego ei litteras nihil rescripsi, ne gratulandi quidem causa, propter eius luctum. Te oro etiam atque etiam, mi frater, ut valeas.

149. TO ATTICUS (ATT. IV. 17 (18)).

ROME; OCTOBER 1; A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

De commercio litterarum, de infamia consulum, de C. Memmio candidato, de Messallae et Domitii spe consulatus, de Scauri liberalitate, de senatu hoc ipso die futuro, de iudiciis impendentibus.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

Puto te existimare me nunc oblitum consuetudinis et instituti mei rarius ad te scribere quam solebam, sed, quoniam loca et itinera tua nihil habere certi video, neque in Epirum neque Athenas neque in Asiam [neque] cuiquam nisi ad te ipsum proficiscenti dedi litteras. Neque enim *eae* sunt epistulae nostrae quae si perlatae non sint, nihil ea res nos offensura sit, quae tantum habent mysteriorum ut eas ne librariis quidem fere committamus, lepidum

by using it in restoring Ptolemy Auletes for a bribe: Pis. 48: Rabir. Post. 19, 21.

1. *nunc*] This is the reading of Pius for *non* of the mss. Sternkopf (Hermes, 1905, p. 29) retains *non* in apparently this sense, 'I am sure that you consider my infrequent letters are not due to forgetfulness of my usual practice; but as I knew your movements were uncertain, I did not give letters except to messengers going direct to you.' This is ingenious, but it leaves an irregular sentence, which Cicero is hardly likely to have written at the beginning of a letter.

cuiquam] M reads *neque cuiquam*, the *neque* having arisen from the same word thrice repeated in the same sentence. Wesenberg rightly ejected it. Klotz read *neque <quoquam> cuiquam*, but, as Dr. Reid points out, *quoquam* is too rare a word in Cicero to be introduced by conjecture. It is not even certain in Verr. v. 45 *qui si quo publice proficisceris, praesidi et vecturae causa sumptu publico navigia praebentur: privatim autem nec proficisci quoquam potes*, &c., where *usquam* has probably been altered into *quoquam*, owing to the preceding *si quo*.

lepidum] 'lest some joke of mine should get wind in some direction,' that is, 'should come to the knowledge of someone' (save my correspondent). This correction was put forward in *Hermathena* (i. 204); and it seems the simplest correction of the text. It only inserts *quid ne* between *lepidum* and *quo*. This is a case of ἀβλεψία very common in copyists. The copyist saw that *lepidum* was followed by the letters *qu-*, perhaps raised his eyes for a moment, and went

quid ne quo excidat. 2. Consules flagrant infamia quod C. Memmius candidatus pactionem in senatu recitavit, quam ipse suus*que* competitor Domitius cum consulibus fecisset, uti ambo HS. quadragena consulibus darent, si essent ipsi consules facti, nisi tris augures dedissent qui se adfuisse dicerent cum lex curiata ferretur, quae non lata esset, et duo consularis qui se dicerent in ornandis provinciis consularibus scribendo adfuisse, cum omnino ne senatus quidem fuisset. Haec pactio non verbis, sed nominibus et perscriptionibus, multorum tabulis cum esse facta diceretur, prolata a Memmio est nominibus inductis, auctore Pom-

on at the wrong *qu-*, writing *lepidum quo excidat*, instead of *lepidum* quid ne *quo excidat*. For the meaning of *excidere*, cp. De Or. i. 94 *libello qui me imprudente et invito excidit et pervenit in manus hominum*. Dr. Reid proposes *scilicet est periculum ne excidant*. He says *epidum* is palæographically almost identical with *ēpic'lum* (i.e. *est periculum*); and *l* may be an error for f (i.e. *scilicet*). Professor Ellis would read *lepidum quo ne excidat*, and translates 'to prevent some witty remark being lost.'

2. *infamia*] See note on 142, 4.

competitor] This is added to distinguish *Domitius Calvinus*, the *competitor* of Memmius, from *Domitius Ahenobarbus*, one of the existing consuls.

non verbis] On this passage Mr. Roby, in his discussion on *Litterarum Obligatio* ('Roman Private Law,' ii., p. 295), says: 'The agreement was not made by stipulation (*verbis*), but by book-entries and orders for payment passed through several persons' (bankers'?) books. No doubt the three augurs and two consulars were secured beforehand: book-entries or money-orders in their favour were made. When at Pompey's instance the agreement was produced, the names of the consulars and augurs were obliterated (*nominibus inductis*). It is useless to conjecture in what precise mode the bargain was made. Probably there was some further *pactum ne peteretur* to prevent the parties claiming the penalties if the bargain was duly performed.' See also Mr. Roby's detailed discussion in *Classical Review*, i. 67–69.

perscriptionibus] This word is exhaustively discussed by Mr. Roby in *Classical Review*, i. 68, and 'Roman Private Law,' ii. 292–3. It means in its most general sense the 'expression of a debt in writing,' and in a more special sense 'warrants for payment.' It is probable that the latter is the use here. For this use cp. Att. xii. 51 (598) *Tiro narravit perscriptionem tibi placere*; xvi. 2, 1 (772) *quod perscribi oportet*; Phil. v. 11 *falsis perscriptionibus donationibusque* (cheques and deeds of gift purporting to be made in pursuance of Caesar's orders): Liv. xxiv. 18, 14 *a quaestore perscribebatur*.

nominibus inductis] In the former edition we took *inducere* to mean 'to set down in the account,' as in Verr. i. 106; De Leg. Agr. ii. 70, 98; Fam. iii. 10, 6 (261); and translated 'with all the items of the compact duly entered,' or, as *nomina* may include the names of the contracting parties, 'with all the entries duly made'; and we rejected the view that *inductis* meant 'cancelled.' Mr. Roby (*Classical Review*, i. 67), however, justly says that this makes *nominibus inductis* quite otiose, and that there is no reason for giving an unusual ['entered'] instead of the usual ['cancelled'] meaning to *inductis*. The agreement does not appear to have been contained in a separate document, but to have been contained in a number of books and documents. As we have seen, Mr Roby takes *nominibus* in this clause to be the names of the consulars and augurs; and adds (*Classical Review*, i. 68, 69): 'If it be insisted that *nominibus* should mean the same in both places (I do not think it at all necessary), we may suppose that the whole or part of the book-entries were blotted out, but that yet from the remainder or from the context the nature of the entry may have been sufficiently discoverable to support the evidence afforded by the *perscriptiones* or by Memmius' confession.'

peio. Hīc Appius erat idem : nihil sane iacturae. Corruerat alter et plane, inquam, iacebat. 3. Memmius autem dirempta coitione invito Calvino plane refrixerat, et eo magis nunc hoc iacet [ep. XVI. 6] quod iam intellegebamus enuntiationem illam Memmi valde Caesari displicere. Messalla noster et eius Domitius competitor liberalis in populo valde fuit. Nihil gratius. Certi erant consules. At senatus decernit, ut tacitum iudicium ante comitia fieret ab iis consiliis, quae erant †omnibus† sortita, in singulos

nihil sane iacturae] Appius was proverbial for his impudence; cp. Vatinius in Fam. v. 10A, 3 (696) *si mehercules Appi os haberem*. Accordingly, the exposure did him no harm; but his colleague, Domitius, was utterly knocked down by the blow.

3. *refrixerat*] 'has ceased to give interest': cp. 150, 3; Att. i. 19, 4 (25), ii. 1, 6 (27); De Div. ii. 81. The opposite is *calere*: cp. 154, 3, Planc. 55 *caluit re recenti, nunc in causa refrixit*, and Fam. viii. 1, 2 (192).

hoc] = *hac re*. For *hoc* = *hac re* cp. Petit. Cons. 13 (12); 153, 7, 16. There is a certain surplusage here—*eo* and *hoc*, 'and accordingly his ruin is the more irretrievable for this fact that we now learn that Memmius' disclosure is greatly resented by Caesar.' Possibly we should read with Dr. Reid *totus iacet*, who compares Muren. 30. Sternkopf supposes that the corruption *cociace*, out of which Mommsen deduced *hoc iacet*, really belongs to the passage in Ep. 158, 1, which follows this passage in the mss; and for *cociace dictaturam* he ingeniously conjectures *olface dictaturam*; see note on that passage. For such an ellipse of the verb as is implied in Sternkopf's reading *et eo magis* (*refrixerat*), *nunc quod*, he compares 155, 2 *Commovit me et eo magis* (*commovit*) *quod*. He further urges that the proximity of *iacebat* (§ 2 *fin.*) renders *iacet* improbable: and that coming between the pluperfect *refrixerat* and the imperfect *intellegebamus*, we should have expected *iacebat*. But perhaps *refrixerat* has an instantaneous significance 'lost favour at once'; *intellegebamus* is 'we ascertained' (at the time of the disclosure); and *nunc iacet* means 'is now fallen' (at the time Cicero was writing the letter).

eius Domitius competitor] Again to distinguish the candidate Domitius from the consul Domitius; see § 2. The order of these words is very singular; but hyperbaton (e.g. *de meis ad te rationibus scripsi antea*, Petit. Cons. § 1) is a characteristic of the letters; see Index. For the singular *fuit* after two subjects cp. Att. i. 8, 1 (4), 16, 12 (22), vii. 3, 10 (294), Brut. i. 12, 2 (909), quoted among many other examples from Cicero by Lebreton, p. 16.

tacitum iudicium] It is by no means certain what a *tacitum iudicium* was, as we do not hear of such a proceeding elsewhere. The analogy of a *senatus consultum tacitum*, Capitol. Gord. 12, and the fact that we know that the senate on other occasions held sittings in strict privacy, the result of which the senators were expected not to divulge (Val. Max. ii. 2, 1 *arcana consilia*: Plutarch, De Garrulitate, 11), would lead us to interpret the *tacitum iudicium* as a trial with closed doors. The purpose of that would be to avoid the intimidation that might be exercised by the bribed voters. But perhaps the view of Lange (iii. 351) is more satisfactory, that it was a judgment which was to be made on a matter of public notoriety 'without the hearing of witnesses or the usual methods of proof, and without speeches by counsel on either side.' This motion of the senate appears to have become distorted by the authorities which Plutarch used before it reached him, as he speaks of Cato's (Cat. Min. 44) having persuaded the senate to pass a decree that magistrates when elected, even if no accuser came forward, should be required to appear before a sworn court and submit to an examination as to the means by which they attained their magistracy.

omnibus] Mr. Shuckburgh seems right in taking this as dative, and supposing that the panels meant are those of the *album iudicum*, who had been selected to try cases of *ambitus*, of which many were expected. He translates, 'But the senate has passed a decree that "a trial with

candidatos. Magnus timor candidatorum. Sed quidam iudices, in his Opimius, Veiento, Rantius, tribunos pl. appellarunt, ne iniussu populi iudicarent. Res cedit. Comitia dilata ex senatus consulto, dum lex de tacito iudicio ferretur. Venit legi dies, Terentius intercessit. Consules, qui illud levi brachio egissent, rem ad senatum detulerunt. Hic Abdera, non tacente me. Dices, 'Tamen tu non quiescis?' Ignosce, vix possum. Verum tamen quid tam ridiculum? Senatus decreverat ne prius comitia haberentur quam lex lata esset: si qui intercessisset, res integra referretur. Coepta ferri leviter, intercessum non invitis, res ad senatum: de ea re ita censuerunt, comitia primo quoque tempore haberi esse e rep. 4. [ep. XVI. 7.] Scaurus qui erat paucis diebus illis absolutus, cum ego partem eius ornatissime defendissem, obnuntiationibus per Scaevolam interpositis singulis diebus usque

closed doors" should be held before the elections in respect to each of the candidates severally by the panels already allotted to them all.' Possibly *omnibus* may have been a corruption of *ambitus* or *ambitu*.

sortita] Passive, as in Verr. ii. 37 *tum eum docet Heraclius non posse eo die sortiri quod lex Rupilia vetaret diebus xxx sortiri dicam quibus scripta esset*: also §§ 42 and 127: cp. besides Prop. v. 7, 55 *nam gemina est sedes turpem sortita per amnem*, and the adverbial *sortito*. For the active form cp. *sorti* in Plaut. Cas. 395, 413; and Nonius 471 quotes *sortiunt* and *sortiant* from Ennius and Varro.

Veiento] In Att. vii. 3, 5 (294) we hear that he was left by Bibulus in command of the province of Syria. Of Opimius and Rantius nothing is known. Some suppose that the latter is the same as *Antius* in § 4; but Antius does not appear to have been a timid man at all. These names would seem to show that the view cannot be sustained that the *tacitum iudicium* was composed of senators only.

cedit] 'marches slowly along.' This is a meaning of *cedere* found in Plautus (Cas. 446; Pseud. 308, 955), and probably belonged to the *sermo cotidianus*: cp. Hor. Sat. ii. 1, 67. Madvig suggests *cecidit*. See Adn. Crit.

levi brachio] Cp. *molli brachio*, Att. ii. 1, 6 (27). Quintilian uses *molli articulo* (xi. 1, 70) and *molli manu* (ii. 4, 12).

Abdera] 'a very Bedlam to which I contribute my share of noise.' *Abdera* is the typical home of stupidity. Ἀβδηριτικόν is 'the act of a maniac,' Att. vii. 7, 4 (298). Cp. Mart. x. 25, 4.

non invitis] 'to the satisfaction of the consuls who were bringing in the law.'

comitia primo quoque tempore haberi] 'that the several comitia should be held each at the first opportunity.' For *primo quoque tempore* cp. Phil. iii. 39, viii. 33; also note on 364, 1.

4. *paucis diebus illis*] 'a few days before.' Contrast *his diebus*, 'in the next few days,' 148, 11. For Scaurus cp. 143, 9. He was acquitted on September 2. The use of *partem* is a little strange ('side' for 'cause'), but is defended by C. F. W. Müller who adduces Att. ii. 21, 5 (48), Fam. xiii. 29, 7 (457). Dr. Reid defends *patrem*, the reading of M, as a παρὰ προσδοκίαν joke. Cicero says below (§ 5) that he does not know what he will say in favour of Scaurus in the bribery case: and it may very likely have been as difficult in the case for *repetundae*. From 144, 6, we can see how important a part of the defence the *patris memoria* might be. Dr. Reid thinks that it would be just like Cicero to slip in *patrem eius* for *eum* here; and it would suit the cynical irony of the whole paragraph. Sternkopf thinks there is a cynical allusion to the number of counsel employed by Scaurus. It was noted that he had no fewer than six (Asconius, p. 20) 'when I defended a bit of him.

Scaevolam] One of the suite of Q. Cicero

ad pr. Kal. Octobr., quo ego haec die scripsi, sublatis, populo tributim domi suae satis fecerat: sed tamen, etsi uberior liberalitas huius, gratior esse videbatur eorum qui occuparant. Cuperem vultum videre tuum cum haec legeres. Nam profecto spem habes nullam, haec negotia multarum nundinarum fore. Sed senatus hodie fuerat futurus, id est, Kal. Octobribus. Tam enim luciscit. Ibi loquetur praeter Antium et Favonium libere nemo; nam Cato aegrotat. De me nihil timueris, sed tamen promitto nihil. 5. [ep. XVI. 8.] Quid quaeris aliud? Iudicia credo. Drusus, Scaurus non fecisse videntur. Tres candidati fore rei putabantur, Domitius a Memmio, Messalla a Q. Pompeio Rufo, Scaurus a Triario aut a L. Caesare. 'Quid poteris, inquies, pro iis dicere?' Ne vivam, *si* scio. In illis quidem libris quos tu dilaudas nihil reperio.

in Asia, cp. Q. Fr. i. 2, 13 (53). He was very vehement as tribune: cp. Ἀρη πνέων 152, 6; 154, 4.

qui occuparant] Messalla and Domitius, who had been distributing their bribes at a time when Scaurus could not stand as a candidate, as he was under prosecution.

multarum nundinarum fore] 'that this kind of business can last for many weeks.' This seems to be the meaning; but we cannot find any place where *nundinae* is used in the sense of 'weeks,' except the familiar phrase *trinum nundinum*. *Spem* is used in the neutral sense of 'anticipation.' Sternkopf rightly sees no necessity to supply *non* before *nullam*. It has been also held that the reference may be to the money-lending transactions of Atticus, 'for assuredly you can have no expectation that this business will lead to much trafficking.' The jocular tone of the preceding clause might lend some support to this.

Antium] We hear of an Antius in Catullus 44, 11 *Nam, Sestianus dum volo esse conviva, Orationem in Antium petitorem Plenam veneni et pestilentiae legi*; also of an Antius who was proscribed by the triumvirs in 711 (43), but was saved by his wife, who wrapped him up inside a bundle of bed-clothes (cp. Appian B.C. iv. 39).

5. *In illis . . . libris*] The reference is to the treatise *De Oratore*.

quos tu dilaudas] So Victorius for the mss *quo studio laudas*: cp. Att. vi. 3, 3 (264) for *dilaudare*. Yet it is not to be denied that a defence could be made for *quos studio laudas*; for *studio* = *con amore*, cp. Rosc. Am. 91 *ut omnes intellegant me non studio accusare sed officio defendere*; Hor. Sat. i. 4, 78 '*laedere gaudes*' *inquit* '*et hoc studio pravus facis*.'

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150. TO HIS BROTHER QUINTUS (Q. Fr. III. 2).

ROME; OCTOBER 11; A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero Q. fratri scribit Gabinium reversum in urbem male acceptum et in senatu et a Memmio tribuno pl. in contionibus vexatum esse: tum de iudicio eius proxime futuro commemorat. Deinde qui de ambitu rei sint, quae comitiorum spes sit demonstrat.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

1. A. d. VI. Id. Octobr. Salvius Ostiam vesperi navi profectus erat cum iis rebus quas tibi domo mitti volueras. Eodem die Gabinium ad populum luculente calefecerat Memmius sic, ut Calidio verbum facere pro eo non licuerit. Postridie autem eius diei qui erat tum futurus, cum haec scribebam ante lucem, apud Catonem erat divinatio in Gabinium futura inter Memmium et Ti. Neronem et C. et L. Antonios M. F. Putabamus fore ut Memmio daretur, etsi erat Neronis mira contentio. Quid quaeris? Probe premitur, nisi noster Pompeius dis hominibusque invitis negotium everterit. 2. Cognosce nunc hominis audaciam et aliquid in re publica perdita delectare. Cum Gabinius, quacumque veniebat, triumphum se postulare dixisset subitoque bonus imperator noctu in urbem, hostium plane, invasisset, in senatum se non committebat.

1. *calefecerat*] 'warmed him,' that is, 'assailed him with vehement invective.' The word is perhaps chosen here for the sake of a play on the name of *Calidius*, who was counsel for Gabinius.

Memmius] a tribune of this year.

Postridie] This furnishes an excellent instance of the inconvenience arising from the Roman habit of regarding time, not from the writer's point of view, but his correspondent's. 'The day after to-morrow' becomes in epistolary language 'the day after the day which was about to arrive at the time when I wrote this letter just before dawn.' The natural way to have expressed the sentence would have been: 'the day after to-morrow; it is now nearly dawn as I write.' In beginning to read the letters, one finds that one has come unto a land in which it seemeth always (not afternoon, but) the day before yesterday.

divinatio] As only one accuser was allowed for a single offence—in case of a number of accusers coming forward—it was necessary to hold a preliminary trial to decide which was to conduct the case. This preliminary trial was called *divinatio*.

premitur] sc. Gabinius.

negotium everterit] 'turns the tables,' 'upsets the combination against Gabinius.'

2. *subitoque.*] that is, 'by a sudden change of purpose.' On the actions of Gabinius at this time, cp. Dio Cass. xxxix. 62.

hostium plane] Thus clearly showing that he knew Rome was a city of enemies to him, and giving evidence of his strategic skill by surprising the hostile fort by night. This is all ironical. Koch reads *hostium plenam*, denying that Cicero would have written what is in the manuscripts. On the same ground Wesenberg conjectures *hostilem in modum*.

Interim ipso decimo die, quo eum oportebat hostium *caesorum* numerum et militum renuntiare, inrepsit summa infrequentia. Cum vellet exire, a consulibus retentus est: introducti publicani. Homo undique saucius, cum a me maxime vulneraretur, non tulit et me trementi voce exsulem appellavit. Hic—o di! nihil umquam honorificentius nobis accidit—consurrexit senatus cum clamore ad unum, sic, ut ad corpus eius accederet: pari clamore atque impetu publicani. Quid quaeris? Omnes, tamquam si tu esses, ita fuerunt. Nihil hominum sermone foris clarius. Ego tamen *me* teneo ab accusando, vix mehercule, sed tamen teneo, vel quod nolo cum Pompeio pugnare—satis est quod instat de Milone—vel quod

ipso decimo die] On the tenth day after he entered the city. The rule was, that no one should have a triumph unless he had slain in one engagement 5000 enemies. But, Man. shrewdly observes, Gabinius had given up all thoughts of a triumph when he entered the city. Hence Man. conjectures that all governors returning from their provinces were obliged to make some statement before the senate as to the losses sustained by the enemy and by the Romans in whatever actions occurred during his governorship. The words of Valerius Maximus ii. 8, 1, are as follows:—*Ob levia proelia quidam imperatores triumphos sibi decerni desiderabant: quibus ut occurreretur lege cautum est ne quis triumpharet nisi qui quinque millia hostium una acie cecidisset . . . Ceterum ne tum praeclara lex cupiditate laureae oblitteraretur legis alterius adiutorio fulta est quam P. Marcius et M. Cato tribuni pl. tulerunt: poenam enim imperatoribus minatur qui aut hostium occisorum in proelio aut amissorum civium falsum numerum litteris senatui ausi essent referre iubetque eos, cum primum urbem intrassent, apud quaestores urbanos iurare de utroque numero vere ab iis senatui esse scriptum.*

Possibly we should read only *hostium* for *hostiarum* (see Adn. Crit.). We know that provincial governors were expected to write reports to the senate of any military actions which occurred during their term of office: cp. Pis. 38 *Quis unquam provinciam cum exercitu obtinuit qui nullas ad senatum litteras miserit*, and Verr. v. 9. We may conjecture that such a commander, on his return, would be expected to make a statement in the senate as to the military position in his province; though it must be confessed that there does not seem to be confirmatory evidence of this practice. To this Dr. Reid objects that there was so little fighting in the provinces that it is hardly likely such a law was made. On the other hand, he thinks that we may suppose that the far-reaching Lex Iulia Repetundarum embodied the conditions of a triumph of which Val. Max. informs us, and made them more stringent by the requirement of a report. This will, of course, require *hostium caesorum*.

publicani] of Syria, who could not collect their dues, owing to the depredations committed by the pirates during the absence of Gabinius, who was engaged in the unlawful enterprise of restoring Ptolemy: ἐπειδὴ οἱ Σύροι πολλὰ τοῦ Γαβινίου, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀπουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν λῃστῶν κακωθέντες, κατεβόησαν, οἵ τε τελῶναι μὴ δυνηθέντες τὰ τέλη δι' αὐτοὺς ἐσπρᾶξαι συχνὰ ἐπωφείλησαν, ὠργίζοντο . . καὶ ἑτοίμως εἶχον καταψηφίσασθαι αὐτοῦ (Dio Cass. xxxix. 59, 2).

saucius] 'wounded on every side.' This is our correction of †*atius* of the ms. The confusion between *c* and *t* occurs in almost every letter. Cp. *Servilius de repetundis saucius* (Fam. viii. 8, 3 (223)).

exsulem] Dio Cass. (xxxix. 60, 1) says absurdly that it was Pompey and Crassus during their consulship who taunted Cicero with having been exiled.

me teneo] Lamb. added *me*, but before *ab*. It seems impossible to omit it. The passage is not unlike Att. xiv. 12, 1 (715) *illuc refero*, where we must either add *me*, or alter to *referor*.

de Milone] Milo intended to stand for the consulship of 702 (52); and Cicero did not want to alienate Pompey's influence.

iudices nullos habemus. Ἀπότευγμα formido, addo etiam malevolentiam hominum, et timeo ne illi me accusante aliquid accedat, nec despero rem et sine me et non nihil per me confici posse. 3. De ambitu postulati sunt omnes, si consulatum petunt: a Memmio Domitius, a Q. Acutio, bono et erudito adolescente, Memmius, a Q. Pompeio Messalla, a Triario Scaurus. Magno res in motu est, propterea quod aut hominum aut legum interitus ostenditur. Opera datur ut iudicia ne fiant. Res videtur spectare ad interregnum. Consules comitia habere cupiunt: rei nolunt et maxime Memmius, quod Caesaris adventu se sperat futurum consulem. Sed mirum in modum iacet. Domitius cum Messalla certus esse videbatur, Scaurus refrixerat. Appius sine lege curiata confirmat se Lentulo nostro successurum: qui quidem mirificus illo die, quod paene praeterii, fuit in Gabinium: accusavit maiestatis: nomina data, cum ille

No supporter of Milo was more enthusiastic than Cicero: cp. 177, 3.

Ἀπότευγμα] 'a *fiasco*.'

accedat] 'lest he should gain an advantage through my being the prosecutor,' owing to the malevolence of Cicero's enemies: cp. Phil. i. 38 *huc si quid accesserit non tam mihi quam vobis accesserit*. *Accidat*, the reading of M, could not by itself = *commode accidat*; used absolutely it would rather mean *incommode accidat*; and this is the contrary to what Cicero plainly means to say. If we retain *accidat*, it will become necessary to emphasize *me accusante*, 'lest it should be owing to my accusation he be condemned,' that I should, owing to my great powers, appear plainly the cause of his condemnation, and thus incur the enmity of Pompey. For *aliquid alicui accidere* of being condemned in a prosecution cp. Mil. 58 and 99.

non nihil per me] by means of the advice which Cicero would give to the counsel for the prosecution.

3. *a Memmio*] This is C. Memmius the tribune (cp. § 1), not to be confounded with C. Memmius, the candidate for consulship. On these accusations, cp. also 149, 5.

rei nolunt] because they could not become candidates for the consulship while under accusation.

Caesaris adventu] Cp. 159, 3. This cannot mean Caesar's arrival in the neighbourhood of Rome, for the pro-consul of Gaul could not pass the Rubicon: still less his arrival inside the city which he could not enter, except as a *triumphator*, without forfeiting his *imperium*. Hence Man. thinks that *adventu* refers to the arrival of Caesar in Gallia Togata, that part of his province in which were *coloniae* and *municipia* invested with the franchise. Memmius hoped that Caesar would influence these in his favour, or even send some of his soldiers to support Memmius at the election. Cp. *Memmius Caesaris commendetur militibus*, 144, 6.

refrixerat] Cp. 149, 3, note. We should probably use a different metaphor, 'has lost ground.'

sine lege curiata] See note to 153, 25.

nomina data] sc. of the witnesses against Gabinius. So say the commentators. But is the reference not rather to the *nominis delatio* at which the accused had a series of questions put to him by the prosecutor for the purpose of making out a *primâ facie* case? See Greenidge, *Procedure*, p. 463. Silence did not mean a confession of guilt, and in any case a trial was always necessary prior to condemnation: cp. Verr. i. 25 *incognita (causa) condemnari nemo potest*. Boot (Obs. Crit. 37) has an idea that there is a reference to abusive terms having been applied to Gabinius by Appius, that he called him names: so Boot reads *nomina odiosa data*. Even if this is Ciceronian Latin, we think the addition improbable. But Boot may be right in saying 'testes non nominantur et saltem debuerat scribi *nomina edita* ut Madvigius in Emend. Liv. p. 345; apud Livium xxxix. 37, 12, *edidit collegae nomen* pro vulgato *dedit c. nomen* restituit.

verbum nullum. Habes forensia. Domi recte est: ipsa domus a redemptoribus tractatur non indiligenter.

151. TO HIS BROTHER QUINTUS (Q. FR. III. 3).

ROME; OCTOBER 21; A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero Q. fratri nuntiat de rebus domesticis non nulla, desiderat litteras eius; comitiorum dilationes commemorat, Gabinium de ambitu reum, Ciceronis Q. filii in rhetore audiendo diligentiam.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

1. Occupationum mearum tibi signum sit librari manus. Diem scito esse nullum, quo die non dicam pro reo. Ita, quidquid conficio aut cogito, in ambulationis tempus fere confero. Negotia se nostra sic habent, domestica vero, ut volumus. Valent pueri, studiose discunt, diligenter docentur, et nos et inter se amant. Expolitiones utriusque nostrum sunt in manibus: † sed tua ad perfectum iam res rustica Arcani et Lateri. Praeterea de aqua, de via nihil praetermisi quadam epistula quin enucleate ad te perscriberem. Sed me illa cura sollicitat angitque vehementer, quod dierum iam amplius L intervallo nihil a te, nihil a Caesare, nihil ex istis locis non modo litterarum sed ne rumoris quidem adfluxit. Me autem iam et mare istuc et terra sollicitat, neque desino, ut fit in amore, ea quae minime volo cogitare. Qua re non equidem iam te rogo ut ad me de te, de rebus istis scribas—numquam enim, cum potes,

ipsa domus] the material edifice itself; he had just used *domi* in the wider sense of 'at home.'

The date of this letter is fixed by Koerner (p. 55); Ep. 152 was written on Oct. 24 (152, 6), probably the day after the acquittal of Gabinius. That would fix the trial to Oct. 23: and this letter was written two days before (*triduo*, § 3).

1. †*sed . . . rustica*] No certain emendation of this passage has been made. The words *et tuae perfectae iam res rusticae* would represent the sense, though such a reading seems to present nothing to account for the corruption. This phrase *ad perfectum*, however, might perhaps possibly stand for *ad perfectum venit* (or *adest*), as such verbs of motion are not infrequently omitted in epistolary style: e.g. 145, 2 *Serius potius ad nos* (sc. *veni*) *dum plenior*: Att. xiv. 20, 5 (727) *Eram continuo Piliam salutaturus, deinde ad epulas Vestori navicula* (sc. *iturus*). As regards the building operations in question, cp. 148, 4–6, to which letter Cicero himself here refers his brother. There we have *urbana expolitio*, 'the doing up of the two brothers' town-houses,' contrasted with *res rusticae*, 'the works at Laterium and Arcanum'; and no doubt the meaning is the same here.

praetermittis—sed hoc te scire volo, nihil fere umquam me sic exspectasse ut, cum haec scribebam, tuas litteras. 2. Nunc cognosce ea quae sunt in re publica. Comitiorum cotidie singuli dies tolluntur obnuntiationibus, magna voluntate bonorum omnium: tanta invidia sunt consules propter suspicionem pactorum a candidatis praemiorum. Candidati consulares quattuor omnes rei: causae sunt difficiles, sed enitemur ut Messalla noster salvus sit, quod est etiam cum reliquorum salute coniunctum. Gabinium de ambitu reum fecit P. Sulla, subscribente privigno Memmio, fratre Caecilio, Sulla filio. Contra dixit L. Torquatus omnibusque libentibus non obtinuit. 3. Quaeris quid fiat de Gabinio? Sciemus de maiestate triduo: quo quidem in iudicio odio premitur omnium generum, maxime testibus caeditur: accusatoribus frigidissimis utitur: consilium varium, quaesitor gravis et firmus, Alfius, Pompeius vehemens in iudicibus rogandis. Quid futurum sit nescio, locum tamen illi in civitate non video. Animum praebeo ad illius perniciem moderatum, ad rerum eventum lenissimum. 4. Habes fere de omnibus rebus. Unum illud addam: Cicero tuus nosterque summe studiosus est Paeoni sui rhetoris, hominis, opinor, valde exercitati et boni. Sed nostrum instituendi genus esse paullo eruditius et

2. *quattuor omnes*] 'the whole four'; not *candidati consulares quattuor, omnes rei*, the usual reading. Cicero had already clearly told his brother several times that there were four candidates.

P. Sulla] This is the Sulla who was defended by Cicero in the summer of 692 (62).

privigno Memmio] C. Memmius the tribune. The other *subscriptores* were Sulla's cousin Caecilius, and his son Sulla.

Contra dixit] that is, in the *divinatio* as to who was to conduct the prosecution of Gabinius.

Torquatus] He had prosecuted Sulla eight years before *de vi* when Cicero undertook the defence of Sulla.

3. *caeditur*] This is the reading of M, which, if retained, must mean 'is being castigated by.' But Madvig's (A. C., p. 197) emendation *laeditur* is very attractive, and is strengthened by the addition of *maxime*, which goes well with *laeditur* ('he is chiefly damaged by witnesses'), but ill with *caeditur*, with which we should expect *acerrime*, or some such word. "One might say (adds Madvig) *a testibus concidi*; but *testibus caedi* is not a phrase at all (nihil omnino est)."

rogandis] 'in soliciting the favour of'; *rogare* used absolutely in this sense is rare.

locum .. illi] that is, he will certainly be sent into exile, if not on one charge, e. g. *maiestas*, then on another, *ambitus* or *res repetundae*.

rerum] 'as things may turn out.' Cicero says that he will not glory over the downfall of Gabinius, and will take in the easiest possible way any issue of the event, condemnation or acquittal. Madvig (l.c.) requires too great accuracy of antithesis when he thinks that *rerum* must refer to acquittal only. He proposes *alterum* or *laetum*, preferring the former. For *lenissimum*, cp. 160, 1 *lenissime tuli*.

4. *summe studiosus*] 'greatly devoted to.' We meet *summe studiosum*, Fam. iv. 3, 3 (494). This is Wesenberg's emendation of M, which has *summo studio est*. This, though a slightly unusual phrase with the objective genitive added, may yet be defended: cp. Brut. 237 *Murena mediocri ingenio sed magno studio rerum veterum*.

θετικώτερον non ignoras. Qua re neque ego impediri Ciceronis iter atque illam disciplinam volo, et ipse puer magis illo declamatorio genere duci et delectari videtur—in quo quoniam ipsi quoque fuimus, patiamur illum ire nostris itineribus (eodem enim perventurum esse confidimus), sed tamen, si nobiscum eum rus aliquo eduxerimus, in hanc nostram rationem consuetudinemque inducemus. Magna enim nobis a te proposita merces est quam certe nostra culpa numquam minus adsequemur. Quibus in locis et qua spe hiematurus sis ad me quam diligentissime scribas velim.

152. TO HIS BROTHER QUINTUS (Q. FR. III. 4).

ROME; OCTOBER 25; A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero Q. fratri de Gabinio absoluto perscribit et qua re eum nec accusarit nec defenderit sed tantum testimonium contra eum dixerit ostendit: addit de versibus Q. fratris et de bibliotheca.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

1. Gabinius absolutus est. Omnino nihil accusatore Lentulo subscriptoribusque eius infantius, nihil illo consilio sordidius. Sed tamen nisi incredibilis contentio, preces Pompei, dictaturae etiam rumor plenus timoris fuisset, ipsi Lentulo non respondisset, qui tamen, illo accusatore illoque consilio, sententiis condemnatus sit XXXII, cum LXX tulissent. Est omnino tam gravi fama hoc

θετικώτερον] lit. 'belonging to θέσις,' i. e. 'more abstract,' 'more argumentative,' or 'reasoned,' having no relation to individual persons or circumstances, a style of speaking more adapted for a judge than a jury, more addressed to the reason than to the feelings. Mr. Sihler quotes for θέσις Cic. Or. 46 *quaestio a propriis personis et temporibus ad universi generis rationem traducta appellatur* θέσις. Many θέσεις are to be found in Att. ix. 4, 2 (361).

Qua re . . . inducemus] We have punctuated this whole passage according to the text of Wes. The meaning is:—I should not like to interfere with Paeonius' system of instruction; the boy himself seems to take to the declamatory rather than to the argumentative style of rhetoric—indeed this is the school in which I was brought up myself, so we may let him follow in my steps—I am sure he will rise as high as ever I did—*yet* if I can get him away with me somewhere to the country, I will introduce him to my system, which you know is more argumentative than the system of Paeonius.

qua spe] that is, of promotion from Caesar.

1. *consilio sordidius*] *sordes* and *sordidus* are especially applied to describe the conduct of corrupt juries.

tulissent] sc. cum lxx iudices tulissent sententias: cp. note to 143, 4.

iudicium ut videatur reliquis iudiciis periturus et maxime de pecuniis repetundis. Sed vides nullam esse rem publicam, nullum senatum, nulla iudicia, nullam in ullo nostrum dignitatem. Quid plura de iudicibus? Duo praetorii sederunt, Domitius Calvinus, is aperte absolvit ut omnes viderent, et Cato, is diribitis tabellis de circulo se subduxit et Pompeio primus nuntiavit. 2. Aiunt non nulli, ut Sallustius, me oportuisse accusare. His ego iudicibus committerem? Quid essem, si me agente esse elapsus? Sed me alia moverunt. Non putasset sibi Pompeius de illius salute sed de sua dignitate mecum esse certamen: in urbem introisset, ad inimicitias res venisset, cum Aesernino Samnite Pacideianus comparatus viderer, auriculam fortasse mordicus abstulisset, cum Clodio quidem certe redisset in gratiam. Ego vero meum consilium, si praesertim tu non improbas, vehementer approbo. Ille, cum a me singularibus meis studiis ornatus esset cumque ego illi nihil deberem, ille mihi omnia, tamen in re publica me a se dissentientem non tulit—nihil dicam gravius—et minus potens eo tempore quid in me florentem posset ostendit. Nunc, cum ego ne curem quidem multum posse, res publica certe nihil possit, unus ille omnia possit, cum illo ipso contenderem? Sic enim faciendum fuisset. Non existimo te putare id mihi suscipiendum fuisse. 3. 'Alterutrum' inquit idem Sallustius; 'defen-

aperte absolvit] For a similar case in which a *iudex* allowed his vote (though by ballot) to be known, cp. Cato in the trial of Milo, Vell. ii. 47, 5 (*Milonem reum*) *M. Cato palam lata absolvit sententia.*

Cato] We cannot be sure who this Cato was. It is not probable that he was Cato Uticensis, who was praetor this year (§ 6); nor the C. Cato who was tribune in 698 (56). Possibly the name is a mistake for *Cotta*, who appears in 705 (49) to have already held the praetorship, when we find him governor of Sardinia: cp. 159, 6, and Att. x. 16, 3 (402).

diribitis tabellis] 'when the votes were counted': cp. Pis. 96 *an ego exspectem dum de te quinque et septuaginta tabellae diribeantur.*

2. *Sallustius*] Cp. 155, 1, and Index. Dio Cass. (xxxix. 62, 2) says that Cicero δεινότατα αὐτοῦ (sc. Gabinius) κατηγόρησεν. This is possibly due to a confusion with the attack which Cicero made on him in the senate (150, 2).

committerem] For this absolute use of *committere*, cp. Verr. iii. 137; iv. 16.

cum Aesernino] Cicero says the contest between him and Pompey would be like that between Pacideianus and Aeserninus. Pacideianus was the prince of gladiators; Aeserninus had none of his skill, but was very strong and very determined. In Tusc. iv. 48 Cicero, quoting Lucilius (136 Lachm.), speaks of the ferocious courage of Aeserninus. Cicero means here to say that, though the skill would be all on his side, the brute force of Pompey might inflict on him very serious injuries. We have in Pacideianus another character common to Cicero and Horace (Sat. ii. 7, 97).

3. *Alterutrum*] sc. *fecisses*; 'you should have done one thing or the other; if you refused to prosecute Gabinius, you should have defended him.' For the pluperf. subj. of neglected duty, cp. Att. ii. 1, 3 (27). It is strange that the protasis, 'if you refused to prosecute Gabinius,' is

disses idque Pompeio contendenti dedisses: etenim vehementer orabat.' Lepidum amicum Sallustium, qui mihi aut inimicitias putet periculosas subeundas fuisse aut infamiam sempiternam! Ego vero hac mediocritate delector, ac mihi illud iucundum est, quod, cum testimonium secundum fidem et religionem gravissime dixissem, reus dixit, si in civitate licuisset sibi esse, mihi se satis facturum, neque me quidquam interrogavit. 4. De versibus quos tibi a me scribi vis, deest mihi quidem opera, quae non modo tempus sed etiam animum vacuum ab omni cura desiderat; sed abest etiam ἐνθουσιασμός. Non enim sumus omnino sine cura venientis anni, etsi sumus sine timore. Simul et illud—sine ulla mehercule ironia loquor—tibi istius generis in scribendo priores partis tribuo quam mihi. 5. De bibliotheca tua Graeca supplenda, libris commutandis, Latinis comparandis, valde velim ista confici, praesertim cum ad meum quoque usum spectent. Sed ego mihi ipsi ista per quem agam non habeo: neque enim venalia sunt quae quidem placeant et confici nisi per hominem et peritum et diligentem non possunt. Chrysippo tamen imperabo et cum Tyrannione loquar. De fisco quid egerit Scipio quaeram. Quod videbitur rectum esse curabo. De Ascanione, tu vero quod voles facies: me nihil interpono. De suburbano, quod non properas laudo: ut habeas hortor. 6. Haec scripsi a. d. IX. Kalend. Novembr., quo die ludi committebantur, in Tusculanum proficiscens ducensque mecum Ciceronem meum in ludum discendi, non lusionis: ea re non longius quam vellem, quod Pomptino

neither expressed nor indicated. Possibly we should read *Tum alterum*. Junius seems to have felt this difficulty: for he suggests *alterum igitur*.

mediocritate] 'this middle course.' Here, as in Hor. Carm. ii. 10, 5, *mediocritas* means the keeping of a middle course. It rarely means 'mediocrity' in our sense of the word (Phil. ii. 2).

satis facturum] 'that he would repay me' for my kindness in not acting as prosecutor.

interrogavit] 'cross-questioned.' It was a token of respect not to cross-question a man. Such a course was held to show that a man's evidence seemed above question.

4. *opera*] 'leisure,' 'spare time,' often in Plautus: cp. Plaut. Merc. 286 *Dicam si videam tibi operam esse aut otium*. But here the context makes this sense inadequate. It rather means 'power (or 'opportunity') to do it.'

ἐνθουσιασμός] 'divine *afflatus*.' He calls this *animi alacritas* in the next letter to Quintus.

5. *quae quidem placeant*] 'I mean really desirable purchases.' The subjunctive is used because *placeant* implies a class—the *generic subjunctive*, as it is called.

fisco] This is probably the same transaction as is referred to in the next letter to Quintus, 155, 6, in the words *de aerario*, &c. But what it was we have no means of conjecturing.

Ascanione] probably a slave of Quintus.

6. *ea re*] 'not wishing to be further away from Rome for this reason,' &c. The reason is then given.

Pomptino] Cp. 154, 4.

ad triumphum a. d. IIII. Non. Novembr. volebam adesse. Etenim erit nescio quid negotioli. Nam Cato et Servilius praetores prohibituros se minantur, nec quid possint scio. Ille enim et Appium consulem secum habebit et praetores et tribunos pl. Sed minantur tamen, in primisque Ἄρῃ πνέων Q. Scaevola. Cura, mi suavissime et carissime frater, ut valeas.

153. TO P. LENTULUS (FAM. I. 9).

ROME; DECEMBER; A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

Sese excusans demonstrat cur in gratiam cum Caesare, Vatinio, Crasso redierit, de scriptis suis, de P. Lentuli rebus domesticis, de Q. fratris negotio, de suo in Lentulum studio, de Appii successione, de publicanis non offendendis.

M. CICERO S. D. P. LENTULO IMPERATORI.

1. Periucundae mihi fuerunt litterae tuae quibus intellexi te perspicere meam in te pietatem: quid enim dicam benevolentiam, cum illud ipsum gravissimum et sanctissimum nomen pietatis levius mihi meritis erga me tuis esse videatur? Quod autem tibi grata mea erga te studia scribis esse, facis tu quidem abundantia quadam amoris, ut etiam grata sint ea quae praetermitti sine nefario scelere non possunt. Tibi autem multo notior atque illustrior meus in te animus esset, si hoc tempore omni quo diiuncti fuimus et una et Romae fuissemus. 2. Nam in eo ipso, quod te ostendis esse facturum quodque et in primis potes et ego a te vehementer exspecto, in sententiis senatoriis et in omni actione atque adminis-

IIII] Cp. 154, 4. The mss give III.

The trial of Vatinius took place in August. It would take nearly two months for the news of that to reach Cilicia, and the same period for a letter to return. Hence this letter is to be placed in December. From the remarks in § 25 on the necessity Lentulus was under of vacating his province, we may also gather that this letter was written at the end of the year. See Koerner, pp. 61, 62. With this letter ought to be compared Cicero's defence of his political position as given in Planc. 91–94.

1. *pietatis*] 'devotion' or 'affection.'

facis . . . ut grata sint] 'you turn into favours, that is, acts *deserving* (*productive of*) gratitude, things which are bounden duties.' This meaning of *gratus* is common in the comic poets, e. g. *tum cum gratum mihi esse potuit nolui* (Ter. Heaut. 262); *ut grata mihi sint quae facio* (*omnia* Ter. Eun. 396).

hoc tempore omni] It was nearly three years. We see from the earlier letters of Fam. i. that Lentulus cannot have been present at the debates in the senate in Jan. 698 (56).

tratione rei publicae floruissemus:—de qua ostendam equidem paullo post qui sit meus sensus et status et rescribam tibi ad ea quae quaeris:—sed certe et ego te auctore amicissimo ac sapientissimo et tu me consiliario fortasse non imperitissimo, fideli quidem et benevolo certe usus esses:—quamquam tua quidem causa te esse imperatorem provinciamque bene gestis rebus cum exercitu victore obtinere, ut debeo, laetor:—sed certe qui tibi ex me fructus debentur, eos uberiores et praesentiores praesens capere potuisses. In eis vero ulciscendis quos tibi partim inimicos esse intellegis propter tuam propugnationem salutis meae, partim invidere propter illius actionis amplitudinem et gloriam, mirificum me tibi comitem praebuissem: quamquam ille perennis inimicus amicorum suorum, qui tuis maximis beneficiis ornatus in te potissimum fractam illam et debilitatam vim suam contulit, nostram vicem ultus est ipse sese. Ea est enim conatus quibus patefactis nullam sibi in posterum non modo dignitatis sed ne libertatis quidem partem reliquit. 3. Te autem etsi mallem in meis rebus expertum quam etiam in tuis,

2. *sed certe et ego*] *Sed* resumes after the parenthesis *de . . . quaeris*, and again after parenthesis *quamquam . . . laetor*. Cp. 102, 2 and § 16 below.

auctore . . . consiliario] Cp. Att. xiv. 9, 1 (712). The *auctor* guides the course of the recipient of his advice; the *consiliarius* merely suggests.

imperatorem] Lentulus had received the title *Imperator* for some trifling success against the robber hordes which infested his province. He afterwards obtained the honour of a triumph for the same achievements. Cp. Att. v. 21, 4 (250).

actionis] 'the magnificence and brilliancy of that episode,' that is, his restoration, which Lentulus helped to bring about.

ille perennis] This is usually explained as referring to C. Cato, who two years before had proposed that Lentulus should be recalled. Others suppose the consul Appius Claudius Pulcher, the brother of P. Clodius, to be so described. But the allusion is probably not to either of these. The person here covertly alluded to seems to us to be no less a person than Pompey. To this conclusion we are led by the fact—(1) that Cicero complains frequently of Pompey's perfidy towards himself; hence *ille perennis inimicus amicorum suorum*; (2) that Lentulus *did* confer great honour on Pompey, as he was one of the consuls who proposed the consular laws which gave Pompey the Corn Commissionership in 697 (57), 95, 3; (3) that this interpretation gives a meaning to *libertatis*, which is otherwise inexplicable, as may be seen by referring to Mr. Watson's note. The conduct of Pompey as regards the commission to restore Ptolemy was shifty and discreditable, and seems to have brought on him much disrepute. Cicero here says, 'now that all his duplicity stands disclosed, he has utterly forfeited not only the dignity, but even the independence of his political attitude.' Cp. 119, 3 *quae enim proposita fuerant . . . dignitas in sententiis dicendis*, libertas *in re publica capessenda*; cp. also below, § 7 *libertate*, and § 20 *cum se maximum fructum cepisse dicerent ex libertate mea*. Accordingly, *libertas* means 'the assumption of a bold (outspoken) demeanour in politics,' and that is what Pompey has forfeited. The reference might perhaps be held to point to Memmius; but Memmius was hardly of sufficient political importance to warrant such emphatic language on Cicero's part.

3. *etiam in tuis*] 'in your case as well' (as in mine).

tamen in molestia gaudeo eam fidem cognosse hominum non ita magna mercede quam ego maximo dolore cognoram. De qua ratione tota iam videtur mihi exponendi tempus dari, ut tibi rescribam ad ea quae quaeris. 4. Certiorem te per litteras scribis esse factum me cum Caesare et cum Appio esse in gratia, teque id non reprehendere ascribis. Vatinium autem scire te velle ostendis quibus rebus adductus defenderim et laudarim. Quod tibi ut planius exponam, altius paullo rationem consiliorum meorum repetam necesse est.

Ego me Lentule, initio, . . . rerum atque actionum tuarum, non solum meis sed etiam rei publicae restitutum putabam, et, quoniam tibi incredibilem quemdam amorem et omnia in te ipsum summa ac singularia studia deberem, rei publicae quae te in me restituendo multum adiuvisset eum certe me animum merito ipsius debere arbitrabar, quem antea tantum modo communi officio civium, non aliquo erga me singulari beneficio debitum praestitissem. Hac me mente fuisse et senatus ex me te consule audivit et tu in nostris sermonibus collocutionibusque ipse vidisti. 5. Etsi iam primis temporibus illis multis rebus meus offendebatur animus, cum te agente de reliqua nostra dignitate aut occulta non nullorum odia aut ob-

4. *laudarim*] 'gave testimony to his character.'

. . . *rerum*] Some word should be inserted before *rerum*. Cicero here says that, when restored, as the result of the steps taken by Lentulus, at the very beginning of his career (*initio*) as a restored exile, he looked on himself as restored not only to the bosom of his family, but to the service of his country. He came back with his heart full of a new sense of loyalty to the country which had recalled him; and he goes on to tell what discouragements he had to meet. Boot saw (Obs. Crit., p. 4) that another word on which *rerum atque actionum* should depend must be introduced; for if *rerum atque actionum* depended on *initio*, there would be a contradiction. Cicero would then speak of himself as *restored* at a time when the earliest steps towards his restoration were being taken. *Initio* is the abl. of time; it means the same as *primis temporibus illis* in § 5; and we find *initio* in the same sense in Fam. vi. 6, 4 (488). Boot suggests *vi* or *cursu* as the word to be introduced, but *eventum* is used above, Att. iii. 8, 4 (64), and *evento* may have been omitted after *initio*, either through its broad resemblance to *initio*, or from a supposed incompatibility between the two words.

The chief objection to *evento* is that the word is so very rare in Cicero that it is hardly one that should be introduced by conjecture without some manuscript guidance. Sternkopf ingeniously, and perhaps rightly, suggests that we should alter *initio* into *beneficio* ('thanks to'), comparing Q. Fr. i. 1, 6 (30); or add that word after *initio*.

aliquo] This, the reading of all the mss, has been changed to *alicui* by Orelli. But *aliquo* is perfectly right, as will be at once seen when the *rationale* of the passage is examined. Cicero says he now owes to the State *merito ipsius* (abl.), 'by reason of its own deserts,' the same feelings which he displayed before as being due, '*by reason of* (i.e. in discharge of) the common duty of all citizens, not *by reason of* (i.e. as a return for) any signal favour towards himself.' *Alicui* actually spoils the sense, and contravenes the tradition of the manuscripts. For the ablative, see note on *beneficio*, § 6.

scura in me studia cernebam. Nam neque de monumentis meis ab iis adiutus es a quibus debuisti, neque de vi nefaria qua cum fratre eram domo expulsus, neque hercule in iis ipsis rebus quae quamquam erant mihi propter rei familiaris naufragia necessariae, tamen a me minimi putabantur, in meis damnis ex auctoritate senatus sarciendis eam voluntatem quam exspectarem praestiterunt. Quae cum viderem—neque erant obscura—non tamen tam acerba mihi haec accidebant quam erant illa grata quae fecerant. 6. Itaque quamquam et Pompeio plurimum te quidem ipso predicatore ac teste debebam et eum non solum beneficio sed amore etiam et perpetuo quodam iudicio meo diligebam, tamen non reputans quid ille vellet in omnibus meis sententiis de re publica pristinis permanebam. 7. Ego sedente Cn. Pompeio, cum ut laudaret P. Sestium introisset in urbem dixissetque testis Vatinius me fortuna et felicitate C. Caesaris commotum illi amicum esse coepisse, dixi me M. Bibuli fortunam, quam ille adflictam putaret, omnium triumphis victoriisque anteferre, dixique eodem teste alio loco eosdem esse qui Bibulum exire domo prohibuissent et qui me coëgissent: tota vero interrogatio mea nihil habuit nisi reprehensionem illius tribunatus:

5. *monumentis meis*] This allusion has been sometimes misunderstood. Müller supposes a reference to Q. Fr. i. 1, 26 (30); but this is quite inconsistent with the context, which plainly refers to the period after his restoration. It seems most probable that the *monumentis meis* here spoken of are the same as the *meum monumentum* of § 15. Now this cannot have been the colonnade of Catulus, for the statue of Liberty which Clodius erected on its site was demolished by order of the senate; but we read (§ 15) that the monument thus spoken of was allowed to bear an inscription containing the bloody letters of Clodius' hostile name. We must therefore suppose, as Lange does (iii. 333), that the words refer to a building erected by Cicero in his consulship by order of the senate, to commemorate the suppression of the Catilinarian conspiracy: the original inscription must have been effaced by Clodius, and another bearing his own name substituted, which latter seems strangely to have been allowed to remain (§ 15). It is perhaps to this history that reference is also made in 120, 2. See note there.

haec] 'their present unsympathetic conduct.'

illa . . . quae fecerant] 'their past services' (in bringing about my restoration).

6. *beneficio*] the *ablativus causae*, very common in Cicero when the cause is an attribute or quality in the subject, as *cum alii me suspicione sui periculi non defenderent*, Sest. 46; *videmus alios oratores inertia nihil scripsisse*, Brut. 91; but not so common when the cause lies outside the subject, as here; for the latter, Draeger (I², § 228, 2, p. 545) says he can cite only two examples from Cicero; *regale civitatis genus non regni quam regis vitiis repudiatum est*, De Leg. iii. 15; *significarunt se beneficio novo memoriam veteris doloris abiecisse*, Phil. i. 30. The present is, perhaps, a better example than either. *Amore* and *iudicio* are causal ablatives of the common kind.

sententiis . . . pristinis] the optimate policy.

7. *sedente*] present in court, to give testimony to the character (*laudare*) of Sestius.

loco] 'another passage.' The remarks about Bibulus mentioned here are not found in the oration as we have it.

interrogatio] The speech *in Vatinium*.

tribunatus] of Vatinius, in 695 (59).

in quo omnia dicta sunt libertate animoque maximo de vi, de auspiciis, de donatione regnorum, neque vero hac in causa modo sed constanter saepe in senatu. 8. Quin etiam Marcellino et Philippo consulibus Nonis Aprilibus mihi est senatus adsensus ut de agro Campano frequenti senatu Idibus Maiis referretur; num potui magis in arcem illius causae invadere aut magis oblivisci temporum meorum, meminisse actionum? Hac a me sententia dicta magnus animorum motus est factus cum eorum quorum oportuit, tum illorum etiam quorum numquam putaram. 9. Nam hoc senatus consulto in meam sententiam facto Pompeius, cum mihi nihil ostendisset se esse offensum, in Sardiniam et in Africam profectus est eoque itinere Lucam ad Caesarem venit. Ibi multa de mea sententia questus est Caesar, quippe qui etiam Ravennae Crassum ante vidisset ab eoque in me esset incensus. Sane moleste Pompeium id ferre constabat, quod ego cum audissem ex aliis, maxime ex meo fratre cognovi. Quem cum in Sardinia Pompeius paucis post diebus quam Luca discesserat convenisset, 'Te,' inquit, 'ipsum cupio: nihil opportunius potuit accidere: nisi cum Marco fratre diligenter egeris, dependendum tibi est quod mihi pro illo spopondisti.' Quid multa? questus est graviter: sua merita commemoravit: quid egisset saepissime de actis Caesaris cum ipso meo fratre quidque sibi is de me recepisset in memoriam redegit, seque quae de mea salute egisset voluntate Caesaris egisse ipsum meum fratrem testatus est: cuius causam dignitatemque mihi ut commendaret, rogavit ut eam ne oppugnarem, si nollem aut non possem tueri. 10. Haec cum ad me frater pertulisset et cum tamen Pompeius ad me cum mandatis

in quo] = *in qua re*, i. e. *reprehensione*: cp. *hoc* = *hac re*, Att. iv. 17, 3 (149); Ep. xii. 13; and § 16 below.

donatione regnorum] See Vat. 29; see also Att. ii. 9, 1 (36), where Pompey seems to be charged with the same misdemeanours. Here Vatinius seems to be accused of high-handed acts committed no doubt under Caesar's protection. *de vi* refers especially to the expulsion of Bibulus from the *forum*; *auspiciis* to the fact that Caesar's laws were passed in defiance of the auspices.

8. *illius causae*] the triumvir's policy; *temporum* means 'the requirements of my own position'; *actionum* 'my past career.'

eorum . . . illorum] Billerbeck supposes that *eorum* refers to the triumvirs, and *illorum* to the leaders of the optimates, to whom Cicero refers as *certorum hominum* in § 10. But perhaps Watson is right (owing to what follows in § 9) to take *eorum* as referring to Caesar and Crassus, and *illorum* to Pompey and his immediate friends. So, too, Böckel and Schirmer.

9. *Te ipsum cupio*] like *te ipsum quaerebam*, a formula for a welcome greeting.

dependendum] metaphorical, 'you went bail for his fidelity to us; you will have to pay up for him unless you talk him over.'

10. *tamen*] Madvig would read *etiam*,

Vibullium misisset ut integrum mihi de causa Campana ad suum reditum reservarem, collegi ipse me et cum ipsa quasi re publica collocutus sum, ut mihi tam multa pro se perpesso atque perfuncto concederet ut officium meum memoremque in bene meritos animum fidemque fratris mei praestarem, eumque quem bonum civem semper habuisset bonum virum esse pateretur. In illis autem meis actionibus sententiisque omnibus quae Pompeium videbantur offendere certorum hominum, quos iam debes suspicari, sermones referebantur ad me: qui cum illa sentirent in re publica quae ego agebam semperque sensissent, me tamen non satis facere Pompeio Caesaremque inimicissimum mihi futurum gaudere se aiebant. Erat hoc mihi dolendum: sed multo illud magis quod inimicum meum—meum autem? immo vero legum, iudiciorum oti, patriae, bonorum omnium—sic amplexabantur, sic in manibus habebant, sic fovebant, sic me praesente osculabantur, non illi quidem ut mihi stomachum facerent quem ego funditus perdidi, sed certe ut facere se arbitrarentur. Hic ego, quantum humano consilio efficere potui, circumspectis rebus meis omnibus rationi-

but *tamen* is quite right, 'nevertheless' (as if one messenger, and that my brother, was not enough).

Vibullium] cp. 148, 18.

integrum] (the right of) 'free action'; cp. Cael. in Fam. viii. 6, 5 (242) *De Dolabella integrum tibi reserves suadeo.* Cicero uses the singular neuter of even abstract adjectives as substantives, chiefly to express ethical conceptions, as *honestum, beatum = beatitudo* (Fin. v. 84); but sometimes also in other cases, as *dilucidum breve probabile illustre suave*, Or. part. 19; generally with a pronoun, as *nostrum illud sollemne*, Att. vii. 6, 1 (297); *canorum illud in voce*, De Sen. 28 (Draeg. I², p. 53).

praestarem] used somewhat zeugmatically 'to discharge my duty, show my gratitude, and redeem my brother's pledge for me.'

bonum virum] Cicero begs the State, whom he personifies, to let one whom she had always regarded as an honest citizen now show himself an honest man (by fulfilling his brother's pledge that he would support the triumvirs). That is, he says to the State, 'I have always been true to you as a member of the community; now let me be true to my duty as a man.' For *bonus*, 'honest,' cp. *iustitia ex qua viri boni nominantur*, Off. i. 20; *cum is sponsionem fecisset ni vir bonus esset*, ib. iii. 77. In Opt. Gen. 20 we find *nec vir bonus nec bene meritus de civitate.* With this whole passage cp. Planc. 92 *res vero ipsa publica, si loqui posset, ageret mecum, ut, quoniam sibi servissem semper, nunquam mihi, fructus autem ex sese non, ut oportuisset, laetos et uberes, sed magna acerbitate permixtos tulissem, ut iam mihi servirem, consulerem meis: se non modo satis habere a me, sed etiam vereri ne parum mihi pro eo, quantum a me haberet, reddidisset.*

certorum hominum] 'men that I wot of'; see on 114, 1. These are the jealous optimates of whom Cicero speaks with bitterness in 90, 8: 91, 5 (*qui mihi pinnas inciderant*).

facere se arbitrarentur] sc. *stomachum.* Cicero, like Hamlet, say she lacks gall to make oppression bitter; but the conduct of his former friends toward Clodius was evidently dictated by a desire to rouse the indignation of Cicero. Cp. *facere dolorem*, Att. xi. 8, 2 (422); *disiunctionem*, Lael. 76.

circumspectis . . . omnium] 'I made a careful review of my whole position, and, on balancing the items, arrived with care at the following sum-total' (Jeans).

busque subductis summam feci cogitationum mearum omnium, quam tibi, si potero, breviter exponam.

11. Ego si ab improbis et perditis civibus rem publicam teneri viderem, sicut et Cinneis temporibus scimus et non nullis aliis accidisse, non modo praemiis, quae apud me minimum valent, sed ne periculis quidem compulsus ullis, quibus tamen moventur etiam fortissimi viri, ad eorum causam me adiungerem, ne si summa quidem eorum in me merita constarent. Cum autem in re publica Cn. Pompeius princeps esset vir, is qui hanc potentiam et gloriam maximis in rem publicam meritis praestantissimisque rebus gestis esset consecutus cuiusque ego dignitatis ab adulescentia fautor, in praetura autem et in consulatu adiutor etiam exstitissem, cumque idem auctoritate et sententia per se, consiliis et studiis tecum me adiuvisset meumque inimicum unum in civitate haberet inimicum, non putavi famam inconstantiae mihi pertimescendam, si quibusdam in sententiis paullum me immutassem meamque voluntatem ad summi viri de meque optime meriti dignitatem adgregassem. 12. In hac sententia complectendus erat mihi Caesar, ut vides, in

11. *Cinneis temporibus*] This is the reading of G. *Meis*, the reading of M, which has been universally accepted hitherto, is really without meaning. It cannot mean 'within my own memory,' for then Cicero must have written *nonnullorum aliorum*, instead of *nonnullis aliis*. It cannot refer to his consulate, for Catiline could not at any time have been said *tenere remp.* Now *Cinneis temporibus*, 'in the time of Cinna,' gives a perfect sense, as is at once apparent. But it will be said *Cinnanus* is the proper adj. from Cinna. It is true that *Cinnanus* is the form used not only by Cicero (e. g. De Domo, 83) but by Velleius Paterculus, ii. 24, 4; Valerius Maximus, iv. 7, 5; v. 3, 3; Suetonius, Calig. 60, and even Nepos Vita Attici, 2. But Streicher has shown that the form *Cinneus* occurs frequently in ancient inscriptions (*Comment. Philol. Ienenses*, vol. iii., p. 141). We may accordingly assume that, though in later times the form *Cinnanus* alone was used, in earlier times *Cinnanus* and *Cinneus* existed as alternative formations from the proper name *Cinna*.

compulsus] 'under the pressure of ambition or fear'; *compulsus* should not be rendered 'compelled'; it is never so colourless a word as 'compelled'; but always contains, or at least suggests, a metaphor.

constarent] 'should stand recorded.' This use of *constare* as a stronger form of *esse*, implying existence as opposed to non-existence, is very rare, except in Cicero and Lucretius: cp. *si ipsa mens constare potest vacans corpore*, N. D. i. 25.

princeps esset vir, is qui] The usual punctuation is *princeps esset, vir is qui*; but Wes. rightly observes, 'Latini non dicunt *is vir qui* nedum *vir is qui*.' On the other hand, with the punctuation here given, *princeps vir* is unusual; but we have *principibus viris* in Hor. Ep. i. 17, 35, and *principes feminae* in Plin. H. N. viii., § 119.

praetura . . consulatu] In his praetorship Cicero had supported the Manilian law, and in his consulship he had proposed a *supplicatio* in honour of Pompey's successes against Mithridates.

exstitissem] 'stood forward as.' In good Latin *exsistere* always means 'to *come into* existence,' not 'to *be in* existence,' like our word 'exist.'—Reid, Acad. i. 23.

adgregassem] 'had contributed my zeal, too, to the furtherance of his dignity.' The word is stronger than *adiungere*.

coniuncta et causa et dignitate. Hic multum valuit cum vetus amicitia quam tu non ignoras mihi et Quinto fratri cum Caesare fuisse, tum humanitas eius ac liberalitas brevi tempore et litteris et officiis perspecta nobis et cognita. Vehementer etiam res ipsa publica me movit quae mihi videbatur contentionem, praesertim maximis rebus a Caesare gestis, cum illis viris nolle fieri et ne fieret vehementer recusare. Gravissime autem me in hac mente impulit et Pompei fides quam de me Caesari dederat, et fratris mei quam Pompeio. Erant praeterea haec animadvertenda in civitate quae sunt apud Platonem nostrum scripta divinitus, 'quales in re publica principes essent, tales reliquos solere esse civis.' Tenebam memoria nobis consulibus ea fundamenta iacta iam ex Kalendis Ianuariis confirmandi senatus ut neminem mirari oporteret Nonis Decembribus tantum vel animi fuisse in illo ordine vel auctoritatis. Idemque memineram nobis privatis usque ad Caesarem et Bibulum consules, cum sententiae nostrae magnum in senatu pondus haberent, unum fere sensum fuisse bonorum omnium. 13. Postea, cum tu Hispaniam citeriorem cum imperio obtineres neque res publica consules haberet sed mercatores provinciarum et seditionum servos ac ministros, iecit quidam casus caput meum quasi certaminis causa in mediam contentionem dissensionemque civilem. Quo in discrimine cum mirificus senatus, incredibilis Italiae totius, singularis omnium bonorum consensus in me tuendo exstitisset, non dicam quid acciderit—multorum est enim et varia culpa—tantum dicam brevi, non mihi exercitum sed duces defuisse. In quo, ut

12. *brevi tempore*] 'within a short time'; cp. Att. ii. 9, 2 (36) and Rosc. Am. 74 *Romam multis annis non venit*; more usual with *in*, or the addition of the pronouns *hic*, *ille*, as *his annis quadringentis*, 'within the last 400 years,' De Rep. i. 58.

in hac mente] This is the reading of the codices, which Streicher (*Comment. Philol. Ienenses*, vol. iii., p. 185) justly defends against *in hanc mentem*, the correction of M^2. *In hac mente* is certainly the more difficult reading to explain, and therefore the more likely to be right. *Impulit* caused the change of the ablative to the accusative. But this use of the ablative is common enough: *in hac mente* = 'when I was in this state of mind'; cp. Fam. iii. 11, 4 (265) *in summis tuis occupationibus*; Cluent. 25 *in summo timore omnium*.

tales] The passage to which Cicero is supposed to refer is Plat. Legg. iv. 711 C: *μηδεὶς ὑμᾶς πειθέτω, ὦ φίλοι, ἄλλῃ θᾶττον καὶ ῥᾷον μεταβάλλειν ἄν ποτε πόλιν καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἢ τῇ τῶν δυναστευόντων ἡγεμονίᾳ.*

13. *obtineres*] as propraetor, 695 (59).

mercatores provinciarum] 'province-mongers' (Jeans). Gabinius and Piso are meant.

caput meum] There does not seem to be any allusion here to *caput* = 'civil life'; *caput meum* is merely 'myself' with a certain suggestion of pity, 'my unhappy self,' as Mr. Jeans well renders it.

senatus] is, of course, the genitive.

ut iam] 'supposing for the sake of

iam sit in iis culpa qui me non defenderunt, non minor est in iis qui reliquerunt: et, si accusandi sunt si qui pertimuerunt, magis etiam reprehendendi si qui se timere simularunt. Illud quidem certe nostrum consilium iure laudandum est, qui meos civis et a me conservatos et me servare cupientis, spoliatos ducibus servis armatis obiici noluerim declararique maluerim quanta vis esse potuisset in consensu bonorum, si iis pro me stante pugnare licuisset, cum adflictum excitare potuissent. Quorum quidem animum tu non perspexisti solum, cum de me ageres, sed etiam confirmasti atque tenuisti. 14. Qua in causa—non modo non negabo sed etiam semper et meminero et praedicabo libenter—usus es quibusdam nobilissimis hominibus fortioribus in me restituendo quam fuerant iidem in tenendo: qua in sententia si constare voluissent, suam auctoritatem simul cum salute mea recuperassent. Recreatis enim bonis viris consulatu tuo et constantissimis atque optimis actionibus tuis excitatis, Cn. Pompeio praesertim ad causam adiuncto, cum etiam Caesar rebus maximis gestis, singularibus ornatus et novis honoribus ac iudiciis senatus ad auctoritatem eius ordinis adiungeretur, nulli improbo civi locus ad rem publicam violandam esse potuisset. 15. Sed attende, quaeso, quae sint consecuta. Primum illa furia muliebrium religionum, qui non pluris fecerat Bonam Deam quam tris sorores, impunitatem est illorum sententiis adsecutus, qui cum tribunus pl. poenas a seditioso civi per bonos viros iudicio persequi vellet, exemplum praeclarissimum in posterum vindicandae seditionis de re publica sustulerunt:

argument' (lit. 'for the moment'): cp. Att. viii. 3, 5 (333). This use of *iam* was first pointed out by Madvig in Fin. iv. 66: cp. Balb. 37; De Divin. ii. 33. See also Munro on Lucr. i. 968. We find *iam ut* in this sense in Liv. v. 54, 6 and Caesar B. G. iii. 9, 6.

15. *illa furia*] The ms gives *illa furta*. Bandinelli conjectured *furia*: cp. Vatin. 33 *furiam patriae* (also applied to Clodius). The conjecture of Lambinus *ille fur* would give a good enough sense; Clodius might be called *fur muliebrium religionum* in the same sense in which Verres is called *sacrorum omnium et religionum hostis praedoque*, Verr. iv. 75. Clodius was a thief of (the knowledge of) the sacred rites of the Bona Dea. Perhaps Cicero wrote *illa furia, fur muliebrium religionum*. But it can hardly be doubted that *furia* is right. Cicero repeatedly applies the word to Clodius: cp. 148, 11; Sest. 33, 39; Vatin. 40; Harusp. resp. 12 *furia patriae*; De Domo 102: cp. Planc. 86 *furialis illa vox*. *Furia* with a genitive of the thing would seem to mean 'a wild spirit effecting the ruin of that thing': cp. *furia patriae*, and Verg. Aen. ii. 573 (of Helen), *Troiae et patriae communis Erinys*.

illorum] the senators, not the *iudices*: cp. Sest. 95 *hic* (*Milo*) . . . *accusare eum* (*Clodium*) *moderate, a quo ipse nefarie accusatur, per senatus auctoritatem non est situs*. The senate apparently assented to the edicts of Metellus, Appius, Claudius, and Serranus (cp. Sest. 89) forbidding the trial of Clodius until after the election of quaestors: cp. Dio Cass. xxxix. 7.

tribunus] Milo; or possibly Racilius.

iidemque postea non meum monumentum—non enim illae manubiae meae sed operis locatio mea fuerat—monumentum vero senatus hostili nomine et cruentis inustum litteris esse passi sunt. Qui me homines quod salvum esse voluerunt, est mihi gratissimum: sed vellem non solum salutis meae, quem ad modum medici, sed, ut aliptae, etiam virium et coloris rationem habere voluissent: nunc, ut Apelles Veneris caput et summa pectoris politissima arte perfecit, reliquam partem corporis inchoatam reliquit, sic quidam homines in capite meo solum elaborarunt, reliquum corpus imperfectum ac rude reliquerunt. 16. In quo ego spem fefelli non modo invidorum sed etiam inimicorum meorum, qui de uno acerrimo et fortissimo viro meoque iudicio omnium magnitudine animi et constantia praestantissimo, Q. Metello L. F., quondam falsam opinionem acceperunt, quem post reditum dictitant fracto animo et demisso fuisse—(est vero probandum, qui et summa voluntate cesserit et egregia animi alacritate afuerit neque sane redire curarit, eum ob id ipsum fractum fuisse, in quo cum omnis homines tum M. illum Scaurum singularem virum constantia et gravitate superasset!)—sed, quod de illo acceperant aut etiam suspicabantur, de me idem cogitabant, abiectiore animo me futurum, cum res publica maiorem etiam mihi animum quam umquam habuissem

manubiae] See above on *de monumentis meis*, § 5, cp. De Domo 102, 114. He contrasts his building with the colonnade of Catulus, which was erected on the money produced by the sale of the spoils of the Cimbric war: cp. Harusp. resp. 58 *vestris monumentis suum nomen inscripsit.*

medici . . . aliptae] cp. Caelius Aurelianus, Salut. praec. 6 *medicorum . . . est sanitatem corporis custodire, pulcritudinem autem aliptarum.*

capite] With an allusion probably to the political sense of *caput* = 'civil status.'

16. *In quo*] = *in qua re.* This usage is very common in Cicero, even after a feminine substantive; e.g. *promulgationem . . . in quo*, Att. iii. 23, 1 (83). A list of examples is given by Dr. Reid on Acad. i. 32.

Q. Metello] Cicero has already instituted a comparison between this Metellus and himself, Att. i. 16, 4 (22), where see the note. The meaning of the passage is:—'Just as the public thought that Metellus' spirit was broken by his exile—in which opinion they were quite wrong—so they fancied that my spirit would be broken after my exile; but in this surmise they were still more mistaken, inasmuch as the circumstances of my return had given me more courage than ever.' Metellus Numidicus refused to take the oath to observe faithfully the agrarian law of Saturninus. The law enjoined this on the senators on pain of losing their senatorial seat. Metellus went into voluntary exile; but, after the death of Saturninus, he was recalled by a tribunician law. Cicero often draws a comparison between his own case and that of Metellus, Sest. 37, 101; Planc. 89: Pis. 20: Balb. 11: Post. red. in Sen. 38.

M. illum Scaurum] Metellus is said to surpass Scaurus because, as it seems, Scaurus did take the oath for refusing which Cicero praises Metellus so much, Sest. 37, 101. Scaurus was *princeps senatus* for a long time, and eminent for *gravitas.*

sed] resumptive after a parenthesis.

daret, quae declarasset se non potuisse me uno civi carere, cumque Metellum unius tribuni plebis rogatio, me universa res publica duce senatu, comitante Italia, promulgantibus omnibus *magistratibus*, te ferente consule, comitiis centuriatis, cunctis ordinibus, hominibus incumbentibus, omnibus denique suis viribus recuperavisset. 17. Neque vero ego mihi postea quidquam adsumpsi neque hodie adsumo quod quemquam malevolentissimum iure possit offendere : tantum enitor ut neque amicis neque etiam alienioribus opera, consilio, labore desim. Hic meae vitae cursus offendit eos fortasse qui splendorem et speciem huius vitae intuentur, sollicitudinem autem et laborem perspicere non possunt. Illud vero non obscure queruntur, in meis sententiis quibus ornem Caesarem quasi desciscere me *a* pristina causa. Ego autem cum illa sequor quae paullo ante proposui, tum hoc non in postremis de quo coeperam exponere. Non offendes eumdem bonorum sensum, Lentule, quem reliquisti : qui confirmatus consulatu nostro, *non* numquam postea interruptus, adflictus ante te consulem, recreatus abs te, totus est nunc ab iis a quibus tuendus fuerat derelictus, idque non solum fronte atque vultu, quibus simulatio facillime sustinetur, declarant ei qui tum nostro illo statu optimates nominabantur sed etiam sensu saepe iam tabellaque docuerunt. 18. Itaque tota iam sapien-

quae declarasset] *quae* not *cum* is certainly the right reading here, the clause *quae . . . carere* not being co-ordinate with the other clauses introduced by *cum*.

unius tribuni] Q. Calidius, Planc. 69.

te ferente] As the reference seems to be to the passing of the law at the *comitia centuriata* on the 4th of August, not to the previous motions of Lentulus in the senate on January 1st or in July, it appears necessary to read with Lehmann (Quaest. Tull., p. 55) *te ferente* for *referente* ; cp. Pis. 35 *De me cum omnes magistratus promulgassent . . . legem comitiis centuriatis tulit P. Lentulus consul de collegae Q. Metelli sententia*, on the basis of which passage Lehmann adds *magistratibus* after *omnibus*. For *omnibus* after *promulgantibus* Schütz reads *octo tribunis*, and transposes *referente consule* to precede *promulgantibus*. But even if Schütz's emendation be accepted, the transposition is hardly necessary. It was on the strength of the bill of the eight tribunes that Lentulus made his motion on Jan. 1st. But it would be desirable to read *referente <te> consule*.

17. *adsumpsi*] 'take upon myself,' do what ought rather be done by another; cp. Sull. 84 ; Planc. 56.

Hic . . . cursus] His choice of a forensic life.

Illud] introduces a new subject of complaint = 'the following' : rather confusingly, in the next sentence *illa* refers to the subjects already treated, while *hoc* is 'the following.'

non numquam] 692–694 (62–60).

ante te consulem] 695, 696 (59, 58).

nostro illo statu] 'under that régime of ours.'

sensu] This word, which is found in all the mss, was changed by Man. to *sententia* ; and the conjecture of Man. has been accepted by every editor to Klotz. Yet Cicero would certainly have said *sententiis tabellisque* if he had meant 'their votes in the senate and as jurymen.' Moreover, *sensu* gives an excellent sense. The expression *fronte ac vultu* refers to the feeling which they professed

tium civium, qualem me et esse et numerari volo, et sententia et voluntas mutata esse debet. Id enim iubet idem ille Plato quem ego vehementer auctorem sequor, 'tantum contendere in re publica quantum probare tuis civibus possis: vim neque parenti nec patriae adferre oportere.' Atque hanc quidem ille causam sibi ait non attingendae rei publicae fuisse, quod, cum offendisset populum Atheniensem prope iam desipientem senectute cumque eum nec persuadendo nec *nisi* cogendo regi posse vidisset, cum persuaderi posse diffideret, cogi fas esse non arbitraretur. Mea ratio fuit alia, quod neque desipiente populo nec integra re mihi ad consulendum capesseremne rem publicam implicatus tenebar; sed laetatus tamen sum quod mihi liceret in eadem causa et mihi utilia et cuivis bono recta defendere. Huc accessit commemoranda quaedam et divina Caesaris in me fratremque meum liberalitas: qui mihi quascumque res iniret tuendus esset: nunc in tanta felicitate tantisque victoriis,

(cf. Q. Fr. i. 1, 15 (30)): the expression *sensu tabellaque* signifies the feelings which they really entertained and showed by their votes. The fact that the sentence is so expressed that, if we examine closely, we find Cicero to have really said that *sensus* is expressed by *sensus* will not create a difficulty for anyone familiar with the letters, or indeed the Latin writers in general; *sensus* first means broadly the 'mental attitude' of the *boni*; when used afterwards, it means 'the real feelings' as opposed to 'the professed feelings'; cp. Att. v. 10, 3 (198) *haec ipsa fero equidem fronte, ut puto, et vultu bellis, sed angor intimis sensibus*; so there is no real tautology; *sensu tabellaque* means 'the real inward feeling with the outward expression of it in their verdicts.' *Sensus* (plural) *in rep.* is, as Dr. Reid says (Sull. 64), the proper expression for 'political sympathy': cp. Fam. xii. 15, 2 (882); Att. xv. 7 (739), where *placebant* should be read.

18. *sententia et voluntas*] This expresses in reverse order nearly the same thought as *sensu tabellaque*; *voluntas* = *sensus*, 'the real feelings'; *sententia* = 'the outward expression of them in the senate,' while *tabella* referred to 'the outward expression of them on the bench of jurors.' There is an interesting passage in Planc. 16, where Cicero shows why the ballot is so popular with voters *Etenim si populo grata est tabella quae frontis aperit hominum, mentis tegit datque eam libertatem ut quod velint faciant, promittant autem quod rogentur, cur tu id in iudicio ut fiat exprimis, quod non fit in campo?*

Plato] See Crito 51 C *Tantum . . . possis* is rather an inference from Plato's words than a translation; *vim . . . oportere* is a translation of *βιάζεσθαι δ' οὐκ ὅσιον οὔτε μητέρα οὔτε πατέρα, πολὺ δὲ τούτων ἔτι ἧττον τὴν πατρίδα.*

offendisset] Here he refers to two passages in the 5th letter of Plato (322 A and B), of the genuineness of which Cicero seems to have no doubt: *Πλάτων ὀψὲ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι γέγονεν καὶ τὸν δῆμον κατέλαβεν ἤδη πρεσβύτερον*; and again, *ἐπεὶ πάντων ἂν ἥδιστα καθάπερ πατρὶ συνεβούλευεν αὐτῷ, εἰ μὴ μάτην μὲν κινδυνεύσειν ᾤετο, πλέον δ' οὐδὲν ποιήσειν.*

cumque eum] The logic of the sentence is defective, unless we insert *nisi*; or with Sternkopf omit *posse* after *regi*, which might have intruded itself from the adjacent *posse*. The former seems the simpler. Some edd. regard *cumque . . . vidisset* as spurious; but the words are found in all the mss.

in eadem causa] In his speech on one and the same question (*i.e.* the speech *De Prov. Cons.*, in which he argued that Caesar's command should be continued) he was able to take a line which combined his own interests (Caesar's favour) with the espousal of a measure which must commend itself to every one of the *boni*, or conservatives of his party.

iniret] See Adn. Crit. *Inire consilium*,

etiam si in nos non is esset qui est, tamen ornandus videretur. Sic enim te existimare velim, cum a vobis meae salutis auctoribus discesserim, neminem esse cuius officiis me tam esse devinctum non solum confitear sed etiam gaudeam. 19. Quod quoniam tibi exposui, facilia sunt ea quae a me de Vatinio et de Crasso requiris. Nam de Appio quod scribis, sicuti de Caesare, te non reprehendere, gaudeo tibi consilium probari meum. De Vatinio autem, primum reditus intercesserat in gratiam per Pompeium statim ut ille praetor est factus, cum quidem ego eius petitionem gravissimis in senatu sententiis oppugnassem, neque tam illius laedendi causa quam defendendi atque ornandi Catonis. Post autem Caesaris ut illum defenderem mira contentio est consecuta. Cur autem laudarim, peto a te ut id a me neve in hoc reo neve in aliis requiras, ne tibi ego idem reponam cum veneris; tametsi possum vel absenti: recordare enim quibus laudationem ex ultimis terris miseris. Nec hoc pertimueris: nam a me ipso laudantur et laudabuntur iidem. Sed tamen defendendi Vatini fuit etiam ille stimulus de quo in iudicio, cum illum defenderim, dixi me facere quiddam quod in Eunucho parasitus suaderet militi:

> *Ubi nominabit Phaedriam, tu Pamphilam continuo. Si quando illa dicet, 'Phaedriam intromittamus comissatum,' 'Pamphilam cantatum provocemus': si laudabit haec illius formam, tu huius contra. Denique par pro pari referto, quod eam mordeat.*

Sic petivi a iudicibus ut, quoniam quidem nobiles homines et de

rationem, ingredi in rem are common expressions in Cicero.

cum . . . discesserim] the regular phrase in Cicero for 'except,' 'after,' 'next to,' in comparisons.

19. *Appio*] Pompey's son had married a daughter of Appius. It was through the intervention of Pompey that a reconciliation was effected between Appius and Cicero, who naturally resented the way in which Appius had abetted the schemes of his brother, P. Clodius, against him.

laudarim] 'gave evidence of good character.'

quibus] It is not known to whom Cicero is referring.

Sed tamen] Cicero says he had another reason for befriending Vatinius; his former friends among the *optimates* often annoyed him by showing special marks of friendliness to his persecutor, P. Clodius: cp. Prov. Cons., 48 fin. Cicero says he will give them a little stab (*leviter repungere*) for the slight mortification they cause him (*mediocriter lacessitus*) by showing friendliness on his part to Vatinius, the creature of Caesar, and thus play his Publius (Vatinius) off against their Publius (Clodius), just as the parasite Gnatho in Terence's *Eunuchus* advises the soldier Thraso to play off Pamphila against Phaedria, that is, to rouse his mistress's

me optime meriti nimis amarent inimicum meum meque inspectante saepe eum in senatu modo severe seducerent, modo familiariter atque hilare amplexarentur, quoniamque illi haberent suum Publium, darent mihi ipsi alium Publium in quo possem illorum animos mediocriter lacessitus leviter repungere. Neque solum dixi sed etiam saepe facio, deis hominibusque approbantibus. 20. Habes de Vatinio; cognosce de Crasso. Ego, cum mihi cum illo magna iam gratia esset, quod eius omnis gravissimas iniurias communis concordiae causa voluntaria quadam oblivione contrieram, repentinam eius defensionem Gabini, quem proximis superioribus diebus acerrime oppugnasset, tamen, si sine ulla mea contumelia suscepisset, tulissem: sed cum me disputantem, non lacessentem laesisset, exarsi non solum praesenti, credo, iracundia —nam ea tam vehemens fortasse non fuisset—, sed cum inclusum illud odium multarum eius in me iniuriarum, quod ego effudisse me omne arbitrabar, residuum tamen insciente me fuisset, omne repente apparuit. Quo quidem tempore ipso quidam homines et iidem illi quos saepe significo neque appello, cum se maximum fructum cepisse dicerent ex libertate mea meque tum denique sibi esse visum rei publicae qualis fuissem restitutum, cumque ea contentio mihi magnum etiam foris fructum tulisset, gaudere se dicebant mihi et illum inimicum et eos, qui in eadem causa essent, numquam amicos futuros. Quorum iniqui sermones cum ad me per homines honestissimos perferrentur cumque Pompeius ita contendisset ut nihil umquam magis, ut cum Crasso redirem in gratiam, Caesarque per litteras maxima se molestia ex illa contentione adfec-

jealousy by an allusion to Pamphila whenever she annoys him by a reference to his rival Phaedria, Eun. 440.

severe seducerent] 'took aside for serious consultation.'

suum Publium] It will be seen, from the explanation given above, that this passage cannot be quoted to show that the use of the *praenomen* was a mark of intimacy. It was the *omission* of the *praenomen* that was the mark of intimacy. See vol. I³., p. 57.

20. *defensionem Gabini*] when accused by the publicani in the autumn of 699 (55) for having left Syria exposed to the attacks of pirates: cp. Dio Cass. xxxix. 56.

significo neque appello] So Madvig for *significationeque* of M. This is better than adding *nutu* before *significationeque* with Ernesti. The addition of *-que* after a short syllable could hardly be considered an objection, if the reading were otherwise defensible; see Lebreton, p. 416.

libertate mea] 'my outspokenness,' 'independence.'

ea contentio] with Crassus.

foris] 'outside' the senate, with the people.

illum] Crassus; *eos*, Caesar and Pompey. This course of Cicero's they thought would establish a feud between him and Crassus, and would prevent a *rapprochement* on his part towards Caesar and Pompey.

tum ostenderet, habui non temporum solum rationem meorum sed etiam naturae, Crassusque, ut quasi testata populo Romano esset nostra gratia, paene a meis laribus in provinciam est profectus. Nam cum mihi condixisset, cenavit apud *me* in mei generi Crassipedis hortis. Quam ob rem eius causam, quod te scribis audisse, magna illius commendatione susceptam defendi in senatu, sicut mea fides postulabat. 21. Accepisti quibus rebus adductus quamque rem causamque defenderim quique meus in re publica sit pro mea parte capessenda status. De quo sic velim statuas, me haec eadem sensurum fuisse, si mihi integra omnia ac libera fuissent; nam neque pugnandum arbitrarer contra tantas opes neque delendum, etiam si id fieri posset, summorum civium principatum, *neque* permanendum in una sententia conversis rebus ac bonorum voluntatibus mutatis sed temporibus adsentiendum. Numquam enim *in* praestantibus in re publica gubernanda viris laudata est in una sententia perpetua permansio, sed, ut in navigando tempestati obsequi artis est, etiam si portum tenere non queas, cum vero id possis mutata velificatione adsequi, stultum est eum tenere cum periculo cursum quem ceperis potius quam eo commutato quo velis tamen pervenire, sic cum omnibus nobis in administranda re publica propositum esse debeat id quod a me saepissime dictum est, cum dignitate otium, non idem semper dicere sed idem semper spectare debemus. Quam ob rem, ut paullo ante posui, si essent omnia mihi solutissima, tamen in re publica non alius essem atque nunc sum. Cum vero in hunc sensum et adliciar beneficiis hominum et compellar iniuriis, facile patior ea me de re publica sentire ac dicere quae maxime cum meis tum etiam rei publicae rationibus putem conducere. Apertius autem haec ago ac saepius, quod et Quintus frater meus legatus est Caesaris et nullum meum minimum dictum, non modo factum, pro Caesare intercessit quod ille

temporum] 'circumstances.'

condixisset] 'had offered to come and dine with me.' In Rome it was a compliment to ask oneself to dinner. To ask a favour is still an act requiring a closer friendship than to confer one. The full phrase seems to be *condicere ad cenam* Plaut. Men. 124, Stich. 447; or simply *condicere cenam* (Suet. Tib. 42). Possibly we should add *cenam* after *condixisset*, as it might have been lost before *cenavit*.

causam . . . defendi in senatu] cp. 131, 1.

illius commendatione] 'on the strong recommendation of Pompey.'

21. *ut in navigando*] There is virtually the same illustration in Planc. 94 and Balb. 61.

tamen] 'for all that' (though on another tack).

solutissima] 'though I were quite untrammelled.

non ita illustri gratia acceperit ut ego eum mihi devinctum putarem. Itaque eius omni et gratia quae summa est et opibus quas intellegis esse maximas sic fruor ut meis. Nec mihi aliter potuisse videor hominum perditorum de me consilia frangere nisi cum praesidiis iis quae semper habui nunc etiam potentium benevolentiam coniunxissem. 22. His ego consiliis, si te praesentem habuissem, ut opinio mea fert, essem usus eisdem. Novi enim temperantiam et moderationem naturae tuae: novi animum cum mihi amicissimum tum nulla in ceteros malevolentia suffusum contraque cum magnum et excelsum tum etiam apertum et simplicem. Vidi ego quosdam in te talis, qualis tu eosdem in me videre potuisti. Quae me moverunt, movissent eadem te profecto. Sed quocumque tempore mihi potestas praesentis tui fuerit, tu eris omnium moderator consiliorum meorum: tibi erit eidem, cui salus mea fuit, etiam dignitas curae. Me quidem certe tuarum actionum, sententiarum, voluntatum, rerum denique omnium socium comitemque habebis, neque mihi in omni vita res tam erit ulla proposita quam ut cotidie vehementius te de me optime meritum esse laetere.

23. Quod rogas, ut mea tibi scripta mittam quae post discessum tuum scripserim, sunt orationes quaedam quas Menocrito dabo, neque ita multae, ne pertimescas. Scripsi etiam—nam animum ab orationibus diiungo fere referoque ad mansuetiores Musas, quae me *nunc* maxime, sicut iam a prima adulescentia delectarunt—scripsi igitur Aristotelio more, quem ad modum quidem volui, tris

praesidiis] the sympathy of the middle classes in Rome and throughout Italy, and of certain of the nobiles in Rome.

22. *His . . . . consiliis*] a fortuitous hexameter.

suffusum] 'with no pale cast of spite.'

socium comitemque] There does not seem to be any difference in meaning, unless *comes* rather means 'one of your retinue,' and thus politely concedes the superior position to Lentulus. *Socium* is found much more frequently coupled with *particeps, adiutor, consors.*

vehementius] 'more strongly than before.' Cp. xii. 42. See note on Att. i. 20, 7 (26).

23. *orationes*] those of 698 (56), *pro Sestio, Caelio, Balbo, De Har. resp., De Prov. Cons.*, &c.; of 699 (55), *in Pisonem, pro Gallo*; of 700 (54), *pro Crasso, pro Plancio*, and others: see Watson, p. xxxi.

Menocrito] a freedman of Lentulus.

ne pertimescas] This is not imperative, which would be *ne pertimueris*; it is dependent on a sentence understood '[which I tell you] that you may be alarmed' (at the prospect of having too many speeches to read): cp. Verr. iv. 52 and 148.

maxime] sc. *delectant.* We have put a comma after *maxime*, to show the ellipse. Wesenberg (Em. Alt. p. 3) compares Fam. xiii. 41, 2 (55); vii. 24, 1 (665); xv. 14, 3 (241).

Aristotelio] Aristotle had written some treatises (which have perished) in dialogue, with prefaces such as Cicero employs; see 144, 2. These appear to have been the models which Cicero took for the *De Oratore.* The dialogues of Cicero

libros in disputatione ac dialogo 'de oratore,' quos arbitror Lentulo tuo fore non inutilis. Abhorrent enim a communibus praeceptis atque omnem antiquorum et Aristoteliam et Isocratiam rationem oratoriam complectuntur. Scripsi etiam versibus tris libros 'de temporibus meis,' quos iam pridem ad te misissem, si esse edendos putassem—sunt enim testes et erunt sempiterni meritorum erga me tuorum meaeque pietatis—, sed quia verebar non eos qui se laesos arbitrarentur—etenim id feci parce et molliter—sed eos quos erat infinitum bene de *me* meritos omnis nominare . . . . Quos tamen ipsos libros, si quem cui recte committam invenero, curabo ad te perferendos. Atque istam quidem partem vitae consuetudinisque nostrae totam ad te defero. Quantum litteris, quantum studiis, veteribus nostris delectationibus, consequi poterimus, id omne ad arbitrium tuum qui haec semper amasti libentissime conferemus. 24. Quae ad me de tuis rebus domesticis scribis quaeque mihi commendas, ea tantae mihi curae sunt ut me nolim admoneri, rogari vero sine magno dolore vix possim. Quod de Quinti fratris negotio scribis te priore aestate, quod morbo impeditus in Ciliciam non transieris, conficere non potuisse, nunc autem omnia facturum ut conficias, id scito esse eius modi ut frater meus vere existimet adiuncto isto fundo patrimonium fore suum per te constitutum. Tu me de tuis rebus omnibus et de Lentuli tui nostrique studiis et exercitationibus velim quam familiarissime certiorem et quam saepissime facias existimesque neminem cuiquam neque cariorem neque iucundiorem umquam fuisse quam te mihi, idque me non

form a strong contrast to those of Plato in their want of the dramatic element. Cicero explains, in Att. xiii. 19, 4 (631), what he means there by 'Αριστοτέλειον *morem*, viz. that *in quo sermo ita inducitur ceterorum ut penes ipsum sit principatus*; but it does not suit this passage. He constantly describes the style of Aristotle as highly ornate, a criticism which certainly does not seem suitable to the works which we possess. See Dr. Reid's note on *flumen orationis aureum fundens Aristoteles*, Acad. ii. 119. Observe that *Aristoteliam*, *Isocratiam*, have the penult. long.

quem ad modum] 'such at least was my aim.'

in disputatione] Wesenberg omits *in*, comparing *scripsi versibus*, below. But cp. Cluent. 197 *non illi in libellis laudationem decretam miserunt.*

'*de temporibus meis*'] The poem is referred to 147, 5. The period embraced by *tempora mea* is defined in the words *Tenebam—bonorum omnium*, above, § 12.

quia verebar] Either (1) *quia* must be expunged, with Gronovius; or (2) we must suppose, with Wesenberg, that after *nominare* some such words as *vetui* (*nolui*) *divulgari* have dropped out; or (3) we must postulate before *quia* a harsh ellipse of some words like *non putavi edendos* taken out of *edendos putassem*, above.

erat infinitum] Cp. *longum est*, ''twere tedious.'

istam quidem partem] 'all this department of my life and occupations I submit unreservedly to you' (Jeans).

24. *de Quinti fratris negotio*] Quintus wished to purchase some farm near his own estate in Arpinum from a man who

modo ut tu sentias sed ut omnes gentes, etiam ut posteritas omnis intellegat esse facturum. 25. Appius in sermonibus antea dictitabat, postea dixit etiam in senatu palam, sese, si licitum esset legem curiatam ferre, sortiturum esse cum collega provinciam: si curiata lex non esset, se paraturum cum collega tibique successurum: legem curiatam consuli ferri opus esse, necesse non esse: se, quoniam ex senatus consulto provinciam haberet, lege Cornelia imperium habiturum, quoad in urbem introisset. Ego quid ad te tuorum quisque necessariorum scribat nescio: varias esse opiniones intellego. Sunt qui putant posse te non decedere, quod sine lege curiata tibi succedatur: sunt etiam qui, si decedas, a te relinqui posse qui provinciae praesit. Mihi non tam de iure certum est—quamquam ne id quidem valde dubium est—quam illud, ad tuam summam amplitudinem, dignitatem, libertatem, qua te scio libentissime frui solere, pertinere te sine ulla mora provinciam successori concedere, praesertim cum sine suspicione tuae cupiditatis non possis illius cupiditatem refutare. Ego utrumque meum puto esse et quid sentiam ostendere et quod feceris defendere.

was then in Cilicia, and thought that Lentulus might be able to effect the transaction for him.

25. *legem curiatam*] Mr. Greenidge (*Roman Public Life*, p. 251) says: 'The full exercise of the *imperium*, whether in jurisdiction, in military command, or in the transmission of office, was in suspense until the *lex curiata* had been elicited. Without it the praetor could not give justice from his tribunal (Dio Cass. xxxix. 19), the consul could not hold an assembly for the creation of his successor (*ib.* xli. 43), and whether as magistrate or promagistrate could not exercise the full *imperium* in the field (De lege agraria, ii. 30) until the ambiguous wording of the *Lex Cornelia de provinciis ordinandis* made the requirement in this last particular a doubtful point. Sulla's law had said that the magistrate should retain *imperium* until he re-entered the city, apparently without mentioning the *lex curiata*. App. Claudius, consul for 54 B.C., who had been prevented by the tribunician veto from getting his *lex curiata* passed, presumed on this silence, and said *legem curiatam . . . introisset* (Cicero ad Fam. i. 9. 25).' From 154, 4 we may infer that the decree of the senate granting Appius the allowance for his province was passed conditionally on his getting the *lex curiata*. Appius probably did ultimately get a *lex curiata*.

paraturum] We need not alter *paraturum* to *comparaturum* with Wesenberg. The former is found in Cassius Hemina (ap. Peter, *Hist. Rom. Frag.*, p. 70, 13) *Pastorum vulgus sine contentione consentiendo praefecerunt aequaliter imperio Remum et Romulum, ita ut de regno pararent inter se*: Lex Iulia Municipalis, l. 24, *aed. cur. aed. pl. . . . inter se paranto aut sortiunto*; cp. Hauler in 'Archiv,' iii. 536.

Sunt qui putant] This must mean 'a certain party or school' (of jurists or interpreters of Roman procedure) hold that you may refuse to leave your province. *Sunt qui putent* would be far more natural; but *putant* had better be retained, as the more difficult, and therefore more probable, reading. M. Lebreton (p. 315) quotes Att. x. 4, 11 (382), De Inv. i. 72, ii. 167 as other examples of the indicative.

libertatem] 'independence,' as in §§ 2, 20.

refutare] 'to thwart,' 'check': cp. De Prov. Cons. 32. In baffling the greed of Appius to get the province, he would

26. Scripta iam epistula superiore accepi tuas litteras de publicanis, quibus aequitatem tuam non potui non probare: felicitate quadam vellem consequi potuisses, ne eius ordinis quem semper ornasti rem aut voluntatem offenderes. Equidem non desinam tua decreta defendere: sed nosti consuetudinem hominum, scis quam graviter inimici ipsi illi Q. Scaevolae fuerint. Tibi tamen sum auctor ut, si quibus rebus possis, eum tibi ordinem aut reconcilies aut mitiges. Id etsi difficile est, tamen mihi videtur esse prudentiae tuae.

154. TO ATTICUS (ATT. IV. 18).

ROME; OCTOBER (END); A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

De Gabinio absoluto, de sua condicione, de exspectato Attici reditu de interregno futuro, de multitudine reorum, pravitate iudicum, de Gabinio Antiocho condemnato, de Pomptini cupiditate triumphi, de Appio, de Q. fratris et Caesaris litteris, de exspectato Attici cum Dionysio adventu.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. [Ep. XVI. 9.] . . . † Nunc ut opinionem habeas rerum, ferendum est. Quaeris ego me ut gesserim? Constanter et libere. 'Quid ille,' inquies, 'ut ferebat?' Humaniter, meaeque dignitatis, quoad mihi satis factum esset, habendam sibi rationem putabat.

himself incur the suspicion of greed (over-eagerness for office), by refusing to give up his province.

26. This is a postscript.

quibus] Most edd. add *in*; perhaps rightly, as no word is more often omitted from the manuscripts. But still *quibus* may be defended as instrumental, 'your letters which compelled me to commend your fairness': cp. Fam. iv. 15, 1 (484) *litteras quibus id quod scire cupiebam cognoscere non potui*; but it must be confessed that the instrumental is more natural there than here.

felicitate quadam] 'I can only wish you a kind of *luck* to escape running counter to their wishes or feelings' (everything that does not depend on chance you will bring to bear yourself). In Fam. iii. 8, 7 (222) *minus felicem* is used in a very similar context. See Adn. Crit.

Scaevolae] who governed Asia most uprightly in 655 (99), and thus incurred the enmity of the publicans.

prudentiae tuae] 'within the reach of your sagacity' (Jeans).

1. The beginning of this letter has been lost; it, no doubt, recorded the acquittal of Gabinius on the charge of *maiestas*. Possibly we should add *meam* after *opinionem*.

me ut gesserim] See 150, 2.

ille] Pompey. See 148, 15.

Humaniter] 'he made the best of the matter, and decided to consider my dignity, until satisfactory atonement should be made to me for the conduct of Gabinius towards me.'

Quomodo ergo absolutus est? Omnino γοργεῖα γυμνά, accusatorum incredibilis infantia, id est, L. Lentuli, L. f., quem fremunt omnes praevaricatum, deinde Pompei mira contentio, iudicum sordes. Ac tamen XXXII condemnarunt, XXXIIX absolverunt. Iudicia reliqua impendent: nondum est plane expeditus. 2. [ep. XVI. 10.] Dices, 'Tu ergo haec quo modo fers?' Belle meherculle et in eo me valde amo. Amisimus, mi Pomponi, omnem non modo sucum atque sanguinem sed etiam colorem et speciem pristinam civitatis. Nulla est res publica quae delectet, in qua acquiescam. 'Idne igitur,' inquies, 'facile fers?' Id ipsum. Recordor enim quam bella paullisper nobis gubernantibus civitas fuerit, quae mihi gratia relata sit. Nullus dolor me angit unum omnia posse; dirumpuntur ii qui me aliquid posse doluerunt: multa mihi dant solatia, nec tamen ego de meo statu demigro, quaeque vita maxime est ad naturam, ad eam me refero, ad litteras et studia nostra: dicendi laborem delectatione oratoria consolor. Domus me et rura nostra delectant. Non recordor unde ceciderim sed unde surrexerim. Fratrem mecum et te si habebo,

γοργεῖα γυμνά] (The charges were) '*mere bugbears*'; that is, the accusers pretended much eagerness to procure a verdict against Gabinius, but really refrained from exerting themselves to bring about that result. Their impeachment was 'full of sound and fury, signifying nothing.' We should rather say, 'it was a mere flash in the pan'—was not intended to issue in a verdict against Gabinius. He has already said *accusatoribus frigidissimis utitur* (151, 3); but to conceal their collusion with the defence, the prosecutors were obliged to assume great animosity, while withholding such evidence as would really tell against the accused. Hence γοργεῖα γυμνά, the conjecture of Bosius, is such a phrase as is required here; and it may be almost said to be the reading of M (see Adn. Crit.), there being no great difference palæographically between Γ and Π, which always has its second stroke very much shortened in mss. γυμνά is just the word in Cicero's Greek for 'mere,' 'bare': cp. γυμνὸς κόκκος, 1 Cor. xv. 37. Cp. 'Ho! such bugs and goblins,' Hamlet v. 2, 22. But the suggestion of Man. is worth considering. He proposes πρώρα πρύμνα (better πρώρα *et* πρύμνα: the *et* would be easily lost in the middle of the Greek letters). The phrase πρώρα καὶ πρύμνα is often found expressing the whole of a thing from top to bottom: cp. Cic. Fam. xvi. 24, 1 *mihi prora et puppis, ut Graecorum proverbium est, fuit a me tui dimittendi ut rationes meas explicares.* Dio Chrys. xxxvii., p. 120 R ὑμεῖς γάρ ἔστε νῦν τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον πρώρα καὶ πρύμνα τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὀλβίοι καὶ ἄφνειοι: Apost. 15, 97 τὰ ἐκ πρώρας καὶ τὰ ἐκ πρύμνης ἀπόλλυται· ἐπὶ τῶν πανολεθρίᾳ φθειρομένων. Translate, 'In short, the Alpha and the Omega of it was the incredible feebleness of the prosecution.'

infantia] 'weakness in the prosecution,' though no doubt intentional weakness on the part of the accusers. For *infantia* cp. De Orat. iii. 142, 198.

contentio] to procure the acquittal of Gabinius.

Iudicia reliqua] *de repetundis* and *de ambitu.*

2. *me valde amo*] 'I do congratulate myself.' *Multum te amamus, valde te amo* means 'I am much obliged to you.'

dirumpuntur] For this word used of 'bursting' with envy, cp. Fam. xii. 2, 2 (790). It is used with *dolore* ('irritation') in Att. vii. 12, 3 (293).

per me isti pedibus trahantur, vobis ἐμφιλοσοφῆσαι possum. Locus ille animi nostri stomachus ubi habitabat olim concalluit. Privata modo et domestica nos delectant. Miram securitatem videbis cuius plurimae mehercule partes sunt in tuo reditu. Nemo enim in terris est mihi tam consentientibus sensibus. 3. [ep. XVI. 11.] Sed accipe alia. Res fluit ad interregnum et est non nullus odor dictaturae, sermo quidem multus, qui etiam Gabinium apud timidos iudices adiuvit. Candidati consulatus omnes rei ambitus. Accedit etiam Gabinius quem P. Sulla non dubitans quin foris esset postularat, contra dicente et nihil obtinente Torquato. Sed omnes absolventur nec posthac quisquam damnabitur nisi qui hominem occiderit. Hoc tamen agitur severius, itaque indicia calent. M. Fulvius Nobilior damnatus est. Multi alii urbani ne respondent

isti] sc. ii qui me aliquid posse doluerunt.

pedibus trahantur] a formula of execration, meaning, 'let the worst happen to them for all I care.' Cp. Fam. vii. 32, 2 (229) *trahantur per me pedibus omnes rei*: Liv. xxiv. 22, 9 *pedibus tractum non equo insidentem relinquere tyrannidem dixerit debere.* Boot compares the words of Ulysses to Telemachus, Od. xvi. 276, when he tells Telemachus to endure calmly whatever outrages he may see the suitors inflict on his father—

ἦν περ καὶ διὰ δῶμα ποδῶν ἕλκωσι θύραζε.

ἐμφιλοσοφῆσαι] This reading of M may be retained, as is pointed out to us by Mr. W. Headlam, of King's College, Cambridge. He says it means 'to air my philosophy on you,' 'to make you the recipients or victims of my philosophical views.' He compares ἐμπολιτεύομαί *σοι iamdudum*, in Att. vii. 7, 7 (298), 'I have long been inflicting my political views on you.' Somewhat similar would be the use of ἐνσχολάζω *σοι* if that were read in Att. vii. 11, 2 (304). Ἐν, says Mr. Headlam, may be prefixed to any verb, thereby giving the meaning of 'exercise . . . upon.' Thus in Eurip. Bacch. 200, we should read with Musgrave οὐδ' ἐνσοφιζόμεσθα τοῖσι δαίμοσι.

3. *foris esset*] Here and at Pis. 12 this expression is explained to mean 'to be bankrupt'; *egere, foris esse* is the phrase in Pis. 12, where it is applied to this same Gabinius. But the reading there is by no means certain, good editors reading for *foris esse* a superlative adverb, e.g. *sordidissime* (Madvig), *foedissime* (conj. Müller). If the text is sound, *foris esse* must bear the meaning of 'being bankrupt'; for Sulla could not have been encouraged to prosecute Gabinius by knowing that he was 'outside the city'; besides, he had long since entered the city. But how does *foris esse* come to mean 'to be destitute of money' (for purposes of bribery)? 'To be in the people's power, that is, in debt,' say the Dictt., but this is plainly insufficient. If *foris esse* means 'to be bankrupt,' it must be an expression like our 'to be out at elbows,' 'to have nothing *domi*' (cp. *meo sum pauper in aere*); and it is very strange that it should not occur in Latin comedy, nor anywhere, save in two passages of Cicero, and with reference to the same man. Of course, this meaning would excellently suit the present passage. Sulla may have believed that Gabinius had spent the spoils of his province in bribing the jury which acquitted him of *maiestas*; he would, therefore, be now without means to bribe the jury in Sulla's suit. Dio Cassius (xxxix. 55, 4) says that bribery had become so common at Rome that a small fraction of what Gabinius received from Ptolemy sufficed to bribe the influential men and jurors at Rome.

contra dicente] contending against Sulla for the office of prosecutor.

occiderit] e.g. Procilius: see 143, 4.

Hoc] apparently the trial of Gabinius for *ambitus*.

urbani] 'several others are polite enough not to enter any defence,' and so save the *iudices* the trouble of trying the case.

quidem. 4. [ep. XVI. 12.] Quid aliud novi? Etiam. Absoluto Gabinio stomachantes alii iudices hora post Antiochum Gabinium nescio quem e Sopolidis pictoribus, libertum, accensum Gabini, lege Papia condemnarunt. Itaque dixit statim † resp. lege maiestatis OYCOIMPICAMAΦIHI.† Pomptinus vult a. d. IIII. Non. Novembr. triumphare. Huic obviam Cato et Servilius praetores ad portam et Q. Mucius tribunus. Negant enim latum de imperio, et est latum hercule insulse. Sed erit cum Pomptino Appius consul. Cato tamen adfirmat se vivo illum non triumphaturum. Id ego puto, ut multa eiusdem, ad nihilum recasurum. Appius sine lege, suo sumptu, in Ciliciam cogitat. 5. [ep. XVII. 3.] A

4. *Etiam*] 'Yes, one thing more.'

ουσοιμπρισαμαφιη] Boot rightly says of these words that Cicero must be raised from the dead to explain them, if ever they are to be understood. The old commentators see in the last of the corrupt words the name Παφίη, and suppose a play on the Papian law and the Paphian goddess, *οὔ σ' οἶδ' Ἄρης ἅμα Παφίη*, or some such words. But such a joke would be very poor and far-fetched, and the supposed *nonne scio Mars te cum Paphia rem habuisse* cannot be got out of the words. The circumstances were these: an hour after Gabinius was acquitted of *maiestas* another jury found his freedman and *accensus*, a person employed in the studio of Sopolis, a celebrated painter of the time (Plin. H. N. xxxv. 40, 43), guilty under the Papian law of 688 (66) *ne quis peregrinus se pro cive gereret*. His condemnation was due to the indignation felt against Gabinius. His *mot*, whatever it was, may be supposed to have referred to the cause of his condemnation, or else to the certainty that Gabinius would be found guilty in the *reliqua iudicia*, which are above spoken of. Mr. Shuckburgh offers an ingenious suggestion, *Itaque dixit statim 'respublica lege maiestatis οὐ σοί κεν ἄρ' ἴσα μ' ἀφείη'* (or *ἀφιῇ*, the end of an unknown hexameter). 'So the Republic will not acquit me under the law of treason, as it did you (Gabinius).' He means to infer that his condemnation was really in place of Gabinius, whose acquittal had irritated his jury; therefore he was practically convicted of *maiestas* instead of his patron Gabinius.

IIII. Non. Novembr.] In 152, 6, Cicero states that the day of triumph was to be November 3rd (a. d. iii. Non.). Pomptinus claimed the triumph for successes against the Allobroges in 693 (61): cp. Prov. Cons. 32, Dio Cass. xxxvii. 47 f.; and he celebrated it (Dio Cass. xxxix. 65).

ad portam] i.e. the Porta Triumphalis. 'Cato and Servilius are going to oppose him at the gate.'

insulse] The opponents of the triumph declared that the law to confer the *imperium* had not been passed; 'and stupid enough, indeed, the passing of it was,' says Cicero, who despises the want of originality displayed by Servius Galba (for this man cp. 841), in resorting to the old-fashioned method of carrying his law, by presenting himself in the assembly before dawn. Cicero does not stop to directly contradict the allegation of the opponents of the triumph. Dio Cass. xxxix. 65 says, in reference to this very transaction, *οὐκ ἐξὸν ἐκ τῶν νόμων, πρὶν πρώτην ὥραν γενέσθαι ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τι χρηματισθῆναι.*

Appius . . . cogitat] The consul, whether as magistrate or pro-magistrate, could not exercise the full *imperium* in the field until he obtained the *lex curiata*: cp. De Leg. Agr. ii. 30 *consuli, si legem curiatam non habet, attingere rem militarem non licet*. That law was generally a form; but it was one of those forms which give an opportunity to the enemies of an unpopular man to thwart him. Appius cleverly evaded it by an appeal to the *Lex Cornelia de ordinandis provinciis*, which was somewhat loosely worded: cp. 153, 24. The senate, which voted the grant of supplies for the provinces, would seem to have required the passing of the curiate law as a necessary condition of making the grant.

Quinto fratre et a Caesare accepi a. d. IX. Kal. Nov. litteras, datas a litoribus Britanniae proximis a. d. VI. Kal. Octobr. Confecta Britannia, obsidibus acceptis, nulla praeda, imperata tamen pecunia, exercitum e Britannia reportabant. Q. Pilius erat iam ad Caesarem profectus. Tu, si aut amor in te est nostri ac tuorum aut ulla veritas aut etiam si sapis ac frui tuis commodis cogitas, adventare ac prope adesse iam debes. Non mehercule aequo animo te careo. Te autem quid mirum, qui Dionysium tanto opere desiderem? quem quidem abs te, cum dies venerit, et ego et Cicero meus flagitabit. Abs te proximas litteras habebam Epheso a. d. v. Id. Sextil. datas.

155. TO QUINTUS (Q. FR. III. 5 AND 6).

TUSCULANUM; OCTOBER (END); A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero Q. fratri de libris De Re Publica Sallustii monitu refingendis, de Caesaris erga se amore exponit: sequitur de versibus scribendis excusatio, de rei publicae statu conquestio, de Gabinio a se non defenso, de suo in libris Quinti emendis studio, de tragoediis a Quinto scriptis.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

1. Quod quaeris quid de illis libris egerim quos, cum essem in Cumano, scribere institui, non cessavi neque cesso, sed saepe iam scribendi totum consilium rationemque mutavi. Nam iam duobus factis libris, in quibus novendialibus iis feriis, quae fuerunt Tuditano et Aquilio consulibus, sermo est a me institutus Africani paullo ante mortem et Laeli, Phili, Manili, *P. Rutili*, Q. Tuberonis et Laeli generorum, Fani et Scaevolae, sermo autem in novem et dies et libros distributus de optimo statu civitatis et de optimo cive—sane texebatur opus luculente hominumque dignitas aliquantum orationi ponderis adferebat—ii libri cum in Tusculano

5. *proximis*] sc. to Italy.
Confecta] 'settled,' 'finished off.'
imperata . . . pecunia] 'having imposed a money tribute.'

1. *illis libris*] 'De Republica.'
saepe] This word seems rather out of place. Did Cicero write *ut saepe* or *coepi . . . mutare*? He goes on to say that he has remodelled the plan of the whole work; but why 'often'? If he wrote *ut saepe*, the meaning would be clear: 'I have remodelled the plan of my book, as I often have done in other works.'

mihi legerentur audiente Sallustio, admonitus sum ab illo multo maiore auctoritate illis de rebus dici posse, si ipse loquerer de re publica, praesertim cum essem non Heraclides Ponticus sed consularis et is qui in maximis versatus in re publica rebus essem: quae tam antiquis hominibus attribuerem, ea visum iri ficta esse: oratorum sermonem in illis nostris libris quod esset de ratione dicendi belle a me removisse, ad eos tamen rettulisse quos ipse vidissem; Aristotelem denique quae de re publica et praestanti viro scribat ipsum loqui. 2. Commovit me et eo magis quod maximos motus nostrae civitatis attingere non poteram, quod erant inferiores quam illorum aetas qui loquebantur. Ego autem id ipsum tum eram secutus, ne in nostra tempora incurrens offenderem quempiam. Nunc et id vitabo et loquar ipse tecum et tamen illa quae institueram, ad te, si Romam venero, mittam; puto enim te existimaturum a me illos libros non sine aliquo meo stomacho esse refictos. 3. Caesaris amore quem ad me perscripsti unice delector: promissis iis quae ostendit non valde pendeo, nec sitio honores nec desidero gloriam magisque eius voluntatis perpetuitatem quam promissorum exitum exspecto. Vivo tamen in ea ambitione et labore, *tam*quam id quod non postulo exspectem. 4. Quod me de versibus faciendis rogas, incredibile est, mi frater, quam egeam tempore, nec sane satis commoveor animo ad ea quae vis canenda. †ΑΜΠΩΕΙΣ vero ad ea quae ipse ego ne cogitando quidem

Heraclides] a mere theorist, who never took any active part in politics, as Cicero did. He was a pupil of Plato's, and wrote treatises on political philosophy.

illis nostris libris] The three books *De Oratore*.

quod esset] This reading of the manuscripts is well defended by Lehmann (Quaest. Tull. 35), who shows that there is no necessity to alter to *qui essent* with Wesenberg. Cicero was so absolutely supreme in oratory that his part would have to be that of an autocrat, and such a *rôle* would savour of arrogance; whereas he was not superior to his fellows as a politician, and so would be only one among equals in a discussion on the ideal State.

Aristotelem] cp. 144, 2; 153, 23.

2. *inferiores*] 'later than.'

refictos] 'remodelled.' This is a probable correction of *relictos*, which the margin of M has for *redditos*, the corrupt reading which that ms gives in the text. Most editors give *relictos*, 'that those books (i.e. the first sketch of the 'De Republica') were not abandoned by me without a pang.' *Illa quae institueram* means 'my first sketch.' The meaning of *enim* thus becomes clear: 'I will send you the work in its original form [I have kept it, still feeling an affection for it]; *for* you can fancy that the remodelling cost me a pang.'

4. ἀμπωεις] The reading presented by most edd. is ὑποθέσεις, a word found in 146, 4. Bücheler proposes διατυπώσεις, which appears to mean 'realistic' or 'vivid passages': cp. Longinus De Sublim. 20 ὁποῖα καὶ τὰ εἰς τὸν Μειδίαν, ταῖς ἀναφοραῖς ὁμοῦ καὶ τῇ διατυπώσει συναναπεπλεγμένα τὰ ἀσύνδετα. Perhaps Cicero wrote ἐμπνεύσεις, 'inspirations.' He would then be bantering his brother for asking him for *hints* about a poem on the exploits of Caesar, though he was on

consequor, tu, qui omnis isto eloquendi et exprimendi genere superasti, a me petis? Facerem tamen ut possem, sed, quod te minime fugit, opus est ad poëma quadam animi alacritate, quam plane mihi tempora eripiunt. Abduco me equidem ab omni rei publicae cura dedoque litteris, sed tamen indicabo tibi quod mehercule in primis te celatum volebam. Angor, mi suavissime frater, angor nullam esse rem publicam, nulla iudicia nostrumque hoc tempus aetatis, quod in illa auctoritate senatoria florere debebat, aut forensi labore iactari aut domesticis litteris sustentari, illud vero quod a puero adamaram,

Πολλὸν ἀριστεύειν καὶ ὑπείροχον ἔμμεναι ἄλλων,

totum occidisse, inimicos a me partim non oppugnatos, partim etiam esse defensos, meum non modo animum sed ne odium quidem esse liberum, unumque ex omnibus Caesarem esse inventum qui me tantum quantum ego vellem amaret, aut etiam, sicut alii putant, hunc unum esse qui vellet. Quorum tamen nihil est eius modi ut ego me non multa consolatione cotidie leniam, sed illa erit consolatio maxima si una erimus. Nunc ad illa vel gravissimum accedit desiderium tui. 5. Gabinium si, ut Pansa putat oportuisse, defendissem, concidissem: qui illum oderunt — ii sunt toti ordines — propter quem oderunt, me ipsum odisse coepissent. Tenui me, ut puto, egregie, tantum ut facerem quantum omnes viderent. Et in omni summa, ut mones, valde me ad otium pacemque converto. 6. De libris, Tyrannio est cessator: Chrysippo dicam, sed res operosa est et hominis perdiligentis. Sentio ipse qui in summo studio nihil adsequor. De Latinis vero quo

the spot, and ought to be inspired by the place itself.

Πολλὸν] Hom. Il. vi. 208; xi. 784. In both places the first word of the line is Αἰὲν.

non oppugnatos] He means Gabinius; *defensos*, Vatinius.

liberum] There was much to justify Laterensis, who, when prosecuting Plancius, declared (Planc. 91) that Cicero had forfeited his liberty of action by his attachment to the triumvirs. Cicero during all this period was profoundly dissatisfied with himself, cp. 110, 1; and in his speeches he is constantly explaining his conduct, cp. Prov. Cons. 40 ff., Pis. 79 ff., Planc. 91 ff., all masterly examples of Cicero's great powers as an advocate. 'They're eloquent, they're well, but are not true.'

5. *tantum . . . viderent*] 'I confined myself to doing what all could see,' namely, giving evidence against Gabinius: see 152, 3; 160, 1.

in omni summa] For *omnis summa* cp. Fin. ii. 86; v. 38; Rep. ii. 39.

6. *cessator*] 'idler' in copying. For Tyrannio and Chrysippus cp. 152, 5.

me vertam nescio : ita mendose exscribuntur et veneunt, sed tamen quod fieri poterit non neglegam. † Crebrius, ut ante ad te scripsi, Romae est, et qui omnia † adiurat, debere tibi valde renuntiant. De aerario puto confectum esse, dum absum. Quattuor tragoedias XVI diebus absolvisse cum scribas, tu quidquam ab alio mutuaris? et †ΠΛΕΟΣ quaeris, cum Electram et † Trodam scripseris? Cessator esse noli, et illud γνῶθι σεαυτὸν noli putare ad adrogantiam minuendam solum esse dictum, verum etiam ut bona nostra norimus. Sed et istas et Erigonam mihi velim mittas. Habes *ad* duas epistulas proximas.

exscribuntur] 'are being copied out': cp. Fam. xvi. 21, 8 (786) *in exscribendis hypomnematis*.

†*Crebrius*] A comparison with 152, 5 will lead us to think that the events referred to had something to say to the town-household of Quintus (for Ascanio was probably a slave of Quintus) and the suburbanum in which Quintus was interested. It is just possible that for *Crebrius* we should read *Cincius*: cp. 148, 6 *Urbanam expolitionem urget ille quidem et Philotimus et Cincius: sed etiam ipse crebro interviso, quod est facile factu*. The connexion of the topics hardly admits of the clever emendation of Orelli, *C. Rebilus*, advocated by Boot (Obs. Crit., p. 38). Two years after this Rebilus was a lieutenant of Caesar in Gaul (Caes. B. G. vii. 83, 90). Boot supposes that he was now a centurion in Quintus' legion on furlough in Rome.

et qui omnia] For the corrupt words of the ms here Boot (loc. cit.) would read *et qui omnia tibi debere dixerat valde te nunc iactat*. By *iactat* he understands 'runs you down,' 'abuses you.' For this sense of *iactare* see note on 122, 1. We do not know to whom Cicero is referring. Possibly he may be that untrustworthy person T. Anicius (cp. 148, 23); and perhaps we should read *et qui omnia adiurat debere tibi <omnia tibi> valde renuntiat*, 'and he who protests that he owes you everything emphatically refuses you everything.' For this sense of *renuntiare* cp. Att. ii. 1, 8 (27) *Quid impudentius publicanis renuntiantibus*. But this is very uncertain.

De aerario] See on 152, 5.

7. *Quattuor . . . mittas*] Quintus would appear to have been studying Sophocles about this time: cp. 147, 3. Accordingly, perhaps, we should read *Troilum* (for *Trodam*) with Fritzsche. A play of Sophocles bore that name: see Nauck, Fragm. Trag. p. 266. Sophocles also wrote on *Erigone*, who was the daughter of Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra: cp. Nauck, p. 180. For *πλέος* Usener suggested *πάθος*, and that is adopted by C. F. W. Müller. Quintus thought his tragedies lacked emotion, though he had such eminently tragic subjects to treat as *Electra* and *Troilus*. Marcus considered that such slipshod work as the dramatic efforts of Quintus must have been was mere idling. Bücheler, who is followed by C. F. W. Müller, wishes to read *Aeropam* (for *Trodam*): for (1) a similar corruption is found in Apicius, *tropetes* for *aeropetes*; (2) there was an *Aeropa* of Carcinus (if we should not read Μερόπη with Valckenaer), which was apparently very affecting (cp. Aelian V. H. xiv. 40); (3) the Mycenaean horrors were a favourite subject with the Romans. But the presumption that Quintus would appear at this time to have been devoting himself to the adaptation of plays of Sophocles outweighs these considerations.

For a most learned and ingenious discussion of this passage by Professor Ellis, see Addenda to the Commentary, Note III.

absolvisse] The omission of the subject before the infinitive is common: cp. 106, 6.

illud γνῶθι σεαυτὸν] Lebreton (p. 89) compares Att. v. 10, 3 (198) *O illud verum ἔρδοι τις*.

Sjögr. p. 75. Wiel II 444

156. TO QUINTUS (Q. FR. III. 7).

TUSCULANUM; OCTOBER (END) OR NOVEMBER (BEGINNING);
A. U. C. 700; B.C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero Q. fratri Romae ingentem alluviem fuisse scribit.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

1. Romae et maxime . . . et Appia ad Martis mira alluvies; Crassipedis ambulatio ablata, horti, tabernae plurimae, magna vis aquae usque ad piscinam publicam. Viget illud Homeri,

> Ἧματ' ὀπωρινῷ, ὅτε λαβρότατον χέει ὕδωρ
> Ζεύς, ὅτε δή ῥ' ἄνδρεσσι κοτεσσάμενος χαλεπήνῃ.

Cadit enim in absolutionem Gabini:

> Οἳ βίῃ εἰν ἀγορῇ σκολιὰς κρίνωσι θέμιστας,
> Ἐκ δὲ δίκην ἐλάσωσι, θεῶν ὄπιν οὐκ ἀλέγοντες.

Sed haec non curare decrevi. 2. Romam cum venero, quae perspexero scribam ad te et maxime de dictatura, et ad Labienum

1. *et Appia*] See Adn. Crit. Something is no doubt lost here. Most edd. disregard the *et* before *Appia*, and print *Romae et maxime Appia*, 'in Rome, and especially on the Appian Way.' But Cicero would hardly have spoken of the *Via Appia* as a part of Rome, and the *et* before *Appia* points to an omission. Dr. Reid, however, notes that there was a portion of the Appian Way which really was in Rome: along the first mile of it, between the Porta Capena and the old temple of Mars, close to the first milestone, there was a large suburb which seems to have gone by the name of *ad Martis*. He thinks we should read *ex*: 'In Rome and especially in the direction of the Appian Road in the suburb by the temple of Mars'; cp. *e contraria parte* and such phrases. He thinks we might, as an alternative, simply omit the *et* before *Appia*. The temple is that of 'Mars without the Wall'; cp. Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, p. 1521.

alluvies] So we read with Vict., though the word does not occur elsewhere in Cicero: and *proluvies*, the word given by M^2 and the early editions, is also un-Ciceronian. Boot conjectures *eluvio*, comparing Rep. vi. 23: De Div. i. 111.

Viget] 'the Homeric theory is still true.' Zeus sends violent rain to punish men for their unjust dealings. This plague of rain is his protest against the acquittal of Gabinius. On these inundations see Dio Cass. xxxix. 61. He places them before the trial of Gabinius, and considers that they increased the popular indignation against him.

Cadit . . . in] This may mean—(1) 'is applicable to,' or (2) 'synchronises with.' The former interpretation is the more probable, for the most natural subject for *cadit* is *illud Homeri*, not *alluvies*. But *cadit* has both meanings. The passage is Il. xvi. 385.

et ad Ligurium litteras dabo. Hanc scripsi ante *lucem* ad lychnuchum ligneolum, qui mihi erat periucundus, quod eum te aiebant, cum esses Sami, curasse faciendum. Vale, mi suavissime et optime frater.

157. TO TREBATIUS (FAM. VII. 16).

ROME; NOVEMBER (END); A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

Facete M. Cicero laudat C. Trebati sapientiam in vitando belli discrimine, ut timiditatis eum arguat.

[M.] CICERO TREBATIO.

1. In 'Equo Troiano' scis esse, 'in extremo sero sapiunt.' Tu tamen, mi vetule, non sero. Primas illas rabiosulas sat fatuas

2. *lychnuchum*] Saglio, in his fine article on *candelabrum*, says that wooden *lychnuchi* were the commonest. Cp. Petronius 95, and Martial xiv. 44. Others were made of gold, silver, bronze, marble, glass, and clay. *Ligneolus* probably means 'of very thin wood,' which would, of course, enhance the beauty of the *candelabrum*.

Sami] This island belonged to Asia, the province of Quintus, and was no doubt visited by Quintus during his propraetorship.

1. *Equo Troiano*] A play of this name is ascribed both to Livius and to Naevius. The proverb as quoted by Cicero is usually supposed to be no more than *sero sapiunt* because Festus (343 M.) says *sero sapiunt Phryges proverbium est natum a Troianis qui decimo denique anno velle coeperunt Helenam quaeque cum ea erant rapta reddere*. But according to Festus *sero sapiunt Phryges* is the proverb, and he says nothing about its being a quotation from a play. Here we have expressly a quotation from a play. We believe the words quoted from this play to be *in extremo sero sapiunt*, referring possibly to the Phrygians, but possibly having a general application.

in extremo] The words mean 'when a man comes to extremities, it is too late to show the discretion which might have saved him.' The passage is usually printed, in Equo Troiano scis esse in extremo: *Sero sapiunt*. But why should Cicero mention the *part of the play* at which the words occur? Besides, *sero sapiunt* is rather a bald sentiment, while *in extremo sero sapiunt* is a good proverb. For the words require some further qualification; they should give some class of men who 'are wise too late,' or some circumstances under which it is too late to be sensible. The proverb fulfils the last condition, and says that 'when things have come to an extremity, it is too late to be wise.' It is plain that the words as given above,

in extrémo séro sápiunt,

form the beginning of a good iambic verse according to old Latin prosody and scansion.

mi vetule] This address is merely playful. He calls Trebatius 'my old fellow,' because he is cautious—has an old head on young shoulders. He congratulates Trebatius on being wise in time, and seeing the folly of the spirit reflected in his earlier letters—a spirit of impatience and discontent, and foolish yearning for Rome.

Primas] 'Your earlier snappy [so Mr. Shuckburgh translates] letters were silly enough [cp. 136, 1]—but then—you know the rest—you know how you

dedisti: deinde . . . Quod in Britannia non nimis φιλοθέωρον te praebuisti, plane non reprehendo: nunc vero in hibernis iniectus mihi videris: itaque te commovere non curas.

'Usque quaque sapere oportet: id erit telum acerrimum.'

2. Ego si foris cenitarem, Cn. Octavio familiari tuo non defuissem: cui tamen dixi, cum me aliquotiens invitaret, 'Oro te, quis tu es?' Sed mehercules, extra iocum, homo bellus est: vellem eum tecum abduxisses. 3. Quid agatis et ecquid in Italiam venturi sitis hac hieme fac plane sciam. Balbus mihi confirmavit te divitem futurum. Id utrum Romano more locutus sit, bene nummatum te futurum, an, quo modo Stoici dicunt 'omnis esse divites qui caelo et terra frui possint,' postea videbo. Qui istinc veniunt

changed your tone.' This is perhaps better than to take *deinde* closely with *quod*.

in Britannia] 'In the matter of going to Britain.' Mendelssohn suggests τῶν Βρεττανῶν, because Trebatius did not cross over into Britain (161, 1). But this is requiring too great accuracy of expression.

non nimis φιλοθέωρον] 'not too great a gadabout.'

iniectus] It appears from 161, 2, that there was an insufficient supply of the *sagum* or military cloak, which may have been also used as a blanket. If we read *intectus*, Cicero may allude to this fact, and say, 'therefore, naturally you don't care to stir abroad.' Then he quotes a verse from some poet which seems to have little point, except in so far as there is a kind of play on *sapere* 'to be a man of sense,' which meaning it seems to bear in the quotation, and *sapere* as applied especially to jurisconsults, *sapiens* having been the *sobriquet* of Curius, Fabricius, Coruncanius, &c. (Lael. 18). So in 161, 1, he congratulates Trebatius on being in a country where he might seem *aliquid sapere*, that is, where (in the absence of rivalry) he would be at the very top of his profession. But all this is very far-fetched. And it must be remembered that *iniectus*, not *intectus*, is the ms reading. If the word is right, it should mean *vestem iniectus* (like *indutus*), as Dr. Reid has pointed out to us, comparing Apul. Met. ix. 20 *Interdum Philesitherus cognito strepitu raptim tunicas iniectus sed plane prae turbatione pedibus intectis procurrit cubiculo*. It is just possible that another interpretation may deserve consideration, inasmuch as *inicere*, as well as *iniectio*, *has a juridical sense*, 'to seize on as one's property without a judicial decision,' as in the case of a runaway slave. If *iniectus* could possibly mean 'subjected to this process,' we should have a characteristically playful use of a juridical term, 'under arrest'; *inicere manum* takes an accusative of the person arrested: but we will not go so far as to say that this would justify *iniectus* 'arrested.' If neither of the views given above is considered satisfactory, we must regard the word as unsound, and adopt some conjecture such as *intectus*, or possibly *in tectis*, i.e. in houses and not under canvas (*sub pellibus*). See Adn. Crit.

2. *Cn. Octavio*] cp. 145, 2.

vellem eum] 'a capital fellow surely. Would you had taken him away with you.' Cp. *Taming of the Shrew*, i. 1, 254:

First Serv. My lord, you nod: you do not mind the play.
Sly. Yes, by Saint Anne, do I. A good matter, surely: comes there any more of it?
Page. My lord, 'tis but begun.
Sly. 'Tis a very excellent piece of work, madam lady: would 'twere done.

3. *ecquid*] 'whether at all.'

in Italiam] into winter quarters to Ravenna, which was the nearest point to Rome in the province of Caesar.

Romano more] 'literally.' Sometimes the phrase means 'simply,' 'plainly,' 'without circumlocution,' like *more maiorum*, Att. i. 1, 1 (10).

superbiam tuam accusant, quod negent te percontantibus respondere. Sed tamen est quod gaudeas; constat enim inter omnis neminem te uno Samarobrivae iuris peritiorem esse.

Wiel. II p. 445

158. TO ATTICUS (ATT. IV. 19).

ROME; NOVEMBER (END); A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

De adventu Attici sibi gratissimo, de condicione rei publicae, de sua et Q. fratris Caesare coniunctione, de legatione sua Pompeio accepta, de Dionysio eiusque cum Attico adventu.

CICERO ATTICO SAL.

1. O exspectatas mihi tuas litteras! o gratum adventum! o constantiam promissi et fidem miram! o navigationem amandam! quam mehercule ego valde timebam, recordans superioris tuae transmissionis δέρρεις. Sed, nisi fallor, citius te quam scribis

quod negent] 'because, as they say, you do not.' This is the virtual oblique, for which see on Att. i. 1, 4 (10) *diceret*.

respondere] is a technical term for giving counsel's opinion. Hence the *responsa prudentium*, or opinions of counsel, were an authoritative source of Roman Law. Of course Trebatius does not 'give counsel's opinions' in the camp of Caesar; but *respondere percontantibus* also means 'to reply to one who asks you a question'; to fail to do this would show much arrogant reserve. Hence the joke, which, though certainly not of much merit, is repeated afterwards, 162, in writing to L. Valerius, another jurisconsult. Dr. Reid says: "To realise the full force of the jest one must remember that to refuse to give a civil answer to a civil question was regarded by the Romans as a typical act of rudeness. See Acad. ii., § 94, and the passages to which I have referred in my note there. There is really the same jest (an oxymoron) in Att. iv. 18, 3 (154) *multi urbani ne respondent quidem*. No doubt the impression of Tiberius' arrogance was greatly due to his taciturnity when addressed (cp. Suet. Tib. 68 *plerumque tacitus*, &c.)."

Samarobrivae] Amiens, the chief town in Gallia Belgica.

1. *adventum*] from Asia.

δέρρεις] The word δέρρεις has generally been taken as meaning skins which were used as a kind of overcoat 'ad corpus adversus maritimas tempestates tuendum' (Schütz), 'ad frigus arcendum' (Boot). It is rather, perhaps, to be taken for the skins stretched along the sides of the ship, which were used during bad weather to keep the waves from washing into the ship, and drenching the crew: cp. Caes. B. C. iii. 15, 4 *atque etiam uno tempore accidit ut, difficilioribus usi tempestatibus, ex pellibus quibus erant tectae naves, nocturnum excipere rorem cogerentur*. These seem to have been technically called παραρύματα or παραβλήματα in Greek; and we sometimes find them used when, a fight being imminent, it was necessary to conceal the marines: cp. Xen. Hell. i. 6, 19; ii. 1, 22. In C.I.A. ii. 809, Col. e. 85, 104, we find παραρύματα τρίχινα, of which Mr. Torr (*Ancient Ships*, p. 53, note 123) says: 'The other παραβύματα were perhaps of horsehair, for that seems the likeliest meaning of τρίχινα, but were possibly of hide: cp. Caesar, de Bello Civili, iii. 15.' But it is remarkable that above (154, 2) δερρεις is found where it is obviously corrupt. For *nemo enim in terris est mihi tam consentientibus sensibus*, M gives δερρις for *terris*, M^1 reading *nemo enim* δερρις *in terris*, &c., M^2 *nemo enim*

videbo. Credo enim te putasse tuas mulieres in Apulia esse, quod cum secus erit, quid te Apulia moretur? num Vestorio dandi sunt dies et ille Latinus ἀττικισμὸς ex intervallo regustandus? Quin tu huc advolas et invisis illius nostrae rei publicae germanae . . . ? †putavi de nummis ante comitia tributim uno loco divisis palam,

δερρις *in ceteris.* Yet it can hardly be a corruption of *terris* or *terra* here; *transmissio* means a 'passage by sea,' and the context shows, moreover, that two sea voyages are compared. Dr. Reid conjectures *terrores.*

erit] If the text is sound here, *erit* must mean 'will be found to be,' 'when this—that the ladies of your family are in Apulia—is found by you not to be the case.' Wesenberg thinks this such an unnatural construction that he would read here *quod quoniam secus erit.* But this use of the future is characteristic of the language of the comic stage, and, therefore, natural in a letter. Cp. *hic inerunt* ('will be found to be'), *viginti minae,* Plaut. Asin. 734; *conveniet,* 'you 'll find it right,' Ter. Phorm. 53. Cp. also *quiescet,* Juv. i. 126, and Mayor's note there. *Sic erit,* 'you 'll find it to be so,' is common in the comic poets.

num] We read *num* for *nam.* This is the answer to *quid te A. moretur*: 'Surely you won't give any days to Vestorius, or feel disposed to taste again of his home-made Attic salt?' This is probably the meaning; for with *nam* of the ms there is no connexion: 'Why should Apulia detain you? *For* you must give some days to V., &c. Come here at once.' With *num* the train of thought is 'Why should Apulia detain you? Surely you won't let Vestorius do so. Come at once.' Vestorius was no doubt at Puteoli; and the words *ille Latinus* ἀττικισμὸς seem to be ironical. Cp. Att. xiv. 12, 3 (715).

germanae . . .] The usual reading here is *germanam,* and the meaning is supposed to be 'fly hither at once, and visit again this very sister of the old republic' (*germanam* ironical). But Cicero does not use *germana* without *soror,* for 'a sister,' and even if he did, he would not have employed the awkward irony which is usually here imputed to him, and which is justly ridiculed by Wesenberg (Em. Alt., p. 102). Now, Cicero is very fond of the word *germanus* in the sense 'real,' 'genuine.' We agree with the theory of Wesenberg, that some words on which *germanae* depends have here fallen out. The words he suggests are *umbram, imaginem,* or *simulacrum,* all of which are used to indicate an absence of genuineness, and are contrasted with words like *germanus.* He quotes many examples, but one is sufficient; it is Off. iii. 69 *germanae iustitiae solidam effigiem nullam habemus, umbra et imaginibus utimur.* Hence we would read, nearly with Wesenberg, *quin tu huc advolas et invisis illius nostrae reipublicae germanae hanc umbram et imaginem,* 'this mere shadow and semblance of the real republic that we once enjoyed.' A reference to the Adn. Crit. will show that *germanae* is nearer to the ms than *germanam.* Prof. Robinson Ellis has discussed this passage at length in *Hermathena* (1887), p. 137 f. We have printed his learned note in the Addenda to the Commentary, No. iv.

putavi de] These words are quite corrupt. We might perhaps read *peti vides nummis ante comitia tributim uno loco divisis palam, inde absolutum Gabinium; in dictaturam rem ruere* (or *fluere*) *iustitio et omnium rerum licentia,* 'you see from my letters how the candidature is being carried on with utterly undisguised corruption; that to this is to be ascribed the acquittal of Gabinius; that things are fast tending to a dictatorship,' &c. In 160, 3, he says the acquittal of Gabinius is equivalent to an Amnesty Act. See also Adn. Crit. Sternkopf, however (Hermes, 1905, p. 40), holds with much probability that *cociace* of the mss above (149, 3, for which we read *hoc iacet* with Mommsen), which occurs just at the point of dislocation, belongs to this passage and not to the former passage; and he reads here *peti vide* (so Man.) *nummis ante comitia tributim uno loco divisis palam, vide absolutum Gabinium, olface* [for *cociace*] *dictaturam, fruere iustitio et omnium rerum licentia*; and for the metaphor in *olface* he compares 154, 3 *et est non nullus odor dictaturae*; and for the actual word *olfacere,* used in a metaphorical sense, De Leg. Agr. i. 11.

inde absolutum Gabinium. [ep. XVIII. 3.] †dictaturam fruere iustitio et omnium rerum licentia. 2. Perspice aequitatem animi mei et † ludum et contemptionem Felicianae unciae et mehercule cum Caesare suavissimam coniunctionem—haec enim me una ex hoc naufragio tabula delectat—, qui quidem Quintum meum tuumque, di boni! quem ad modum tractat honore, dignitate, gratia! non secus ac si ego essem imperator. Hiberna legionis eligendi optio delata commodum, ut ad me Quintus scribit. Hunc tu non ames? quem igitur istorum? Sed heus tu, scripseramne tibi me esse legatum Pompeio? et extra urbem quidem fore ex Idibus Ianuariis? Visum est hoc mihi ad multa quadrare. Sed quid

2. *ludum*] This word must be corrupt. It could only be rendered here 'my sportive, playful nature,' just as *aequitatem* means 'my easy-going temper.' But *ludus* could not bear any such meaning. Probably we should read *lauda meam contemptionem*, with Boot.

Felicianae] We have made bold, even in such a quagmire as this letter presents, to set up here a conjecture of our own for *Selicianae* of C, which is accepted by Kl., Btr., and most edd. For what does *Selicianae unciae* mean? We hear of a usurer Selicius; but how does that help us here? Now, in 160, 8, written certainly within a month from the date of this letter, perhaps less, we find Cicero telling his brother (as he had no doubt already told Atticus in a lost letter) how a certain Felix had intended to leave some one or more persons (no doubt Marcus and Quintus Cicero) heirs each to a twelfth of his property; but through the negligence of Felix himself and his slave Sicurra, a different testament was signed by Felix, and so Marcus and Quintus lost their bequests through an accident. *Felicianus* is from Felix, as *Ciceronianus*, *Caesarianus* from *Cicero*, *Caesar*. Cicero here writes to Atticus: 'commend me for my indifference to this loss, as well as for the charming intimacy I have established with Caesar.' Dr. Reid thinks that the words *et ludum et contemptionem Seleucianae provinciae* ought to come after *Gabinium*; and that they mean that the acquittal of Gabinius was 'a farce and a mockery of the Seleucian province'—the latter term being applied to the province of Syria, which was part of the kingdom of the Seleucidae. Distorted order seems to be a special disease of the mss in this portion of the Letters. Dr. Reid offers as a conjectural restoration of the preceding words, *dictaturae servire iustitiam et omni rerum licentiae*.

enim] The sentence explains why he called his *coniunctio* with Caesar *suavissima*. We learn from a previous letter (Caesaris amici, me dico et Oppium, *dirumparis licet*, 149, 7) that Atticus was opposed to Cicero's close connexion with Caesar.

tabula] He compares the state of things to a wreck: the one plank to which he clings is his connexion with Caesar.

Hiberna legionis] We have adopted this reading of Nipperdey in preference to that of Ernesti, *Hiberna legionum*. It is unlikely that Caesar would have left the question of the winter quarters of the whole army to Quintus, but quite probable that he left it to his discretion as to where the legion which Quintus commanded should winter. Sternkopf, however (Jahrbuch, 1897, pp. 850–2), thinks that the mss reading, *Hibernam legionem*, may be right. Caesar arranged the various wintering stations for the legions, and then gave Quintus the choice of what legion he would command. Sternkopf quotes instances of commanders being transferred from one legion to another in the Gallic War. For the use of *hiberna legio*, 'a wintering legion,' he compares Suet. Cal. 8 *Versiculi . . . apud hibernas legiones procreatum indicant*. For the wintering arrangements of this year, cp. Caes. B. G. v. 24, 2.

delata] to Quintus. *Commodum* = *modo*, *paullo ante*, is quite a colloquialism, frequent in comedy and the Letters, rarely elsewhere in classical writers.

quadrare] 'to fall in with' (my plans).

plura? Coram, opinor, reliqua, ut tu tamen aliquid exspectes. Dionysio plurimam salutem, cui quidem ego non modo servavi sed etiam aedificavi locum. Quid quaeris? ad summam laetitiam meam quam ex tuo reditu capio magnus illius adventus cumulus accedet. Quo die ad me venies tu, si me amas, apud me cum tuis maneas.

159. TO QUINTUS (Q. FR. III. 8).

ROME; NOVEMBER (END); A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero Q. fratri scribit de perferendis militiae molestiis et cautione in litteris dandis adhibenda, de carmine ad Caesarem componendo, de spe candidatorum consulatus, de dictaturae timore, de Serrani funere, de Milonis ludis.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

1. Superiori epistulae quod respondeam nihil est, quae plena stomachi et querelarum est, quo in genere alteram quoque te scribis pridie Labieno dedisse, qui adhuc non venerat. Delevit enim mihi omnem molestiam recentior epistula. Tantum te et moneo et rogo ut in istis molestiis et laboribus et desideriis recordere consilium nostrum quod fuerit profectionis tuae. Non enim commoda quaedam sequebamur parva ac mediocria. Quid enim erat quod discessu nostro emendum putaremus? Praesidium firmissimum petebamus ex optimi et potentissimi viri benevolentia ad omnem statum nostrae dignitatis. Plura ponuntur in spe quam

1. *Labieno*] As Labienus was in Gaul in the autumn and all through the winter of 54 B.C. (cp. Caes. B. G. v. 24; 37; 53: vi. 5: Cic. Q. Fr. iii. 7, 2), Rauschen (p. 60) reads *quae* for *qui*, comparing Fam. xi. 24, 2 *dum tibi litterae meae veniant*. Quintus, no doubt, asked Labienus to forward the letters by his couriers: cp. § 2 *Tu velim cures ut sciam, quibus nos dare oporteat eas, quas ad te deinde litteras mittemus, Caesarisne tabellariis, ut is ad te protinus mittat, an Labieni*. Schiche proposes *Labieni tabellariis*. Either of these suggestions is better than to read *Labeoni*, with Ziehen (Rh. Mus. xli. (1896), p. 594). Labeo was in Rome at the end of September, and not likely to start for Gaul soon (148, 21). Even if he had done so, it would hardly have been possible for him to reach Quintus, and be back in Rome by the end of November, the date of this letter.

consilium . . . profectionis tuae] 'what was the way in which I regarded your going to the camp of Caesar,' 'what was my view of the reasons for your taking that step.'

Plura ponuntur] 'You have made a larger investment in the form of ambition (your future prospects) than of money. The necessary sum to meet your expenses will be found.' Such seems to us to be the meaning of the passage, not as Schütz takes it, *reliqua emolumenta, ut pecuniarum, sic tibi parabis, ut etiam iacturam eorum, si acciderit, aequo animo ferre*

in pecuniis: reliqua ad iacturam struentur. Qua re si crebro referes animum tuum ad rationem et veteris consili nostri et spei, facilius istos militiae labores ceteraque quae te offendunt feres, et tamen cum voles depones. Sed eius rei maturitas nequedum venit et tamen iam appropinquat. 2. Etiam illud te admoneo, ne quid ullis litteris committas quod, si prolatum sit, moleste feramus. Multa sunt quae ego nescire malo quam cum aliquo periculo fieri certior. Plura ad te vacuo animo scribam, cum, ut spero, se Cicero meus belle habebit. Tu velim cures ut sciam quibus nos dare oporteat eas quas ad te deinde litteras mittemus; Caesarisne tabellariis, ut is ad te protinus mittat, an Labieni: ubi enim isti sint Nervii et quam longe absint nescio. 3. De virtute et gravitate Caesaris quam in summo dolore adhibuisset, magnam ex epistula tua accepi voluptatem. Quod me institutum ad illum poëma iubes perficere, etsi distentus cum opera tum animo sum multo magis, tamen, quoniam ex epistula quam ad te miseram cognovit Caesar me aliquid esse exorsum, revertar ad institutum idque perficiam his supplicationum otiosis diebus, quibus Messallam iam nostrum reliquosque molestia levatos vehementer gaudeo, eumque quod certum consulem cum Domitio numeratis, nihil a nostra opinione dissentitis. Ego Messallam Caesari praestabo. Sed Memmius in adventu Caesaris habet spem, in quo illum puto errare: hic quidem friget. Scaurum autem iam pridem Pompeius abiecit. 4. Res prolatae: ad interregnum comitia adducta. Rumor dictatoris iniucundus bonis, mihi etiam magis quae loquuntur. Sed tota res et timetur et refrigescit. Pompeius plane se negat velle: antea mihi ipse non negabat. Hirrus auctor fore videtur.

possis, which sentiment does not seem to lie in the words. Possibly one might render 'other gains (except one's hopes from Caesar) will be made only to be thrown away' (i. e. will not be permanent). The reading of Cratander's Codex is *petimus* for *in pecuniis* and *reserventur* for *struentur*. 'Our hopes stretch further than the immediate objects we are seeking. Let the rest be reserved to secure you from loss' (i.e. let whatever money you make, or the material advantages you gain, not exceed what will secure you from loss).

et tamen . . . depones] 'and after all (*tamen*) you will be able to give them up when you please.'

2. *isti . . . Nervii*] 'those Nervii of yours,' where you are in winter quarters.

3. *adhibuisset*] 'shown by him, as you tell me'; such is the force of the subjunctive.

molestia levatos] because the trials were suspended during the days of *supplicatio* decreed in honour of Caesar.

praestabo] 'I will guarantee that his conduct shall be acceptable to Caesar.'

in adventu Caesaris] Cp. 150, 23 p. 184.

4. *adducta*] 'the elections have been so often postponed that an *interregnum* seems likely.'

auctor] 'will propose that Pompey should assume the dictatorship.'

O di, quam ineptus! quam se ipse amans sine rivali! Caelium Vinicianum, hominem mihi deditum, per me deterruit. Velit nolit scire difficile est. Hirro tamen agente nolle se non probabit. Aliud hōc tempore de re publica nihil loquebantur: agebatur quidem certe nihil. 5. Serrani Domestici fili funus perluctuosum fuit a. d. IIX Kalend. Decembr. Laudavit pater scripto meo. 6. Nunc de Milone. Pompeius ei nihil tribuit et omnia Cottae dicitque se perfecturum ut illo Caesar incumbat. Hoc horret Milo, nec iniuria, et, si ille dictator factus sit, paene diffidit. Intercessorem dictaturae si iuverit manu et praesidio suo, Pompeium metuit inimicum: si non iuverit, timet ne per vim perferatur. Ludos apparat magnificentissimos: sic, inquam, ut nemo sumptuosiores: stulte bis terque, non postulatos, vel quia munus magnificum dederat vel quia facultates non erant, [vel quia magister,] vel quia

quam ineptus] This seems to refer to Pompey, not to Hirrus.

sine rivali] Cp. *quin sine rivali teque et tua solus amares*, Hor. A. P. 444; *licebit eum solus ames; me aemulum non habebis*, Att. vi. 3, 7 (264).

Caelium Vinicianum] This name is restored by Man. for *Crassum Iunianum*. The latter was a Pompeian (cp. Plut. Cat. Min. 70); and his name is frequently found on coins (cp. Drumann, iv., pp. 117 f.). But the former is mentioned in Fam. viii. 4, 3 (206) in connexion with the appointment of Pompey as dictator.

per me] 'through my agency Pompey prevented him from moving for a dictator.'

non probabit] 'he will not be able to persuade people that he does not care for the dictatorship if Hirrus is the mover in the matter.'

5. *Laudavit*] 'delivered over him a funeral oration written by me.'

6. *nihil tribuit*] 'gives him no countenance' in his candidature for the consulship in the ensuing year.

Cottae] The mss read *Guttae*; but we have never heard of a Gutta as praetor; how, then, does he come to be a candidate for consulship in 702 (52)? Again, we know who Milo's opponents were, P. Plautius Hypsaeus and Q. Caecilius Metellus Scipio, who was strongly supported by Pompey. Hence Boot thinks that we should read *Hypsaeo* for *Guttae*. There would have been no occasion to mention Metellus Scipio, for, of course, Pompey would support his father-in-law. Yet *Hypsaeo* is very unlikely to have been changed to *Guttae*, though mss do make strange mistakes in proper names, as may be seen by referring to the critical notes on this letter. Hoffa, in his ed. of the Epistles to Quintus (Heidelberg, 1843), suggests that the right reading may be *Cottae*, who, as an ex-praetor, held command in Sardinia in 705 (49): cp. Caes. B. C. i. 30, 2, 3; Cic. Att. x. 16, 2 (402); and this conjecture we have adopted. This letter was written in November, 700 (54), and Cotta may have dropped out of the list of competitors before the election took place.

illo] adverb, 'that Caesar may throw his weight into that scale' (lit. 'thither'). The mss give *in illo*, whence Lamb. read *in illum*.

Ludos] Milo took the opportunity of the death of a friend to give as an executor magnificent games in his honour. Cicero says he acted very foolishly in giving these games, which were not demanded of him (*non postulatos*) by his position as executor, and which he could not afford; moreover, he had before given a magnificent show to the people as aedile. Milo's object was to recommend himself to the people as a candidate for the consulship.

bis terque] 'twice or thrice at least'; so δὶς καὶ τρίς: *bis terve* is 'twice or thrice at most,' as in 166, 1: cp. *quatuor aut summum quinque*, Mil. 12; and δύο ἢ τρεῖς in Greek.

vel quia potuerat] Another reason,

potuerat magistrum se, non aedilem putare. Omnia fere scripsi. Cura, mi carissime frater, ut valeas.

160. TO QUINTUS (Q. FR. III. 9).

ROME; DECEMBER; A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

M. Cicero Q. fratri scribit de Gabinio a se non defenso, de Milonis in ludis instituendis profusione, de anni venientis motibus, de mancipiis emendis, de Vatinii epistula, de poemate ad Caesarem absoluto, de Q. fratris aedificiis, de Felicis testamento, de Q. filio.

MARCUS QUINTO FRATRI SALUTEM.

1. De Gabinio nihil fuit faciendum istorum quae a te amantissime cogitata sunt. Τότε μοι χάνοι. Feci summa cum gravitate, ut omnes sentiunt, et summa cum lenitate quae feci: illum neque ursi neque levavi. Testis vehemens fui, praeterea quievi. Exitum iudici foedum et perniciosum lenissime tuli. Quod quidem bonum mihi nunc denique redundat, ut iis malis rei publicae licentiaque audacium qua ante rumpebar nunc ne movear quidem: nihil est enim perditius his hominibus, his temporibus. 2. Itaque ex re publica quoniam nihil iam voluptatis capi potest, cur stomacher nescio. Litterae me et studia nostra et otium villaeque delectant maximeque pueri nostri. Angit unus Milo. Sed velim finem adferat consulatus: in quo enitar non minus quam sum enisus in

says Cicero, for not giving the games is, that he might have bethought him that he was not now an aedile, but only an executor to a deceased friend. But this is not satisfactorily expressed. See Adn. Crit.

magistrum] *Magister auctionis* or *venditionis* is often found in the case of the sale of a bankrupt's estate (*bonorum emptio*), e.g. Pro Quinct. 50; Att. i. 1, 3 (10); vi. 1, 15 (252); Fam. xii. 30, 5 (899). Here it would appear to mean simply the executor of the sale of an estate (which in the present case would appear not to have been bankrupt). Schütz brackets *vel quia magister*, probably rightly.

1. *De Gabinio*] Quintus had thought that Cicero's interests would demand that he should defend Gabinius, and had suggested to him some course of action which should be adopted by him, to avoid the appearance of inconsistency. Cicero now says: 'I need not defend him. Perish the thought! The course which I have taken has, as all feel, shown much dignity and much good temper. I neither assailed him as a prosecutor nor aided him as an advocate. I gave strong evidence against him, and took no further step. And I showed no bad temper at the disgraceful issue of the trial.'

Τότε μοι χάνοι] εὐρεῖα χθών, Hom. Il. iv. 182, translated by Virgil (Aen. iv. 24):

Sed mihi vel tellus optem prius ima dehiscat.

2. *finem adferat*] sc. to his mad expenditure.

nostro, tuque istinc, quod facis, adiuvabis. De quo cetera, nisi plane vis eripuerit, recte sunt; de re familiari timeo,

ὃ δὲ μαίνεται οὐκ ἔτ' ἀνεκτῶς,

qui ludos HS ɔɔɔɔIↃↃↃↃ comparet. Cuius in hoc uno inconsiderantiam et ego sustinebo, ut potero, et tu ut possis est tuorum nervorum. 3. De motu temporum venientis anni nihil te intellegere volueram domestici timoris sed de communi rei publicae statu, in quo etiam si nihil procuro, tamen nihil curare vix possum. Quam autem te velim cautum esse in scribendo ex hoc conicito, quod ego ad te ne haec quidem scribo quae palam in re publica turbantur, ne cuiusquam animum meae litterae interceptae offendant. Qua re domestica cura te levatum volo: in re publica scio quam sollicitus esse soleas. Video Messallam nostrum consulem, si per interregem, sine iudicio: si per dictatorem, tamen sine periculo. Odi nihil habet. Hortensi calor multum valebit. Gabini absolutio lex impunitatis putatur. Ἐν παρέργῳ: de dictatore

ὃ . . . ἀνεκτῶς] Hom. Il. viii. 355. *Comparet* depends on μαίνεται, 'he is mad *to give* such entertainments.'

ɔɔɔɔIↃↃↃↃ] = HS. decies = 1,000,000 sesterces.

inconsiderantiam] See Adn. Crit.

sustinebo] 'will make good'; that is, 'I will endeavour to save him from the effects of his thoughtlessness (shown in this one matter only) by as much pecuniary aid as I can.' This is the explanation of Schütz, who also suggests that the passage means, 'I will *restrain* his thoughtlessness as far as I can.' The first explanation seems to strain the verb *sustinere*; 'to make good a man's thoughtlessness' is a strange expression if one means 'to protect him from the consequences of it.' The second is not quite consistent with what follows. It would hardly require *nervi*, 'strength of mind,' in Quintus to help Cicero to restrain the recklessness of Milo. The meaning seems to be: 'I will bear his thoughtlessness (shown in this one matter) as well as I can; and it will require your strength of mind to do the same.' *Nervi* is used in a very similar way in Fam. iii. 10, 1 (261), where Cicero, writing to Appius to console him for the prosecution which would cost him his triumph, says, *ego enim plane video fore nervis opibus sapientia tua vehementer ut inimicos tuos paeniteat intemperantiae suae*, where one might read *fore nervis* opus et *sapientia tua*, &c. Furthermore, it is quite possible that Cicero may not mean, 'his thoughtlessness shown in this one matter only,' though the order of the words naturally suggests this interpretation; but may mean, 'I will put up with his recklessness, but only in this one matter; afterwards I shall wash my hands of him.' We have before remarked what a characteristic feature of these letters is hyperbaton, such as *de meis ad te rationibus*, Att. i. 2, 1 (11). We are told that Milo spent three fortunes on acts of extravagance like this (Mil. 95). Did anyone ever hear of a man who had spent two fortunes or four?

3. *si per interregem*] 'if he is created consul by the *interrex*, he will escape trial altogether (for he will enter on his office at once); if by the dictator, he will still escape all danger (for, though he will be brought to trial, he will certainly be acquitted).'

Hortensi calor] The earnestness of Hortensius in defending Messalla will be of considerable avail in procuring his acquittal.

lex impunitatis] 'the acquittal of Gabinius is regarded as a general Amnesty Act.' Cp. 158, 1.

Ἐν παρέργῳ] '*en passant*: after all,

tamen actum adhuc nihil est. Pompeius abest, Appius miscet, Hirrus parat, multi intercessores numerantur, populus non curat, principes nolunt, ego quiesco. 4. De mancipiis quod mihi polliceris, valde te amo, et sum equidem, ut scribis, et Romae et *in* praediis infrequens. Sed cave, amabo, quidquam quod ad meum commodum attineat, nisi maximo tuo commodo et maxima tua facultate, mi frater, cogitaris. 5. De epistula Vatini risi. Sed me ab eo ita observari scio ut eius ista odia non sorbeam solum sed etiam concoquam. 6. Quod me hortaris ut absolvam, habeo absolutum suave, mihi quidem uti videtur, ἔπος ad Caesarem, sed quaero locupletem tabellarium, ne accidat quod Erigonae tuae, quoi soli Caesare imperatore iter ex Gallia tutum non fuit. 7. **Quid? si caementum bonum non haberem, deturbarem

there is nothing done about the dictatorship yet.' ὁδοῦ πάρεργον is the more usual phrase in the letters. *Tamen* often depends on a clause understood, such as here—'though everyone thought that things tended that way.' It may in such cases be rendered 'after all.'

4. *infrequens*] 'short-handed'; that is, not well provided with slaves, as *infrequens aedificiis*, Liv. xxxvii. 32, 2.

maximo tuo commodo . . . facultate] 'unless it is quite suitable to your convenience and your means.'

5. *Vatini*] Vatinius had written to Caesar a letter, which Quintus had seen, showing that he was watching every act of Cicero, and reporting them (with, no doubt, unfriendly comments) to Caesar. 'But though I know I am being watched by him, I can swallow his hatred and digest it too' (Shuckburgh). Or, perhaps, there is a play on the two meanings of *observare*, 'to watch' and 'to pay attention to.' The phrase would then be ironical—'I am so conscious of the kind attentions of Vatinius to me, that I can,' &c.

6. *locupletem*] 'trustworthy,' 'responsible,' like ἐχέγγυος, ἀξιόχρεως.

quoi soli] Quintus' play, *Erigona*, was lost in its transmission from Gaul to Rome.

7. *caementum*] This is the reading of the ed. Iensoniana. M gives *canem tam.* This Professor Ellis retains, and gives (Hermathena xiii. (1887), pp. 141, 142) the following learned explanation of it:—

"1. After speaking of Erigone, what can be more natural than to mention her 'good dog'? And Maera was emphatically a good dog; for not only did she by her faithful watch discover to Erigone where her murdered father Icarus lay, but when Erigone, in grief at his loss, hung herself on Mount Hymettus, Maera died with a howl beneath her feet.

"Aelian (H. A. vii. 28) says the Delphian oracle ordered sacrifice to be made to Maera, ὅτι ἄρα δι' ὑπερβολὴν εὐνοίας τῆς πρὸς τὴν δέσποιναν βιῶναι μετ' αὐτὴν οὐκ ἔγνω. παίζει δὲ Εὐριπίδης λέγων

χρηστοῖσι δούλοις συμφορὰ τὰ δεσποτῶν
κακῶς πίτνοντα καὶ φρενῶν ἀνθάπτεται,

'for where,' he asks, 'is a man found to have died over his master's body, albeit a dog did so?'

"2. Erigone's dog was proverbial. Martial (xi. 69, 3, 4), speaking of *Lydia*, a remarkably faithful dog, says:

Lydia dicebar domino fidissima Dextro,
Qui non Erigones mallet habere canem.

"3. The connexion, then, is not very hard to follow. 'I am afraid of trusting my poem to any carrier, lest it should be intercepted on the way, like your *Erigone*, the only passenger that has been molested on its journey since Caesar had command of Gaul. Possibly, too, I might not have a guardian-dog, like Erigone; and then the chance of my poem escaping safely would be less even than yours.'

"The joke is flat, no doubt; but I fancy that this is true of many others, not only in Cicero's letters, but in his finished speeches. What can be flatter than the well-known *Guttam aspergit huic Bulbo* in the *Pro Cluentio*?"

deturbarem] 'was I to pull down the

aedificium? quod quidem mihi cotidie magis placet, in primisque inferior porticus et eius conclavia fiunt recte. De Arcano, Caesaris opus est vel mehercule etiam elegantioris alicuius. Imagines enim istae et palaestra et piscina et nilus multorum Philotimorum est, non Diphilorum. Sed et ipsi ea adibimus et mittemus et mandabimus. 8. De Felicis testamento tum magis querare, si scias. Quas enim tabulas se putavit obsignare, in quibus † in unciis firmissimum tenes†, *eas* vero—lapsus est per errorem et suum et Sicurae servi—non obsignavit: quas noluit eas obsignavit. Ἀλλ' οἰμωζέτω! nos modo valeamus. 9. Ciceronem et ut rogas amo et ut meretur et debeo. Dimitto autem a me, et ut a magistris ne abducam et quod mater †Porcia non† discedit, sine

house?'—a rhetorical question. Cp. *ego tibi irascerer?* Q. Fr. i. 3, 1 (66); *his ego iudiciis committerem*, 152, 2. See also note on Att. ii. 1, 3 (27).

Caesaris opus] 'a work worthy of Caesar'; that is, as beautiful as the work of Caesar referred to in 144, 8. But the mention of Caesar as one who would give advice on the adornment of a country-house is somewhat strange. Possibly we should read *Caesi*: cp. 148, 2 fin *Omnino spero paucis mensibus opus Diphili perfectum fore: curat enim diligentissime Caesius qui tum erat mecum.* From the last words we gather that Caesius does not appear to have been continually overseeing the repairs at the Arcanum of Q. Cicero.

nilus] 'a conduit.' All these excellent building projects of Quintus demand, he says, many a Philotimus, not a Diphilus, that is, architects like Philotimus, and many of them, not like Diphilus. Cp. for this use of the plural 92, § 3 *omnis Catilinas Acidinos postea reddidit*, 'he made every wretch like Catiline seem henceforth as respectable as Acidinus.' Philotimus is praised in contrast with Diphilus in 148, 1, 6.

8. *De Felicis testamento*] See on 158, § 2.

†*in unciis . . . tenes*] For these corrupt words Wes. would write *in quibus ex* III *unciis firmissimum locum tenes.* Perhaps we should read *in quibus in singulis unciis firmissimum locum tenemus.* Probably Cicero and Quintus were both heirs of Felix; otherwise Cicero would not have dismissed the loss of his brother so curtly with the words ἀλλ' *οἰμωζέτω*, 'let it go be-hanged.' In a passage like this a change of *tenes* to *tenemus* is very slight. The meaning is, 'the will, in which we both beyond all doubt stand as heirs to one-twelfth of the property each—through a mistake caused by his own negligence and his slave's—he did not seal; but sealed another, which he did not intend to seal.' For *firmissimum locum tenere* Wes. compares Brut. 81; cp. *obtinere locum*, Fam. iii. 9, 2 (249).

For *in* cp. Fam. xiii. 29, 4 (457) *in sextante.* The palæographical *sin.* for *singulis* (see Chassant) is very like *in*; hence *singulis* may have fallen out after *in*.

9. † *Porcia non*] The *non* must be wrong, as is shown by the words *sine qua* which follow. Moreover, Pomponia, not Porcia, was the mother of Quintus' son. Hence the earliest edd. gave *Pomponia discedit.* But this is obviously bad criticism, since it does not account for the corruption. The correction of Wes., on the other hand, though it cannot be said to be certain, is quite scientific. He would read *quod mater in Porcianam discedit*, 'because his mother is going to stay with Porcius.' For *Porcianam* = *Porci domum*, cp. *Autronianam*, Att. i. 13, 6 (19); *Rabirianam*, Att. i. 6, 1 (2); *Anniana*, Att. iv. 3, 3 (92). In these passages *domum* is expressed, but such an ellipse need not surprise us in Cicero's letters. *Porcianam* without *domum* would have misled the copyist into writing *Porcia non*, which seems corrupt. Professor Ellis proposes simply to add *a* before *Porcia*, and supposes that Pomponia was so much with Porcia (sister

qua edacitatem pueri pertimesco. Sed sumus una tamen valde multum. Rescripsi ad omnia. Mi suavissime et optime frater, vale.

Wiel. II p. 314

161. TO TREBATIUS (FAM. VII. 10).

ROME; DECEMBER; A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

Iocans carpit M. Cicero C. Trebatium, quod scripserat se Caesari valde iure consultum videri litterasque de eius rebus privatis requirit. Si enim in rebus suis nihil proficiat, male facere, quod non in urbem redeat.

CICERO S. D. TREBATIO.

1. Legi tuas litteras ex quibus intellexi te Caesari nostro valde iure consultum videri. Est quod gaudeas te in ista loca venisse ubi aliquid sapere viderere. Quod si in Britanniam quoque profectus esses, profecto nemo in illa tanta insula peritior te fuisset. Verum tamen—rideamus licet: sum enim a te invitatus—subinvideo tibi ultro *te* etiam arcessitum ab eo ad quem ceteri non propter superbiam eius sed propter occupationem aspirare non possunt. 2. Sed tu in ista epistula nihil mihi scripsisti de tuis rebus quae mehercule mihi non minori curae sunt quam meae. Valde metuo ne frigeas in hibernis: quam ob rem camino luculento utendum censeo: idem Mucio et Manilio placebat, praesertim qui sagis non abundares. Quamquam vos nunc istic satis calere

Wollmäntel

of Cato and wife of L. Domitius Ahenobarbus) that she was not able to look after the boy and prevent him from overeating himself. This is a very simple and attractive suggestion.

1. *iure consultum*] 'very learned in the law.' The word must not be written *iureconsultum*, which would require an adjective, instead of *valde*. Caesar had probably summoned Trebatius as an assessor on some trial, as would appear from the phrase *ultro te etiam arcessitum ab eo*; though possibly Cicero only means that Caesar has not had much opportunity of judging of your merits as a soldier, though no doubt he rates highly your qualities as a lawyer.

aliquid sapere] See on 157, 1.

2. *frigeas*] It seems probable that *frigeas* is here used in its metaphorical sense of 'having nothing to do.' Cicero then passes to the literal meaning of *frigeas*, and says: 'you ought to keep your hearth blazing.' *Calere* in the next sentence is certainly metaphorical—'though you are so frozen out in your winter quarters, yet I hear you have hot work over there,' alluding to the Gallic rising under Ambiorix (Caes. B. G. v. 26).

abundares] This word must depend on the clause *idem . . . placebat*, else the present tense must have been used; hence we have slightly changed the usual punctuation, which makes *idem . . . placebat* parenthetical. This meaning is, 'this was the *counsel's opinion* of these celebrated

audio: quo quidem nuntio valde mehercule de te timueram. Sed tu in re militari multo es cautior quam in advocationibus, qui neque in Oceano natare volueris, studiosissimus homo natandi, neque spectare essedarios, quem antea ne andabata quidem defraudare poteramus. Sed iam satis iocati sumus. 3. Ego de te ad Caesarem quam diligenter scripserim, tute scis: quam saepe, ego. Sed mehercule iam intermiseram, ne viderer liberalissimi hominis meique amantissimi voluntati erga me diffidere. Sed tamen iis litteris quas proxime dedi putavi esse hominem commonendum. Id feci. Quid profecerim facias me velim certiorem et simul de toto statu tuo consiliisque omnibus. Scire enim cupio quid agas, quid exspectes, quam longum istum tuum discessum a nobis futurum putes. 4. Sic enim tibi persuadeas velim, unum mihi esse solacium qua re facilius possim pati te esse sine nobis, si tibi esse id emolumento sciam: sin autem id non est, nihil duobus nobis est stultius: me, qui te non Romam attraham, te, qui non huc advoles. Una mehercule nostra vel severa vel iocosa

jurists, Mucius and Manilius, especially for one who, like you, has not a sufficient campaigning kit.' The only trace of humour is the appealing to the *responsa prudentium*, to confirm such a very obvious truth, that if you are cold you ought to keep a good fire. Probably Trebatius did not provide himself largely with military equipments, not intending really to take part in the campaign. A formal phrase for 'taking the field' was *saga sumere*. Perhaps Cicero wishes to hint that Trebatius was not very eager for this. But we must not look for too much point in jests which were dictated perhaps by a momentary access of high spirits, and which were not intended for anyone but his correspondent. Cicero himself says: *quam multa ioca solent esse in epistulis quae prolata si sint inepta esse videantur*, Phil. ii. 7. It appears from Att. v. 5, 1 (188), that Cicero regarded jokes as one of the ordinary ingredients of a letter—*plane deest quod scribam: nam nec quod mandem habeo . . . . nec quod narrem . . . . nec iocandi locus est, ita multa me sollicitant.*

cautior] 'but though you are a very *safe* opinion at the bar, you are a much *safer* campaigner, seeing that you would not cross the water to Britain, fond as you are of the water, and would not have a look at the British charioteers, though in Rome we could not cheat you out of a single gladiatorial show, however low.' We read (Hor. Sat. ii. 1, 8) that Trebatius recommends swimming as a corrective of a tendency to write verses. Trebatius seems to have been devoted to those sports of the amphitheatre which Cicero found so dull. The *andabata* fought blindfold (probably mounted, too; hence suggested here by *essedarii*) for the amusement of the lowest class of spectators: cp. Holden on Sest. 126. For *defraudare* with two accusatives the commentators quote *aes defraudasse cauponem*, Varro ap. Non. 25, 1. But the alteration of *andabatam* to *andabata* is so slight that we have not hesitated to make it, in order to recover the ordinary construction.

3. *ad Caesarem*] in 134.

4. *Una . . . Haedui*] 'one hour's talk, grave or gay, will be of more importance to us than all the foes in Gaul—aye, and our "right trusty brothers," the Haedui to boot.' He hints a disparagement of the Haedui, who were called *fratres consanguineique* by the Roman senate (Caes. B. G. i. 33). A comparison of this passage with 167, 2, *una mehercule collocutio nostra pluris erit quam omnes Samarobrivae*, shows that there is no double meaning in *congressio* here.

congressio pluris erit quam non modo hostes sed etiam fratres nostri Haedui. Qua re omnibus de rebus fac ut quam primum sciam:

'aut consolando aut consilio aut re iuvero.'

162. TO L. VALERIUS (FAM. I. 10).

A. U. C. 700; B. C. 54; AET. CIC. 52.

Iocose significat L. Valerio iure consulto se eius nomine P. Lentulo gratias egisse, eumque ut domum redeat hortatur.

M. CICERO S. D. L. VALERIO IURIS CONSULTO;

cur enim tibi hoc non gratificer nescio, praesertim cum his temporibus audacia pro sapientia liceat uti. Lentulo nostro egi per litteras tuo nomine gratias diligenter. Sed tu velim desinas iam nostris litteris uti et nos aliquando revisas et ibi malis esse ubi aliquo numero sis quam istic ubi solus sapere videare. Quamquam qui istinc veniunt, partim te superbum esse dicunt quod nihil respondeas, partim contumeliosum, quod male respondeas. Sed iam cupio tecum coram iocari. Qua re fac ut quam primum venias neque in Apuliam tuam accedas, ut possimus salvum venisse gaudere; nam illo si veneris, tu, ut Ulixes, cognosces tuorum neminem.

aut . . . iuvero] Ter. Heaut. 86.

cur enim] This is one of those letters in which the meaning of the first sentence depends on the superscribed address. The others are Att. iii. 20 (78); Fam. vii. 29 (677); Fam. xvi. 18 (692).

sapientia] Cicero has again recourse to the threadbare play on *sapientia* in its wide sense, and in its restricted application to the profession of a jurisconsult. So again in *solus sapere*.

nihil respondeas] *Respondere* has in law a technical sense (found also in the phrase *responsa prudentium*, 'counsel's opinions'), 'to give an authoritative opinion on a law point.' Valerius would have no clients in Cilicia, where he now was. In the other sense *respondere* would read 'to give a reply when addressed.' Hence *nihil respondere* would be a mark of arrogance. The play in *quod male respondeas* seems rather impolite. *Male respondere* in one sense would be 'to answer abusively'; hence he is called *contumeliosus*; but, in the other sense, it would mean 'to give bad, unsound opinions on legal questions.' This must be the sense in which the word is here applied to Valerius. Cicero often jokes Trebatius also on his indifferent knowledge of the law (172, 1). We may infer from an expression in a letter to Appius (181, 3) that Cicero had not a high opinion of the professional capacity of Valerius, though he valued him highly as a friend. For the technical sense of *respondere*, cp. 157, 3, and the letters to Trebatius.

illo si veneris] 'if you come back to Apulia, your return will have been so

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163. TO CURIUS (FAM. XIII. 49).

YEAR UNCERTAIN.

M. Cicero Curio commendat Q. Pompeium.

CICERO CURIO PROCOS.

Q. Pompeius Sext. F. multis et veteribus causis necessitudinis mihi coniunctus est. Is, cum antea meis commendationibus et rem et gratiam et auctoritatem suam tueri consuerit, nunc profecto te provinciam obtinente meis litteris adsequi debet, ut nemini se intellegat commendatiorem umquam fuisse. Quam ob rem a te maiorem in modum peto, ut, cum omnis meos aeque ac tuos observare pro necessitudine nostra debeas, hunc in primis ita in tuam fidem recipias ut ipse intellegat nullam rem sibi maiori usui aut ornamento quam meam commendationem esse potuisse. Vale.

long delayed, you will know none of your friends.' Ulysses did know his friends, but was not recognized by them for some time. Cicero appears to have made a much greater slip here than in De Div. ii. 63, or Tusc. iv. 49. Mendelssohn wishes to punctuate *Nam, illo si veneris tam Ulixes, cognosces tuorum neminem*, 'for if you come there such a Ulysses (i.e. one who has been away from home so long), you will not recognize any of your friends.' For *tam* used in this sense may be compared Fam. ix. 2, 2 (461) *tam Lynceus*. The reading of Klotz, *cognoscere tuorum nemini* (adopted in our former edition), is, as Mr. Roby points out (*Classical Review*, i. 70), not Ciceronian Latin. Cicero only uses the dative of the agent with a finite verb where 'for' a person is as suitable a meaning as 'by' him: cp. N. D. ii. 48 *bestiis cibus quaeritur*; Q. Fr. i. 1, 25 (30) *aes alienum contrahi civitatibus*.

CURIO] It is probable that this Curius was the tribune of 696 (58): cp. Q. Fr. i. 4, 3 (72), and Fam. ii. 19, 2 (262). But it is quite uncertain what province he governed, and at what time. O. E. Schmidt (*Der Briefwechsel*, p. 232) dates this letter between 707 (47) and 710 (44).

164. TO C. MUNATIUS (FAM. XIII. 60).

YEAR UNCERTAIN.

M. Cicero L. Livineium Tryphonem C. Munatio commendat.

M. CICERO C. MUNATIO C. F. S.

1. L. Livineius Trypho est omnino L. Reguli familiarissimi mei libertus: cuius calamitas etiam officiosiorem me facit in illum: nam benevolentior quam semper fui esse non possum. Sed ego libertum eius per se ipsum diligo: summa enim eius erga me officia exstiterunt iis nostris temporibus quibus facillime [bonam] benevolentiam hominum et fidem perspicere potui. 2. Eum tibi ita commendo ut homines grati et memores bene meritos de se commendare debent. Pergratum mihi feceris, si ille intellexerit se, quod pro salute mea multa pericula adierit, saepe hieme summa navigarit, pro tua erga me benevolentia gratum etiam tibi fecisse.

Nothing further can be said about the date of this letter than that it was written possibly not very long after Cicero's return. Nothing seems to be known of this Munatius except what can be gathered from this letter.

1. *L. Livineius*] See Att. iii. 17, 1 (75) *Livineius L. Reguli libertus ad me a Regulo missus venit.*

omnino] 'at all events'; that is, in any case I should feel an interest in him as the freedman of Regulus, but, in addition to this, I esteem Livineius for himself.

calamitas] probably 'exile,' a common meaning of *calamitas*.

iis nostris temporibus quibus] 'that crisis in my life when'; the phrase *iis nostris temporibus* must be closely taken with *quibus*. Taken by themselves, these words would refer to the period of Cicero's consulate, and his subsequent paramount influence, defined particularly in 153, 12.

bonam] may possibly be wrong; *benevolentiam* and *fidem* are found together, without any epithet for either, Fam. xiii. 69, 1 (508); xv. 4, 5 (238). Lambinus transposes the word to precede *fidem*. Mendelssohn, however, thinks that *bona benevolentia* means 'true,' 'sincere,' not 'assumed,' kindliness, and compares Fam. ix. 16, 2 (472) *nam etsi non facile diiudicatur amor verus et fictus, nisi aliquod incidit eius modi tempus ut, quasi aurum igni, sic benevolentia fidelis periculo aliquo perspici possit.*

Wiel. II p. 462 Stalk. v. Asia

165. TO PHILIPPUS (FAM. XIII. 73).

YEAR UNCERTAIN.

M. Cicero Q. Philippum salvum ex provincia redisse gaudet, Egnati et Oppi causa gratias agit, ut Antipatri filios sibi condonet rogat.

M. CICERO Q. PHILIPPO PROCOS. S.

1. Gratulor tibi quod ex provincia salvum te ad tuos recepisti, incolumi fama et re publica. Quod si Romae fuissem, te vidissem coramque gratias egissem quod tibi L. Egnatius familiarissimus meus absens, L. Oppius praesens curae fuisset. 2. Cum Antipatro Derbete mihi non solum hospitium verum etiam summa familiaritas intercedit. Ei te vehementer suscensuisse audivi et moleste tuli. De re nihil possum iudicare, nisi illud mihi persuadeo te, talem virum, nihil temere fecisse. *A* te autem pro vetere nostra necessitudine etiam atque etiam peto ut eius filios qui in tua potestate sunt mihi potissimum condones, nisi quid existimas in ea re violari existimationem tuam. Quod ego si arbitrarer, numquam te rogarem, mihique tua fama multo antiquior esset quam illa necessitudo est. Sed mihi ita persuadeo—potest fieri ut fallar—eam rem laudi tibi potius quam vituperationi fore. Quid fieri possit et quid mea causa facere possis—nam quin velis non dubito —, velim, si tibi grave non erit, certiorem me facias.

Q. Marcius Philippus was probably governor of Asia, but in what year is uncertain: see note to Fam. xiii. 43 (918).

1. *L. Egnatius*] a *negotiator*, or banker, in the province of Philippus: as was also L. Oppius: the latter was befriended by Philippus personally when in his province (*praesens*); the former by a letter, or through the agency of others (*absens*).

2. *Antipatro Derbete*] an unknown Greek of Derbe, in Lycaonia.

nisi] 'yet still.' *Quod* is inserted b Ernesti and most edd. But we have here a characteristic colloquialism common in comedy. For this elliptico-adversative use of *nisi*, cp. *nisi mirumst facinus*, '*yet still* it is a wonder,' Plaut. Mil. 377: see also Trin. 233; Rud. 751. Somewhat similar is the use in such a phrase as *nescio, nisi hoc video*, Rosc. Am. 99. A good instance is in Plaut. Mil. 24 *nisi unum: epityrum illi estur insanum bene*, 'yet still there is one thing—his olive salad eats *à ravir*.'

LETTERS OF THE SIXTEENTH YEAR OF CICERO'S CORRESPONDENCE.

EPP. CLXVI.-CLXXVII.

A. U. C. 701 ; B. C. 53 ; AET. CIC. 53.

COSS. CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS, M. VALERIUS MESSALLA.

THERE is during this year no letter to Atticus, who was, doubtless, now in Rome. Cicero's chief correspondents were the younger Curio and Trebatius. The year opened with a series of *interregna*, which lasted to July ; it was signalized by the defeat and death of Crassus in June ; and in Gaul the army of Caesar was very hard pressed. It is strange that we find no allusion in the letters to the gallant resistance of the legion under Q. Cicero, in the territory of the Nervii, and the surprise of the camp of Quintus by the Sigambri, the former of which occurred in the winter of 700-1 (54-3), and the latter about the middle of 701 (53). Cicero was chosen this year to fill the place in the body of augurs which was rendered vacant by the death of Publius Crassus, the son of the triumvir, who fell at Carrhae.

166. TO C. SCRIBONIUS CURIO (FAM. II. 1).

ROME; A. U. C. 701 (FIRST HALF); B. C. 53; AET. CIC. 53.

A C. Curione propter neglegentiam litterarum accusatus se excusat, quod absens summam laudem consecutus sit gratulatur adhortaturque ut exspectationi quam de se excitaverit omni modo satis faciat.

M. CICERO S. D. C. CURIONI.

1. Quamquam me neglegentiae nomine suspectum tibi esse doleo, tamen non tam mihi molestum fuit accusari abs te officium

This is the first of Cicero's letters to C. Scribonius Curio. He was now quaestor to C. Clodius in Asia; and accordingly we may presume that he was about twenty-eight years of age. Cicero's correspondence with him is highly interesting, as showing the influence which the great orator exercised over the young men of his time. Curio was a young noble of great spirit and promise—a kind of Roman Alcibiades. He came of a family of orators. Cp. Schol. Bob. in the introduction to the *Oratio in Clodium et Curionem* (p. 330 Or.) *Tres illis temporibus Curiones illustri nomine exstiterunt . . . Curio avus qui Servium Fulvium incesti reum defendit* [he was praetor in 633 (121)]: *et hic C. Curio pater qui P. Clodio adfuit* [he was consul in 678 (76)]: *et tertius ille Curio tribunicius qui bello civili Pompeiano in Africa periit.* Cicero says of the father of his present correspondent, that he was an orator, *usu, credo, aliquo domestico, nam litterarum admodum nihil sciebat* (Brut. 210). The present correspondent was at first the great hope of the optimate party. Cicero says of him, in Att. ii. 18, 1 (45), *unus loquitur et palam adversatur adulescens Curio*, and goes on to declare how popular the young rake was with the *boni*. When Caesar paid his debts, and gained him over to his side, he had no more devoted adherent than young Curio. Julius Celsus (p. 131) called him *animosissimum atque eloquentissimum e collegio tribunorum.* His profligacy (for which Cicero himself nicknames him *filiola Curionis*: cp. Att. i. 14, 5 (20)) was conspicuous. Yet Cicero, it will be observed, addressed him in the language of esteem and affection. It is of him that Lucan (iv. 814) writes:—

'Haud alium tanta civem tulit indole Roma,
Aut cui plus leges deberent recta sequenti.'

And he is the subject of the oft-quoted verse of the same poet (iv. 819):—

'Momentumque fuit mutatus Curio rerum.'

For a very spirited notice of Curio, in which he is called *ingeniosissime nequam*, see Vell. Pat. ii. 48. He died in an engagement with the troops of Juba and P. Attius Varus, in Africa, in 705 (49).

1. *nomine*] 'on account of,' 'on the score of.' So we have *eo nomine sum Dyrrhachi ut . . . audiam*, 'on this account, that I may hear,' Fam. xiv. 3, 4 (84); cp. Fam. iv. 5 (555). In Brut. ii. 5, 1 (842), *tuo nomine* means 'as coming from you,' 'as bearing your name.' In 169, 1 it means, 'in your name.'

officium] 'I was not so much annoyed that any failure in my duty to you was charged against me, as pleased that it was missed.' His *officium* was to write. Here *officium* stands for 'failure in duty,' on the principle commented on at Att. i. 5, 3 (1), where *missione* is vindicated against the conjecture *intermissione*. A good

meum quam iucundum requiri, praesertim quom in quo accusabar culpa vacarem, in quo autem desiderare te significabas meas litteras prae te ferres perspectum mihi quidem, sed tamen dulcem et optatum amorem tuum. Equidem neminem praetermisi, quem quidem ad te perventurum putarem, cui litteras non dederim. Etenim quis est tam in scribendo impiger quam ego? A te vero bis terve summum et eas perbrevis accepi. Qua re si iniquus es in me iudex, condemnabo eodem ego te crimine: sin me id facere noles, te mihi aequum praebere debebis. Sed de litteris hactenus: non enim vereor ne non scribendo te expleam, praesertim si in eo genere studium meum non aspernabere. 2. Ego te afuisse tam diu a nobis et dolui quod carui fructu iucundissimae consuetudinis, et laetor quod absens omnia cum maxima dignitate es consecutus quodque in omnibus tuis rebus meis optatis fortuna respondit. Breve est quod me tibi praecipere meus incredibilis in te amor cogit. Tanta est exspectatio vel animi vel ingeni tui ut ego te obsecrare obtestarique non dubitem, sic ad nos conformatus revertare ut, quam exspectationem tui concitasti, hanc sustinere ac tueri possis. Et quoniam meam tuorum erga me meritorum memoriam nulla umquam delebit oblivio, te rogo ut memineris, quantaecumque tibi accessiones fient et fortunae et dignitatis, eas te non potuisse consequi, nisi meis puer olim fidelissimis atque amantissimis consiliis paruisses. Qua re hoc animo in nos esse debebis ut

example in Greek is *εὐχωλῆς ἐπιμέμφεται ἢ ἑκατόμβης*, Hom. Il. i. 65.

in quo] 'in so far as' will render *in quo* in both places.

prae te ferres] *ferres*, of course, depends on *quom*.

praetermisi] 'I never let anyone pass without giving him a letter for you.' Cp. 139, 3 *nullum praetermittam Caesaris tabellarium cui litteras ad te non dem*, and *neminem praetermiserit*, Fam. xi. 21, 1 (893). The expression would be inaccurate if *praetermisi* was here rendered 'passed over.' 'I never passed over anyone without giving him a letter' is inaccurate, for if he was given a letter, he was not passed over.

bis terve] 'twice, or at most thrice'; *bis terque* is 'twice or thrice at least' (159, 6).

summum] adverbial 'at the most': cp. Fam. xiv. 3, 5 (84); Att. xii. 44, 3 (509).

iniquus] 'harsh,' not 'unfair'; *aequus* is 'favourably disposed,' 'lenient,' not 'just,' 'impartial.'

ne non scribendo] 'I have no fear that I shall not thoroughly satisfy you with my regularity as a correspondent, especially if I find that my energy in that direction is looked on by you with favour' (is taken as a proof of my friendship). *Non* and *expleam* are to be taken together.

2. *vel animi vel ingeni*] 'shall I say of your spirit or your abilities.' The same antithesis occurs again in Fam. x. 28, 2 (819) *senatum . . . revocavi magis animi quam ingeni viribus*.

obtestari . . . revertare] The omission of *ut* before the subjunctive *revertare* is characteristic of the letters and of the comic drama. See Tyrrell's note on Plaut. Mil. Arg. i. 11; and Draeger, vol. ii., § 409.

meritorum] in his struggles with Clodius, and in his restoration from exile.

paruisses] See Phil. ii. 45, 46.

aetas nostra iam ingravescens in amore atque in adulescentia tua conquiescat.

167. TO TREBATIUS (FAM. VII. 11).

ROME; JANUARY; A. U. C. 701; B. C. 53; AET. CIC. 53.

M. Cicero iocatur cum C. Trebatio de interregnis, suadet ut, si e re sua sit, maneat in provincia: sin minus, se in urbem recipiat.

CICERO TREBATIO.

1. Nisi ante Roma profectus esses, nunc eam certe relinqueres. Quis enim tot interregnis iure consultum desiderat? Ego omnibus unde petitur hoc consili dederim ut a singulis interregibus binas advocationes postulent. Satisne tibi videor abs te ius civile didicisse? 2. Sed heus tu, quid agis? ecquid fit? Video enim te iam iocari per litteras. Haec signa meliora sunt quam in meo Tusculano. Sed quid sit scire cupio. Consuli quidem te a Caesare scribis, sed ego tibi ab illo consuli mallem. Quod si aut fit aut

1. *tot interregnis*] The whole of this frigid jesting turns on the nature of the office of the *interrex*, for which see *Class. Dict.* The business of the law courts was disorganised during the *interregnum*: each *interrex* was chosen only for five days; on the expiration of five days a new *interrex* was appointed. The jocular counsel which Cicero gives to all defendants in civil actions (*omnibus unde petitur*) is to ask from each *interrex*, 'two adjournments,' two of the periods allowed for seeking legal assistance (*binas advocationes*). The defendant could thus postpone his day of trial for an indefinite term. Cicero asks: 'Does not this counsel of mine show that I have profited by my friendship with you in civil procedure?' From this sense of *advocatio* comes the meaning of 'delay' not unfrequently found in Seneca. The *interregna* seem to have lasted till July; and when the consuls were at length appointed, they did not succeed in holding the comitia.

2. *signa*] Cicero welcomes in his friend's letters a tendency to be jocular. He says: 'These signs (*signa*) of reviving spirits in you are better than the statues (*signa*) in my Tusculanum.' The play is on the two meanings of *signa*, 'signs' and 'statues.' We do not see how the play could be reproduced in English. We learn that Fadius Gallus had bought for Cicero some statues (*signa*), for which Cicero did not at all care. He possibly refers here to this unlucky purchase. He says: 'I like the look of your last letter, with its bantering tone, far better than I like the look of those statues which Fadius Gallus bought for me.' He had perhaps already told Trebatius how he was disappointed with the purchases of Fadius Gallus.

Consuli] Cicero welcomes the sportive tone of his friend's letter, but he wants to know what is the source of his pleasant state of mind. 'You tell me,' he writes, 'that Caesar has consulted your judgment: I had far rather he had consulted your interests. If you think the latter is so (or that there is any chance of it), don't shirk the campaigning: stay on. I can

futurum putas, perfer istam militiam et permane: ego enim desiderium tui spe tuorum commodorum consolabor: sin autem ista sunt inaniora, recipe te ad nos. Nam aut erit hic aliquid aliquando aut, si minus, una mehercule collocutio nostra pluris erit quam omnes Samarobrivae. Denique, si cito te rettuleris, sermo nullus erit: si diutius frustra afueris, non modo Laberium sed etiam sodalem nostrum Valerium pertimesco. Mira enim persona induci potest Britannici consulti. 3. Haec ego non rideo, quamvis tu rideas, sed de re severissima tecum, ut soleo, iocor. Remoto ioco tibi hoc amicissimo animo praecipio, ut, si istic mea commendatione tuam dignitatem obtinebis, perferas nostri desiderium, honestatem et facultates tuas augeas: sin autem ista frigebunt, recipias te ad nos. Omnia tamen quae vis et tua virtute profecto et nostro summo erga te studio consequere.

console myself for my separation from you by the prospect of your advancement. But if it (your advancement) is all in the clouds, come back to me. Something must turn up here some time; or, if not, I declare I think one hour's talk between us will be worth all the Samarobrivas in the world.' We have frequently met the plural thus used in the case of persons, as, for instance, 92, 3 *omnis Catilinas Acidinos postea reddidit*, 'he made every ruffian like Catiline seem thenceforth as respectable as an Acidinus.' Somewhat of a parallel is Att. viii. 16, 2 (352) *Lucerias horrent*, 'they are afraid of another Luceria,' where it was reported that plans for proscription were being hatched.

si cito te rettuleris] His final advice is: 'If you come back soon, there will be no comment; but if you are long away, and to no purpose, I fear Laberius will introduce you into a farce. He will get his points from our friend Valerius, the jurisconsult; and he will have in you a splendid character — the lawyer in Britain.' Valerius is the jurisconsult to whom Cicero has already written (cp. 162), and who is mentioned again in 181, 3. Bardt less probably supposes that the reference is to the poet Valerius Catullus. Laberius, the celebrated writer of *mimi*, is another of those persons who are mentioned alike in Horace's satires and Cicero's letters.

3. *Remoto ioco*] 'jesting apart.' This would seem very un-Ciceronian Latin, if we had not here Ciceronian warrant for it. So would *magna in spe sum*, 'I am in great hopes,' Att. vi. 2, 6 (256). How many examiners would accept either phrase in a Latin composition; or *aperire ludum* for 'to open a school'? yet cp. Fam. ix. 18, 1 (473).

168. TO CURIO (FAM. II. 2).

ROME; A. U. C. 701 (FIRST HALF); B. C. 53; AET. CIC. 53.

C. Curioni post patris obitum omnia bona quasi parentis loco cupit.

M. CICERO S. D. C. CURIONI.

Gravi teste privatus sum amoris summi erga te mei, patre tuo, clarissimo viro: qui cum suis laudibus tum vero te filio superasset omnium fortunam, si ei contigisset ut te ante videret quam a vita discederet. Sed spero nostram amicitiam non egere testibus. Tibi patrimonium dei fortunent! Me certe habebis cui et carus aeque sis et iucundus ac fuisti patri.

169. TO CURIO (FAM. II. 3).

ROME; A. U. C. 701 (FIRST HALF); B. C. 53; AET. CIC. 53.

C. Curioni Rupam libertum excusat, quod in patris funere ludos populo Romano non promiserit, et de his muneribus quid sentiat aperit.

M. CICERO S. D. C. CURIONI.

1. Rupae studium non defuit declarandorum munerum tuo nomine, sed nec mihi placuit nec cuiquam tuorum quidquam te absente fieri quod tibi, cum venisses, non esset integrum. Meam

patre tuo] The elder Curio had just died. Curio the elder supported Cicero in his actions against Catiline, and called his consulship ἀποθέωσις: cp. Att. i. 16, 13 (22); but in the matter of the Bona Dea he defended Clodius, perhaps out of enmity to Caesar. Though Cicero vehemently attacked him in the *Or. in Clodium et Curionem*, this does not seem to have impaired their friendship.

te filio] 'with you as his son.' For this *ablativus modi*, see note on 131, 4.

1. *Rupae*] Rupa was a freedman of Curio's. Acting on the advice of Cicero and other friends of Curio, he had refrained from promising the people public spectacles on the occasion of the death of the elder Curio. Cicero, in this letter, takes the responsibility on himself.

quod tibi ... non esset integrum] 'which should bind you to any step on your return,' 'which should not leave you free to decide for yourself on your return.'

quidem sententiam aut scribam ad te postea pluribus aut, ne ad eam meditere, imparatum te offendam coramque contra istam rationem meam dicam, ut aut te ad meam sententiam adducam aut certe testatum apud animum tuum relinquam quid senserim, ut, si quando—quod nolim—displicere tibi tuum consilium coeperit, possis meum recordari. Brevi tamen sic habeto, in eum statum temporum tuum reditum incidere ut iis bonis quae tibi natura, studio, fortuna data sunt, facilius omnia quae sunt amplissima in re publica consequi possis quam muneribus, quorum neque facultatem quisquam admiratur—est enim copiarum, non virtutis—neque quisquam est quin satietate iam defessus sit. 2. Sed aliter atque ostenderam facio qui ingrediar ad explicandam rationem sententiae meae. Qua re omnem hanc disputationem in adventum tuum differo. Summa scito te in exspectatione esse eaque a te exspectari quae a summa virtute summoque ingenio exspectanda sunt: ad quae si es, ut debes, paratus—quod ita esse confido—plurimis maximisque muneribus et nos amicos et civis tuos universos et rem publicam adficies. Illud cognosces profecto, mihi te neque cariorem neque iucundiorem esse quemquam.

ne ad eam meditere] Cicero says: 'Either I shall write you a longer letter, setting forth my reason for not recommending you to promise public spectacles; or [I shall not write, but] to give you no chance of thinking over answers to my objections, I shall take you unprepared, and in a personal interview will set forth my case.'

displicere] Curio may have had reason to regret that he did not adopt Cicero's advice. The spectacles which he gave involved him in such difficulties as finally induced him to sell himself to the side of Caesar.

quorum neque facultatem] 'the capacity to give which no one admires, as it depends on money, not on any high personal quality.'

2. *aliter atque ostenderam*] In the beginning of the letter he had said he would reserve his reasons for a future letter, or a personal interview.

in exspectatione] 'that your arrival is eagerly looked forward to.' For this *passive* use of *exspectatio*, cp. *maxima exspectatione . . . . nos venisse scito*, Att. v. 16, 2 (208); *cum res in summa exspectatione esset*, Att. viii. 11 D, 3 (343).

muneribus] 'you will give us something better for us to see than any show.'

170. TO TREBATIUS (FAM. VII. 12).

ROME; FEBRUARY; A. U. C. 701; B. C. 53; AET. CIC. 53.

Per iocum exagitat M. Cicero Epicureos ipsumque adeo Trebatium, quem Epicureum esse factum narraverat Pansa.

CICERO TREBATIO.

1. Mirabar quid esset quod tu mihi litteras mittere intermisisses. Indicavit mihi Pansa meus Epicureum te esse factum. O castra praeclara! Quid tu fecisses, si te Tarentum et non Samarobrivam misissem? Iam tum mihi non placebas, cum idem tuebare quod Selius familiaris meus. 2. Sed quonam modo

O castra praeclara] 'What a wonderful military camp that must be of yours'; for the hardships of a military camp were not likely to engender Epicurean principles. In consideration of the next clause, this seems a better sense than to interpret: 'that is a fine camp to take your stand in,' i.e. 'a fine philosophical system to range yourself as a supporter of.' Life does not appear to have been all hardship in the Gallic campaigns. Quintus seems to spend most of his time writing poetry; and one correspondent tells Marcus (148, 22) *se maxime litteris, sermonibus, cenis denique tuis* (i.e. of Quintus) *delectari*.

Tarentum] For the charms of this, the chief of winter resorts, compare the well-known passage in Horace Carm., ii. 6, 12 *Ille terrarum*, &c.; also Seneca, De Tranquill. Animi, 2, 13.

Iam tum] 'Even then, when you were holding the same tenets as my friend Selius, I did not approve of you.' Klotz reads *Selius* for *Zeius, Seius*, &c., of the mss, without giving reasons. Perhaps the reasons are as follows:—This is plainly a reference to some philosophical views which were more akin to Cicero's own tenets than the Epicurean, but yet did not wholly please him. In point of ethics, it may have been the New Academy; their doctrine, that probability, not certainty, is all that mankind can arrive at, deprives morals of that firm foundation and immutability which Cicero desired. Let us quote at length a passage from the De Legibus, i. 39 *Sibi autem indulgentis et corpori deservientis atque omnia quae sequantur in vita quaeque fugiant voluptatibus et doloribus ponderantis, etiamsi vera dicunt* (*nihil enim opus est hoc loco litibus*), *in hortulis suis iubeamus dicere atque etiam ab omni societate reipublicae, cuius partem nec norunt ullam nec umquam nosse voluerunt, paullisper facessant rogemus. Perturbatricem autem harum omnium rerum Academiam, hanc ab Arcesila et Carneade recentem, exoremus ut sileat. Nam si invaserit in haec, quae satis scite nobis instructa et composita videntur, nimias edet ruinas. Quam quidem ego placare cupio, submovere non audeo.* Here Epicurean ethics are wholly condemned; Academic ethics condemned indeed, but in a less degree. Now, if we compare Acad. 2, 11, *nam aderant familiares mei* (Lucullus is speaking) *docti homines P. et C. Selii et Tetrilius Rogus qui se illa audivisse Romae de Philone et ab ipso duos libros dicerent descripsisse*, we see that two members of the Selian family were followers of Philo; and however reactionary these 'two books' may have been, there is little doubt that 'in the public lectures which Cicero heard, Philo gave expression to that brilliant and negative criticism that he had inherited from Carneades, leaving reactionary doctrines for private conversation and his written books' (Reid, Academ., Introd., p. 60).

2. *Sed quonam modo*] Cicero goes on to

ius civile defendes, cum omnia tua causa facias, non civium? Ubi porro illa erit formula fiduciae, UT INTER BONOS BENE AGIER OPORTET? Quis enim *bonus* est qui facit nihil nisi sua causa? Quod ius statues COMMUNI DIVIDUNDO, quom commune nihil possit esse apud eos qui omnia voluptate sua metiuntur? Quo modo autem tibi placebit IOVEM LAPIDEM iurare, cum

rally Trebatius as to how his occupation will be gone if he becomes an Epicurean. The Epicureans held that 'in the sphere of morals individual feeling must be made the standard, and individual well-being the object of all human activity' (Zeller, *Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics*, Eng. Trans., p. 472, and the references), and that 'pleasure is the only unconditional good' (*ib.*, p. 473). How then will Trebatius be able to use the legal formula in actions against trustees about honest dealing amongst honest men? for the honest man (*bonus*) is he who regards the fair claims of *others* than himself. And similarly, how will Trebatius see to the fair division of a joint property? Further, if Trebatius is a Fetialis, how will he be able to swear by Jupiter, the stone, and ask this god to cast him forth from his fatherland if he perjures himself, seeing that the Epicureans *know* all about the gods—how that they are 'perfectly free from care and trouble, and absolutely regardless of the world' (Zeller, p. 467); in fact, 'a society of Epicurean philosophers' (*ib.*, p. 468), to whom caring for others outside their own circle, and mixing in civil society or in political life, are regarded as necessary evils, and only to be practised 'as far as it is necessary for the philosopher's own safety'? (Zeller, p. 491). What, then, will become of the poor inhabitants of Ulubrae, if Trebatius ceases to be their *patronus*, and to lend them his disinterested aid?

formula fiduciae] If a man transferred his property to another on condition that it should be restored to him, this contract was called Fiducia. If the trustee refused to surrender it, he was liable to an *actio fiduciae*, which was an *actio bonae fidei*. In the *actiones stricti iuris* the praetor expressed in precise, curt, and strict terms (*directum asperum simplex*, Rosc. Com. 11) the matter submitted to the judge, whose authority was thus circumscribed. In the *actiones bonae fidei* (Top. 66, an important passage) more indulgence and latitude (*mite moderatum*) were given by the formula of the praetor, and the whole circumstances of the case were taken into consideration, in order to come to an equitable decision. The terms in the formula were *Quantum aequius melius, id dari*, or *ut inter bonos bene agier oportet*, or *ex fide bona*: Gaius iv. 47, 50, 62, and Poste on § 45.

Quis enim bonus est qui] *bonus* is wanting in the mss. Manutius had already added *bonus*, but after *est*. Orelli wished to omit *est*—which might easily have got inserted after *enim* by dittographia—and to understand *bonus* out of *bonos*. This is no doubt hard; so we had better acquiesce in Wesenberg's reading, which inserts *bonus* before *est*. Words were often dropped out owing to the proximity of a similar word.

communi dividundo] This was an action for dividing the property of partners. It was one of the three actions—*familiae erciscundae*, 'for dividing a family inheritance,' and *finium rogandorum* being the other two—which the judge 'adjudicated.' See Justinian, Instit. iv. 17,5 and Sandars ad loc. and Introd., § 103 also a clear article by Mr. Moyle in Dict. Antiqq., p. 513. Cicero seems to imply (of course with but a bare semblance of accuracy) that the individualistic hedonism, as it is called, of the Epicureans cannot co-exist with any sort of partnership.

Iovem lapidem iurare] For *iurare* with the simple acc. see Verg. Aen. xii. 197 *Haec eadem, Aenea, terram mare sidera iuro*; also Juv. 3, 144 *iures licet et Samothracum et nostrorum aras*. This oath was in accordance with 'a very old Roman rite' (Apul. De Deo Socrat. 5). The locus classicus is Polybius, iii. 25, of the treaty with Carthage, 475 (=b.c. 279) τὸν δὲ ὅρκον ὀμνύειν ἔδει τοιοῦτον, ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν πρώτων συνθηκῶν Καρχηδονίους μὲν τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς πατρῴους, Ῥωμαίους δὲ Δία λίθον κατά τι παλαιὸν ἔθος, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων τὸν Ἄρην καὶ τὸν Ἐνυάλιον. ἔστι δὲ τὸ Δία λίθον τοιοῦτον. λαβὼν εἰς τὴν

scias Iovem iratum esse nemini posse? Quid fiet porro populo Ulu-

χεῖρα λίθον ὁ ποιούμενος τὰ ὅρκια περὶ τῶν συνθηκῶν, ἐπειδὰν ὀμόσῃ δημοσίᾳ πίστει λέγει τάδε. "εὐορκοῦντι μὲν ποιεῖν τἀγαθά· εἰ δ' ἄλλως διανοηθείην τι ἢ πράξαιμι πάντων τῶν ἄλλων σῳζομένων ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις πατρίσιν, ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις νόμοις, ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων βίων ἱερῶν τάφων, ἐγὼ μόνος ἐκπέσοιμι οὕτως ὡς ὅδε λίθος νῦν." καὶ ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ῥίπτει τὸν λίθον ἐκ τῆς χειρός. The stone was a flint, symbolical, apparently, of the thunderbolt. We may compare 'the all-dreaded thunder-*stone*' in 'Cymbeline,' and hear Chapman 'speak out loud and bold,' when he renders εἴπερ μοι καὶ μοῖρα Διὸς πληγέντι κεραυνῷ κεῖσθαι ὁμοῦ νεκύεσσι μεθ' αἵματι καὶ κονίῃσιν (Il. xv. 117) by 'though I sink beneath the fate of being shot to hell by Jove's fell thunder-*stone*'—a translation not altogether unworthy of Homer. This stone was one of the symbols used by the Fetiales, which, with the *sceptrum*, used to be kept in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius: cf. Fest., p. 92 *Feretrius Iupiter . . . ex cuius templo sumebant sceptrum per quod iurarent et lapidem silicem quo foedus ferirent.* The *sceptrum* was the peculiar mark of Jupiter; and so the Fetialis became on the occasion of the solemnity symbolically a Jupiter: cf. Servius on Aen. xii. 200 (*Audiat haec genitor qui foedera fulmine sancit*), where he says: 'Ut autem sceptrum adhibeatur ad foedera haec ratio est quia maiores semper simulacrum Iovis adhibebant: quod cum taediosum esset—inventum est ut sceptrum tenentes quasi imaginem simulacri redderent Iovis. Sceptrum enim ipsius est proprium.' Compare generally on Jupiter Lapis Preller, Röm. Myth. i³. 248, and Marquardt, iii. 408-9, who agree more or less with the above. A serious objection has been urged to this explanation by Mr. Strachan-Davidson in his interesting discussion on the phrase (Introd. to his ed. of Polybius, pp. 73 ff.). He points out that in the ceremony described by Polybius, by Festus (s.v. Lapidem, p. 115) and by Plutarch (Sull. 10, 4) the stone is passive, and so cannot represent Jupiter: it represents the perjurer and castaway. Then *iurare Iovem lapidem* may be explained as two phrases, *iurare Iovem* and *iurare lapidem*, 'to swear by Jupiter,' and 'to swear the stone-oath' (cp. *iurare calumniam*, 'to swear the malice oath,' i.e. that the prosecution is not dictated by malice), run into one phrase, something as *Patres et conscripti* became *Patres conscripti*; and the passage from Apuleius, De Deo Socr. 5 fin., would seem to lend some support to this view (*iurabo per Iovem lapidem Romano vetustissimo ritu? Atque si Platonis vera sententia est, nunquam se deum cum homine communicare, facilius me audierit lapis quam Iupiter*). Mr. Strachan-Davidson thinks that as the stone plays a different part in the ceremonies recorded in Polybius and Livy i. 24 (wherein the flint-stone is the implement which slays the victim), the two ceremonies are quite distinct. But perhaps the two ceremonies only mark the development of a single idea. The stone (which probably in the first instance was suggested by an aerolite) may be regarded in the one case as the instrument of vengeance, and in the other as that which was hurled forth violently from heaven. Beginning with the former idea, in which Jupiter was identified with his instrument, once Jupiter was connected with the stone that connexion did not cease when the transference of idea was made, and little note was taken of the inappositeness in the latter case. Another interpretation is, however, given by Rudorff (Röm. Feldmesser, ii. 242), viz., that Jupiter Lapis is the god who watches over boundary stones (termini silicei); and Jupiter (according to the Etruscan Vegoia Arruns Veltymnus) as this guardian pours down many and varied woes on those who remove their neighbour's landmarks (Grom. Vet. 350, 18 sqq.). But this is not in accord with the definite and official explanation of Polybius.

scias] 'know all about how,' not merely think—a hit at the dogmatism of the Epicureans.

Ulubrano] In CIL. x. 6489 (= Or. 123) we find, a duovir et quaestor reip. at Ulubrae, and in 6490 (= Or. 121, 4942), a praef. iure dicundo. Ulubrae was, accordingly, a municipium. But it was proverbial for a poor and deserted town. Hor. Epp. i. 11, 29 *Quod petis hic est, Est Ulubris animus si te non deficit aequus*; Juv. 10, 102 *pannosus vacuis aedilis Ulubris.* Trebatius was *patronus* of the town. These *patroni* were influential Romans, selected by the decuriones, who used to lend assistance and protection to the town at Rome. The townsmen then were their *clientes*. The *patroni* were put

brano, si tu statueris πολιτεύεσθαι non oportere? Qua re si plane a nobis deficis moleste fero: sin Pansae adsentari commodum est, ignosco. Modo scribe aliquando ad nos quid agas et a nobis quid fieri aut curari velis.

171. TO TREBATIUS (FAM. VII. 13).

ROME; MARCH 4; A. U. C. 701; B. C. 53; AET. CIC. 53.

M. Cicero C. Trebatio causam exponit intermissionis epistularum sibique gratum esse significat iocis interpositis, quod amicus iam libentius in provincia versetur.

M. CICERO S. D. TREBATIO.

1. Adeone me iniustum esse existimasti ut tibi irascerer, quod parum mihi constans et nimium cupidus decedendi viderere, ob eamque causam me arbitrare litteras ad tei am diu non misisse? Mihi perturbatio animi tui quam primis litteris perspiciebam molestiam attulit. Neque alia ulla fuit causa intermissionis epistularum nisi quod ubi esses plane nesciebam. Hic tu me etiam

first in the list of the senate (see the album of Canusium, CIL. ix. 338). For full information on the *patroni* and their origin, see Marquardt, i. 188, and Mommsen's fine note on the Lex Colon. Juliae Genetivae in Eph. Epig. ii. 146.

πολιτεύεσθαι] This word does not occur in the κυρία δόξα on the subject.

adsentari] 'to humour.' On no account must we translate it 'assent to,' which is *adsentiri*. See a learned note by Dr. Reid on Academ. 2, 45.

1. *arbitrare*] The reading of M, accepted generally by the editors, is *arbitrarere*. But Madvig (A. C. iii. 159) shows that this is probably wrong. *Arbitrarere* was, by one of the commonest of errors, assimilated to the mood of *viderere*. . . . But what satisfactory meaning could be got out of *arbitrarere*? 'Did you think me so unreasonable as to be annoyed with you because you seemed to me wanting in firmness, and too impatient to leave Gaul, *and because you supposed it was for that reason that I was so long without writing?*' For what reason? Because Trebatius seemed to Cicero wanting in firmness, and impatient? But would Cicero be annoyed with Trebatius, because Trebatius mistook the reason why Cicero did not write? It seems far more natural that Cicero should write: 'Did you think me so unreasonable as to be annoyed with you because I thought you weak and impatient, *and do you suppose that was the reason of my long silence?*' It will be observed that the present is found afterwards in *insimulas, accipis*. Dr. Reid thinks that *arbitrarere* is defensible if it is taken with *ut*, as examples of such pleonasm *existimasti ut arbitrarere* can be quoted. But Madvig's simple alteration seems preferable.

Neque alia ulla] 'there was no other reason for my silence, save my ignorance of your whereabouts.' That is, the only reason for his silence was his ignorance of Trebatius' address; the uneasiness which showed itself in the early letters of Trebatius distressed Cicero, but did not prevent his writing. *Ulla* is omitted by GR.

Hic . . . accipis] An indignant question: for the use of *hic* in such cases, cp. *hic tu . . . miraris?* Fam. v. 15, 4

insimulas nec satisfactionem meam accipis? Audi, Testa mi: utrum superbiorem te pecunia facit an quod te imperator consulit? Moriar ni, quae tua gloria est, puto te malle a Caesare consuli quam inaurari. Si vero utrumque est, quis te feret praeter me qui omnia ferre possum? 2. Sed, ut ad rem redeam, te istic invitum non esse vehementer gaudeo, et ut illud erat molestum sic hoc est iucundum. Tantum metuo ne artificium tuum tibi parum prosit: nam, ut audio, istic

> 'non ex iure manum consertum, sed magis ferro
> rem repetunt,'

et tu soles ad vim faciundam adhiberi: neque est quod illam ex-

(587). Wesenberg ingeniously proves that many such passages should be treated as questions, by pointing to Sall. Cat. 52, 11, where, if there were no question, *aliquis* would have been used instead of *quisquam*.

satisfactionem] the regular Latin word for 'an apology.'

gloria] 'desire of distinction,' 'ambition,' as often in Cicero and the comic drama.

inaurari] 'gilded'; that is, 'enriched.' Cp. Hor. Ep. i. 12, 9 *fortunae rivus inauret*; and Shaksp. *Merch. of Ven.* ii. 6, 50, 'I will make fast the doors, and gild myself with some more ducats, and be with you straight.'

utrumque est] that is, if you are being gilded by Caesar, as well as consulted.

2. *illud*] 'your former impatience'; *hoc*, 'your present contentment.'

artificium] 'profession.' Cicero says he fears Trebatius will not make much by his profession among the Gauls,

> 'Because the good old rule
> Sufficeth them, the simple plan,
> That they should take who have the power,
> And they should keep who can.'

The quotation which Cicero uses to convey this sentiment is from Ennius, *Annales* 275 (Vahlen). The whole fragment which describes the uselessness in time of war of the arts of peace runs thus:—

> Pellitur e medio sapientia, vi geritur res,
> Spernitur orator bonus, horridus miles amatur,
> Haud doctis dictis certantes sed maledictis
> Miscent inter sese inimicitiam agitantes.
> Non ex iure manum consertum sed magi' ferro
> Rem repetunt regnumque petunt, vadunt solida vi.

In this fragment *sapientia* seems to be used in the sense which it often bears in the letters to Trebatius, 'the art of the jurisconsult.' Observe the unelided *-ām* in *inimicitiam*. The construction of *manum consertum* is strange. *Consertum* is the supine of *conserere*, depending on *eunt* or *vocant*, taken out of *repetunt*, and governing *manum*. *Ex iure* means 'in accordance with legal rights of a citizen.' *Manum conserere* has a double sense—(1) 'to make a legal claim to property,' (2) 'to join battle.' The fragment is again quoted (there more fully) in *pro Murena* 30.

et tu soles] Wesenberg first saw that this must be taken in close connexion with what goes before. We have followed him in putting a comma, instead of a full stop, after *repetunt*, and in omitting the mark of interrogation inserted by some edd. after *adhiberi*. The meaning is: 'there is no place for a jurisconsult in the camp of Caesar, where they may keep who can, and where you, a jurist, are actually *employed* (*adhiberi*) to commit violence' [in battle against the enemy, instead of being consulted (*adhiberi*) in cases of assault and battery]. There is a play on two senses of the word *adhiberi*.

exceptionem in interdicto] The interdictum was a provisional decree of the praetor, chiefly in the case of disputed possession. There were three kinds of interdict, *adipiscendae*, *retinendae*, and *recuperandae possessionis*. In the former edition we had supposed that the interdict referred to was that of *uti possidetis* (*retinendae possessionis*) and not *de vi armata*, because in Caec. 63 (*vim, quae*

ceptionem in interdicto pertimescas QUO TU PRIOR VI HOMINIBUS ARMATIS NON VENERIS: scio enim te non esse procacem in lacessendo. Sed, ut ego quoque te aliquid admoneam de vestris cautionibus, Treviros vites censeo: audio capitalis esse: mallem aere, argento, auro essent. Sed alias iocabimur. Tu ad me de istis rebus omnibus scribas velim quam diligentissime. D. IV. Non. Mart.

ad caput et vitam pertineret, restitui sine ulla exceptione voluerunt), and Gaius iv. 155 (*Interdum tamen etsi eum vi deiecerim qui a me vi aut clam aut precario possederit, cogor ei restituere possessionem, veluti si armis eum in deiecerim*), it seemed that in the case of armed violence no interdicts were allowed. But Mr. Roby, in the *Classical Review*, i. 66, points out that "it is not necessary to assume in either passage [i.e. Caec. 63, and Gaius iv. 155] that such a plea as we have here was in question. But that such a plea was allowable is, I think, clear (1) from this passage itself; (2) from the analogy of the interdict *de vi* (cf. Cic. Caec. 92); (3) from the reason of the thing supported by the language of the Digest. The use of armed violence in matters of ejectment was rightly held to be so contrary to the dignity of legal procedure as to require peremptory prohibition. Accordingly, a person who had himself acquired possession from his opponent by force (*vi*, not *vi armata*), or by stealth, or by sufferance, was yet entitled to immediate restoration, if his opponent ejected him by armed force. Obviously the same principle applies against him, if he has himself used armed force." And Mr. Roby quotes from the Digest, xliii. 16, l. 3, § 9 *Eum qui cum armis venit possumus armis repellere, sed hoc confestim, non ex intervallo: dummodo sciamus non solum resistere permissum ne deiciatur, sed et si deiectus quis fuerit, eundem deicere non ex intervallo sed ex continenti*. See also Mr. Greenidge, *Procedure*, p. 215.

de vestris cautionibus] There are two kinds of *cautio*—the moral quality of *caution*, *wariness*, and the legal act of *going security for another*. Trebatius is very familiar with *cautiones* in the latter sense; 'but,' says Cicero, 'there are other kinds of *cautio*, and I advise you to beware of the Treviri; I hear they are a parlous (deadly) folk.' Then, when he has called the *Treviri* 'parlous' *capitales*, he plays on the name of the *tres viri capitales*, who had charge of prisons and executions in Rome '[I don't want you to have anything to do with the *III viri capitales*]; I had rather they were the masters of the mint that you were associating with.' The allusion is to the *III viri auro argento aeri flando feriundo*, called in inscriptions III V.A.A.A.F.F., 'the three commissioners for the casting and stamping of gold, silver, and copper coinage.' Broadly, he means: 'I wish you had less of the hardships of campaigning, and a better prospect of making your fortune,' which is, indeed, the burden of most of his letters to Trebatius. These commissioners were also called *III viri monetales*. See Adn. Crit. One might take off the play on words somehow thus: Avoid the Treviri. I hear they do great execution, like their namesakes in Rome: now I don't want to hear about executions in connexion with you, unless it might be the execution of a deed of gift in your favour from Caesar.

172. TO TREBATIUS (FAM. VII. 14).

ROME; MARCH (?); A. U. C. 701; B. C. 53; AET. CIC. 53.

Iocose ac familiariter carpit M. Cicero C. Trebatium, quod nullas litteras miserat.

CICERO TREBATIO.

1. Chrysippus Vettius, Cyri architecti libertus, fecit ut te non immemorem putarem mei: salutem enim verbis tuis mihi nuntiarat. Valde iam lautus es qui gravere litteras ad me dare, homini praesertim prope domestico. Quod si scribere oblitus es, minus multi iam te advocato causa cadent: si nostri oblitus es, dabo operam ut istuc veniam ante quam plane ex animo tuo effluo: sin aestivorum timor te debilitat, aliquid excogita, ut fecisti de Britannia. 2. Illud quidem perlibenter audivi ex eodem Chrysippo, te esse Caesari familiarem. Sed mehercule mallem, id quod erat aequius, de tuis rebus ex tuis litteris quam saepissime cognoscerem. Quod certe ita fieret si tu maluisses benevolentiae quam litium iura perdiscere. Sed haec iocati sumus et tuo more et non nihil etiam nostro. Te valde amamus nosque a te amari cum volumus tum etiam confidimus.

1. *lautus*] 'you are a nice fellow, to make a difficulty about sending me a letter by him.'

scribere] He plays on the two senses of *scribere*—(1) 'to write'; (2) 'to draw up a legal instrument.' If Trebatius has forgotten *scribere* in the latter sense, so much the better for his clients, who thus cannot lose their causes by his bad advice. This word and two others on which he has already played are coupled together as law terms in a passage in Mur. 19 *hanc urbanam militiam* respondendi scribendi cavendi . . . *secutus est*.

effluo] 'prior to my complete obliteration from your mind.' The indic. *effluo* implies that the obliteration of all thought of him from the mind of Trebatius is a thing certain to take place: cp. *litteras des antequam discedimus*, Att. x. 15, 4 401); *antequam discedis Othonem convenias pervelim*, xii. 37, 2 (579); *circumspice, sed ante quam erubesco*, xvi. 5, 3 (770). This construction is very frequent in Plautus, Terence, and Cicero; it is found in Varro, Sallust, Livy, and Virgil, but not in other classical authors, or in Tacitus. Draeger, Hist. Synt. ii. § 512, pp. 618, 619.

2. *aequius*] 'more friendly'; *aequi et iniqui* = 'friends and foes,' Fam. iii. 6, 6 (213).

cognoscerem] For *cognoscerem* in quasi-dependence on *mallem*, see Roby, ii. 1606, 1608; primary tenses are used when the principal verb is primary; secondary, when it is secondary. Good examples are: *de Menedemo vellem verum fuisset, de regina velim verum sit*, Att. xv. 4, 4 (734); *vin te faciam fortunatum*, Plaut. Capt. (858); *nolo me in tempore hoc videat senex*, Ter. And. 819.

173. TO TREBATIUS (FAM. VII. 18).

AGER POMPTINUS; APRIL 8; A. U. C. 701; B. C. 53; AET. CIC. 53.

Laudat M. Cicero constantiam C. Trebatii in toleranda militia et de belli ratione edoceri cupit. Iocatur in eius parsimonia, quod in palimpsesto scripserit. Denique Balbo se eum commendaturum scribit, epistulam se eius conscidisse.

CICERO TREBATIO S.

1. Accepi a te aliquot epistulas uno tempore quas tu diversis temporibus dederas: in quibus me cetera delectarunt: significabant enim te istam militiam iam firmo animo ferre et esse fortem virum et constantem. Quae ego paullisper in te ita desideravi *ut* non imbecillitate animi tui, sed magis ut desiderio nostri te aestuare putarem. Qua re perge, ut coepisti: forti animo istam tolera militiam: multa, mihi crede, adsequere: ego enim renovabo commendationem, sed tempore. Sic habeto, non tibi maiori esse curae ut iste tuus a me discessus quam fructuosissimus tibi sit quam mihi. Itaque, quoniam vestrae cautiones infirmae sunt, Graeculam tibi misi cautionem chirographi mei. Tu me velim de ratione

1. *ut non imbecillitate*] 'These qualities, resolution and strength of mind, I was sorry not to see in you; *but my sorrow was qualified by the feeling that* your uneasiness was due, not to weakness of mind, but to want of me.' *Ita desideravi ut putarem* means, 'my painful sense of your absence was mitigated by the thought that.' For the use of *ita . . . ut*, see Vol. I³., p. 84.

cautiones] This word has been played on before. Cicero here says: 'Your bail-bonds are often not very good: I have now given you (in the promise which I have just made, to give you a new recommendatory letter to Caesar) a guarantee for you under my own hand.' But what is the meaning of *Graeculam*? Ernesti explains it to mean that the *cautio* now given by Cicero is untrustworthy—a case of *Graeca fides*. But this is plainly impossible. Schütz thinks that Cicero sent with this letter a poem in Greek in praise of Trebatius; but this is inconsistent with the words above, *renovabo commendationem sed tempore*, which would not have been used if Cicero had already sent to Trebatius something which was intended to recommend him further to Caesar. Moreover, such a composition could hardly he called a *cautio*, or guarantee for, testimonial to, Trebatius. It is just possible that this very letter was written to Trebatius in Greek. Then Cicero would say: 'I am as anxious for a fruitful issue of your campaigning as you are yourself; therefore I send to you the assurance of continued recommendation to Caesar which I have just given. And to show that the document is genuine, I have written it *in Greek* with my own hand.' We know that Cicero uses Greek largely in his letters to Atticus: cp. Att. vi. 4 and 5 (268, 269); ix. 4 (361). Why, then, should he not have written this letter to Trebatius in Greek, which would have been a very clear proof that it came from Cicero, who,

Gallici belli certiorem facias: ego enim ignavissimo cuique maximam fidem habeo. 2. Sed ut ad epistulas tuas redeam, cetera belle, illud miror: quis solet eodem exemplo pluris dare qui sua manu scribit? Nam quod in palimpsesto, laudo equidem parsimoniam. Sed miror quid in illa chartula fuerit quod delere malueris quam haec *non* scribere, nisi forte tuas formulas. Non enim puto te meas epistulas delere ut reponas tuas. An hoc significas, nihil fieri, frigere te, ne chartam quidem tibi suppeditare? Iam ista tua culpa est qui verecundiam tecum extuleris

probably, had not many rivals in his knowledge of Greek, and who would have written a Greek letter with his own hand, and not entrusted it to a *librarius*? While fully recognising the culture of some of the slaves employed by Roman nobles as secretaries, we may, perhaps, assume that Cicero's *librarius* who wrote this letter could not write a letter in Greek. Hence Cicero would have been obliged to write this Greek letter with his own hand. Of course, if this letter, or any particular passage in it, was written in Greek, the editor, Tiro, or whoever else he was, has put it into Latin. This has certainly been done with stray Greek expressions here and there, and it does not seem unlikely that a similar treatment should have been applied to a letter, or part of one, written in Greek. Böckel seems to think Cicero sent Trebatius a money draft drawn in the Greek language. But why in Greek? Is it on the same principle that our circular notes are couched in French? Mr. Shuckburgh refers it to an enclosure written in Greek, which Trebatius might use as a 'commendation,' and the mention of his 'own handwriting' refers to the fact that he would naturally have employed a Greek secretary to write in Greek, the diminutive *Greculam* being apologetic for his bad Greek. Adopting Mr. Shuckburgh's suggestion in part, we may, perhaps, suppose that it was a special enclosure, with instructions and admonitions as to how Trebatius should bear himself in his intercourse with Caesar; and the reason Cicero wrote it in Greek, and with his own hand, was to ensure, as far as possible, its privacy. We have, perhaps, a reference to a similar enclosure in *interiore epistula*, 148, 18.

ignavissimo] Cicero means: 'You, as not being a man of war, are more likely to appreciate fully the difficulties of the position than Caesar, for instance, who sends home such encouraging accounts.'

2. *quis solet*] Gurlitt (N. Jahrb. für das klassische Altertum, 1901, p. 540) has given the right explanation of this passage. He holds that it was considered etiquette by the Romans when autograph letters of similar tenor were despatched by more than one courier—as was often the case from distant places, in order to obviate the risk of loss in transmission: cp. Fam. x. 5, 1 (810)—not to send exact duplicates, but to vary the expression in the different letters. Accordingly he considers that Fam. v. 8 (131) is really the same letter written twice, probably for different messengers; and that this theory accounts for the similarity of ideas in §§ 1, 2, and §§ 3, 4, of that letter. See also the note there.

Nam quod in palimpsesto] A further symptom of Trebatius' frugality is his using a palimpsest for his letters—a parchment from which writing has been erased, to make room for his letter. This Cicero commends, but wonders what the matter could have been which was so worthless as to make way for the dull and pointless letters of his friend, unless, indeed, it was his friend's conveyances. This bantering, it must be confessed, is dull and not even graceful. We have added *non* with most editors. There is a frequent omission of this word in the manuscripts of the Epistles: cp. C. F. W. Müller's note on p. 3, l. 32, of his edition of Fam. This is simpler than to bracket *quam haec scribere*. Birt wishes to add *in alia*, or *in nova* before *scribere*.

frigere] 'that you have nothing to do.' See on 133, 5.

verecundiam] Cicero thinks Trebatius is far too shy about pushing his fortunes with Caesar. 'It is all your own fault,

et non hic nobiscum reliqueris. 3. Ego te Balbo, cum ad vos proficiscetur, more Romano commendabo. Tu, si intervallum longius erit mearum litterarum, ne sis admiratus: eram enim afuturus mense Aprili. Has litteras scripsi in Pomptino, cum ad villam M. Aemili Philemonis devertissem, ex qua iam audieram fremitum clientium meorum quos quidem tu mihi conciliasti. Nam Ulubris honoris mei causa vim maximam ranunculorum se commosse constabat. Cura ut valeas. VI. Idus April. de Pomptino.

4. Epistulam tuam quam accepi ab L. Arruntio conscidi innocentem: nihil enim habebat quod non vel in contione recte legi posset. Sed et Arruntius ita te mandasse aiebat et tu ascripseras. Verum illud esto. Nihil te ad me postea scripsisse demiror, praesertim tam novis rebus.

for taking your modesty out with you, instead of leaving it at home with us.' In Fam. vii. 5, 3 (134), Cicero says of Trebatius *pudentiorem esse neminem*, and he refers to *tuus pudor* in Fam. vii. 7, 2 (137).

3. *more Romano*] i.e. with frank openness, 134, 3.

clientium meorum] Trebatius was *patronus* of Ulubrae, and had made over to Cicero, during his absence in Gaul, the charge of his clients. Ulubrae was situated close to the Pomptine marshes. Hence, according to the commentators, Cicero calls its inhabitants *frogs*. 'This I am writing in the Pomptine villa of M. Aemilius Philemon, from which I have already heard the voices of my clients—those I mean whom you have secured for me—for it is well known that at Ulubrae a strong party of *frogs* have bestirred themselves to show respect to me' (Mayor on Juv. x. 102). In another letter Cicero speaks of frogs as if they were men, *equidem etiam pluvias metuo si Prognostica nostra vera sunt; ranae enim ῥητορεύουσιν*, 'are holding forth,' Att. xv. 16*b* (747). But we do not think Cicero here calls the inhabitants frogs. We think his joke is calling the frogs his clients. The frogs would abound in this marshy district. He calls their croaking *fremitum clientium meorum*, 'whom you have done me the favour to procure for me.' This gives a better meaning to *constabat*. He says jestingly: 'It is well known (is admitted by all, cannot fail to be observed) that the immense gathering of frogs here is to be accounted for by the fact that they bestirred themselves to do me honour.' There was, in fact, a *concursus* of the frogs as a token of respect to their deputy *patronus*.

4. *conscidi innocentem*] 'I have torn it up, though quite undeserving of such a fate, for there was nothing in it that might not safely have been read to the whole populace.'

ita] 'that I should tear up all your letters.'

tam novis rebus] The reference is probably to the great rising in Gaul in 700, 701 (54, 53), and the second expedition across the Rhine. For the ablative, see on 131, 4.

174. TO TREBATIUS (FAM. VII. 15).

ROME; JUNE (?); A. U. C. 701; B. C. 53; AET. CIC. 53.

M. Cicero iocans suum absentis Trebatii desiderium declarat et de C. Matii familiaritate gratulatur.

CICERO TREBATIO.

1. 'Quam sint morosi qui amant' vel ex hoc intellegi potest: moleste ferebam antea te invitum istic esse: pungit me rursus quod scribis esse te istic libenter: neque enim mea commendatione te non delectari facile patiebar et nunc angor quidquam tibi sine me esse iucundum. Sed hoc tamen malo ferre nos desiderium quam te non ea quae spero consequi. 2. Quom vero in C. Mati, suavissimi doctissimique hominis, familiaritatem venisti, non dici potest quam valde gaudeam: qui fac ut te quam maxime diligat. Mihi crede, nihil ex ista provincia potes quod iucundius sit deportare. Cura ut valeas.

1. *Quam sint morosi qui amant*] This looks very like the beginning of a comic senarius. The *hiatus* shortening a long syllable (*qui*) in the *caesura* is a very common feature in Plautus. And the sentiment, 'How wayward is the mind of him who loves,' would be very suitable to some Faulkland of ancient comedy. For *morosi*, cp. Plaut. Trin. 668 (quoted by Böckel) *Atque is* (sc. *amor*) *mores hominum moros et morosos efficit. Minus placet magis quod suadetur: quod dissuadetur placet.*

commendatione] 'I was annoyed that you were dissatisfied with the step that I recommended'; that is, that Trebatius should push his fortunes in the camp of Caesar.

2. *Quom*] So Mendelssohn for *quam* of the mss. In the language of comedy, and in epistolary language, the indic. with *cum* is found after *laudo gratulor, gratias ago*, and such like, cp. Sall. Jug. 102, and Madvig on Fin. i. 10. But it is doubtful if it can be used in oratorical style: cp. Mr. A. C. Clark on Mil. 99, and Roby, 1725.

C. Mati] a friend of Trebatius and of Caesar. We have a very good letter from him to Cicero on the death of Caesar (Fam. xi. 28, Ep. 785)—perhaps the best letter of any of the correspondents of Cicero, except the beautiful letter of Sulpicius (Fam. iv. 5, Ep. 555), in which he consoles the bereaved father for the death of his daughter Tullia. For an account of Matius, see introd. note to Fam. xi. 27 (784).

quod iucundius sit] 'of a more agreeable character.' The subjunct. ascribes a thing to a class: cp. *quod iuvet curiosus*, 181, 1. *Nihil iucundius* would not have been so strong an expression.

175. TO CURIO (FAM. II. 4).

ROME; A. U. C. 701 (FIRST HALF); B. C. 53; AET. CIC. 53.

M. Cicero Curionem ad laudis studium excitare pergit.

M. CICERO S. D. C. CURIONI.

1. Epistularum genera multa esse non ignoras, sed unum illud certissimum, cuius causa inventa res ipsa est, ut certiores faceremus absentis si quid esset quod eos scire aut nostra aut ipsorum interesset. Huius generis litteras a me profecto non exspectas. Tuarum enim rerum domesticarum *domesticos* habes et scriptores et nuntios. In meis autem rebus nihil est sane novi. Reliqua sunt epistularum genera duo quae me magno opere delectant: unum familiare et iocosum, alterum severum et grave. Utro me minus deceat uti non intellego. Iocerne tecum per litteras? Civem mehercule non puto esse qui temporibus his ridere possit. An gravius aliquid scribam? Quid est quod possit graviter a Cicerone scribi ad Curionem nisi de re publica? Atqui in hoc genere haec mea causa est ut neque ea *quae sentio audeam neque ea* quae non sentio velim scribere. 2. Quam ob rem quoniam mihi nullum scribendi argumentum relictum est, utar ea clausula qua soleo, teque ad studium summae laudis cohortabor. Est enim tibi gravis adversaria constituta et parata, incredibilis quaedam exspectatio: quam tu una re facillime vinces, si hoc statueris, quarum laudum gloriam adamaris, quibus artibus eae laudes comparantur, in iis

1. *Epistularum genera*] Gurlitt in Jahrb. 1888, pp. 863–866, has a careful discussion on the 'Genera usitata epistularum,' taking this passage as a text.

certissimum] 'unquestionable,' 'undeniable': cp. Seneca De Clementia, 4, 2 *possumus insaniam vocare: nam varia sunt genera eius et nullum certius quam quod in caedes hominum pervenit*; also *ecquem tu illo certiorem nebulonem*, Att. xv. 21, 1 (753), if we should not read *cerritiorem* there.

domesticos] See Adn. Crit.

quae sentio audeam neque ea] The italicized words, or some such, must be supplied: cp. Madvig, *Opuscula Acad.* (ed. 2), p. 321. The old commentators took *neque* in the sense of *ne . . . quidem*; but this is un-Ciceronian, as is shown by Madvig in *Excursus* iii., appended to his 3rd ed. of the *De Finibus*, pp. 803 ff.

2. *adversaria*] Cicero says that Curio has a formidable *rival* in the high hopes that have been formed of him; other antagonists he will easily overcome: this only it will be hard to keep even with.

quibus artibus] = *in iis* (artibus) *esse elaborandum quibus* (artibus) *eae laudes*

esse elaborandum. In hanc sententiam scriberem plura, nisi te tua sponte satis incitatum esse confiderem, et hoc quidquid attigi non feci inflammandi tui causa sed testificandi amoris mei.

176. TO CURIO (FAM. II. 5).

ROME; A. U. C. 701 (FIRST HALF); B. C. 53; AET. CIC. 53.

Questus de publicis malis C. Curioni gratulatur quod ea non videat et magnam ex benefactis laudem consequatur. Sed tamen etiam sic ad capessendam rem publicam adulescentulum adhortatur.

M. CICERO S. D. C. CURIONI.

1. Haec negotia quo modo se habeant ne epistula quidem narrare audeo. Tibi, etsi, ubicumque es, ut scripsi ad te ante, in eadem es navi, tamen quod abes gratulor, vel quia non vides ea quae nos, vel quod excelso et illustri loco sita est laus tua in plurimorum et sociorum et civium conspectu: quae ad nos nec obscuro nec vario sermone sed et clarissima et una omnium voce perfertur. 2. Unum illud nescio, gratulerne tibi an timeam, quod mirabilis est exspectatio reditus tui, non quo verear ne tua virtus opinioni hominum non respondeat, sed mehercule ne, cum veneris, non habeas iam quod cures: ita sunt omnia debilitata *et* iam prope exstincta. Sed haec ipsa nescio rectene sint litteris commissa. Qua re cetera cognosces ex aliis. Tu tamen, sive habes aliquam spem de re publica sive desperas, ea para, meditare, cogita quae esse in eo civi ac viro debent qui sit rem publicam adflictam

comparantur, quarum (laudum) *gloriam adamaris.* The same involution of relative and antecedent clauses is found in De Or. ii. 92 *quem probarit, in eo quae maxime excellent, ea . . . . persequatur.* Hofmann remarks that this usage is not uncommon in the recital of laws, e.g. Liv. xxiii. 14, 3. *Laudes* means 'meritorious actions,' as sometimes in Cicero, and in the oft-quoted *sunt hic etiam sua praemia laudi*, Verg. Aen. i. 461.

inflammandi tui] *tui* is genitive of *tu*, not genitive of *tuus*, with *amoris* understood.

1. *ne epistula quidem*] for it might be lost or opened: cp. 159, 2; Att. i. 13, 2 (19); x. 8, 1 (392).

in eadem es navi] Cp. *una navis est iam bonorum omnium quam quidem nos damus operam ut rectam teneamus*, Fam. xii. 25, 5 (825); and ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς (ἀγκύρας) ὁρμεῖτοῖς πολλοῖς, Dem. 319, 8.

2. *sed mehercule*] *vereor* must be taken out of *non verear*, just as *volo* must be inferred from *nolo* in De Nat. Deor. i. 17 *nolo existimes me adiutorem huic venisse sed auditorem* (Hofmann).

recte] 'safely,' as in 90, 1; 153, 23.

civi ac viro] cp. 143, 7 *O virum! o civem!*

et oppressam miseris temporibus ac perditis moribus in veterem dignitatem et libertatem vindicaturus.

177. TO CURIO (FAM. II. 6).

ROME; JULY; A. U. C. 701; B. C. 53; AET. CIC. 53.

M. Cicero C. Curioni ex Asia adventanti Milonis causam consulatum petentis diligentissime commendat, ut qua valeat gratia illius petitionem adiuvet: quod si faceret, non solum T. Milonem verum etiam ipsum Ciceronem sibi maximo opere devincturum esse.

M. CICERO S. D. C. CURIONI.

1. Nondum erat auditum te ad Italiam adventare, cum Sex. Villium, Milonis mei familiarem, cum his ad te litteris misi. Sed tamen cum appropinquare tuus adventus putaretur et te iam ex Asia Romam versus profectum esse constaret, magnitudo rei fecit ut non vereremur ne nimis cito mitteremus, cum has quam primum ad te perferri litteras magno opere vellemus. Ego, si mea in te essent officia solum, Curio—tanta, quanta magis a te ipso praedicari quam a me ponderari solent—verecundius a te, si quae magna res mihi petenda esset, contenderem. Grave est enim homini pudenti petere aliquid magnum ab eo de quo se bene meritum putet, ne id quod petat exigere magis quam rogare et in mercedis potius quam beneficii loco numerare videatur. 2. Sed, quia tua in me vel nota omnibus vel ipsa novitate meorum temporum clarissima et maxima beneficia exstiterunt, estque animi ingenui cui multum debeas eidem plurimum velle debere, non dubitavi id a te per litteras petere quod mihi omnium esset maximum maximeque

1. *Sex. Villium*] mentioned by Horace, Sat. i. 2, 64.

Ego, si mea in te] The meaning is this:—'If the services were only from me to you—and as great (not as I am wont to estimate them [for I think little indeed of them] but) as you often declare them to be—then I should be shy about asking a great favour of you. A man of sensitiveness finds it difficult to ask a great favour of one whom he regards as being under an obligation to himself. He fears that he may seem to demand a right, not to beg a kindness; and to regard the granting of his request as the payment of a debt, not the conferring of a favour. *But seeing that* [instead of the services being all from me] your kindnesses to me were conspicuous to all; or shall I rather say, were thrown out in the clearest prominence as invaluable by the very unprecedented nature of the crisis in which

necessarium. Neque enim sum veritus ne sustinere tua in me merita vel innumerabilia non possem, cum praesertim confiderem nullam esse gratiam tuam quam non vel capere animus meus in accipiendo vel in remunerando cumulare atque illustrare posset. 3. Ego omnia mea studia, omnem operam, curam, industriam, cogitationem, mentem denique omnem in Milonis consulatu fixi et locavi statuique in eo me non offici solum fructum sed etiam pietatis laudem debere quaerere. Neque vero cuiquam salutem ac fortunas suas tantae curae fuisse umquam puto quantae mihi sit honos eius in quo omnia mea posita esse decrevi. Huic te unum tanto adiumento esse, si volueris, posse intellego ut nihil sit praeterea nobis requirendum. Habemus haec omnia: bonorum studium conciliatum ex tribunatu propter nostram, ut spero te intellegere, causam, vulgi ac multitudinis propter magnificentiam munerum liberalitatemque naturae, iuventutis et gratiosorum in suffragiis studia propter ipsius excellentem in eo genere vel gratiam vel diligentiam, nostram suffragationem si minus potentem at probatam tamen et iustam et debitam et propterea fortasse etiam

I stood: *seeing, too, that* a man with the feelings of a gentleman, where he owes much, would fain owe more and more: under these circumstances, I have not hesitated to ask you for a service which is of the highest moment to myself.' We have adopted in the text the punctuation of Wesenberg, who, by marking *tanta . . . solent* as a parenthesis, has thrown some light on a passage by no means clearly expressed.

2. *sustinere . . . non possem*] 'lest I should sink under the weight of your favours, even were they countless.'

cum . . . confiderem] 'especially as I feel confident that you could confer on me no favour so great that I could not find room in my heart for a due appreciation in the receiving of it—could not duly glorify it in the paying of it back, with abundant interest.' In the last words he alludes to the unique opportunities for pronouncing glowing eulogies on those who should put him under an obligation, which his commanding position as an orator placed in his hands. *Capere* is 'to contain,' 'have room for.' For *cumulare*, cp. *quam (veniam) mihi cum dederit cumulatam morte remittam*, Verg. Aen. iv. 436.

3. *fixi et locavi*] 'I have concentrated and embarked' (Shuckburgh). This is probably the meaning, 'put out to interest,' 'invested,' owing to *fructus* following. We can hardly argue that it cannot mean 'to place,' as the word would then be an anticlimax; for Hofmann has shown that not infrequently we find in Cicero a weaker word following a stronger, e.g. Fam. v. 13, 3 (577) *quod non fractum debilitatumve sit*: Rosc. Am. 33 *ut omnis civis perdiderit et afflixerit*.

statuique] 'I have made up my mind that in this matter I must try to gain, not only the [gratitude and good offices which are the] *profits* from an investment of kind acts, but also to gain credit for feeling an affectionate regard' [towards Milo]. Cicero was most anxious as regards Milo's canvass for the consulship: cp. 160, 2. Pompey was the most dangerous factor against Milo's success.

intellegere] For the present inf. after *spero*, cp. Att. ii. 1, 11 (27), and often.

munerum] See 160, 2.

vel gratiam vel diligentiam] 'due to the signal popularity he has won, or, shall I say, energy he has shown, in that sphere' (electioneering).

gratiosam. 4. Dux nobis et auctor opus est et eorum ventorum quos proposui moderator quidam et quasi gubernator: qui si ex omnibus unus optandus esset, quem tecum conferre possemus non haberemus. Quam ob rem, si me memorem, si gratum, si bonum virum vel ex hoc ipso quod tam vehementer de Milone laborem existimare potes, si dignum denique tuis beneficiis iudicas, hoc a te peto ut subvenias huic meae sollicitudini et huic meae laudi vel—ut verius dicam—prope saluti tuum studium dices. De ipso T. Annio tantum tibi polliceor, te maioris animi, gravitatis, constantiae benevolentiaeque erga te, si complecti hominem volueris, habiturum esse neminem. Mihi vero tantum decoris, tantum dignitatis adiunxeris ut eundem te facile agnoscam fuisse in laude mea qui fueris in salute. 5. Ego, ni te videre scirem, qua mente haec scriberem, quantum offici sustinerem, quanto opere mihi esset in hac petitione Milonis omni non modo contentione sed etiam dimicatione elaborandum, plura scriberem. Nunc tibi omnem rem atque causam meque totum commendo atque trado. Unum hoc sic habeto: si a te hanc rem impetraro, me paene plus tibi quam ipsi Miloni debiturum: non enim mihi tam mea salus cara fuit, in qua praecipue sum ab illo adiutus, quam pietas erit

4. *Dux . . . opus est*] When the thing needed is a person, the nom. is very rarely used. For *opus est* used personally in the letters, cp. Fam. vii. 31, 2 (697); x. 8, 3 (833); Att. xv. 20, 4 (752).

ventorum] The forces or influences which Cicero had described are called the 'winds,' which are to carry Milo into the consulate. Compare the words with which Caesar is ushered on to the stage of Cicero's correspondence—(Caesaris) *nunc venti valde sunt secundi*, Att. ii. i. 6 (27).

vel ex hoc ipso] More accurately Cicero would have said: 'If you think I don't forget favours, that I am grateful, that I am an honest man—which you can infer even from my present eagerness to serve Milo, who has done me such services.' His eagerness hurried him into saying: 'If you infer my honesty from my eagerness for Milo.'

prope saluti] Cicero's *salus* might be endangered by the failure of Milo, whose two competitors, Plautius Hypsaeus and Metellus Scipio, were under the influence of Clodius, who was now seeking the praetorship.

dices] 'dedicate,' from *dīco* (*dicare*).

in laude mea] 'in this matter, which touches my whole reputation' (for *pietas*, as he has said in § 3). *In salute* refers here, as it usually does in the letters, to Cicero's restoration from exile.

5. *qua mente*] So Boot for *quam in te* of the mss.

quantum offici sustinerem] 'under what a load of obligation I am' to Milo.

contentione . . . dimicatione] 'that I am bound not only to work for him, but to fight for him, in every way in my power.' *Contentio* is the struggle in the *forum*, or senate; *dimicatio* is the actual clash of contending mobs, which Milo had often faced for the sake of Cicero.

rem atque causam] *rem* is the whole case; *causam* is the cause of Milo: cp. *de Alexandrina re causaque regia*, 99, 3; *difficili in re atque causa*, Fam. ii. 7, 3 (227); *multa enim quae sunt in* re *quia remota sunt a* causa *praetermittam*, Caec. 11.

impetraro] Note the indic. in a subordinate clause of the Orat. Obliqua: cp. note to Fam. iii. 22 (183), and numerous examples in Lebreton, pp. 367–372.

in referenda gratia iucunda. Eam autem unius tuo studio me adsequi posse confido.

178. TO T. TITIUS (FAM. XIII. 75).

ROME; A. U. C. 701; B. C. 53; AET. CIC. 53.

M. Cicero T. Titio legato C. Avianium Flaccum iterum commendat in causa frumentaria.

M. CICERO T. TITIO T. F. LEG. S. D.

1. Etsi non dubito quin apud te mea commendatio prima satis valeat, tamen obsequor homini familiarissimo, C. Avianio Flacco, cuius causa omnia cum cupio tum mehercule etiam debeo. De quo et praesens tecum egi diligenter, cum tu mihi humanissime respondisti, et scripsi ad te accurate antea, sed putat interesse sua me ad te quam saepissime scribere. Qua re velim mihi ignoscas, si illius voluntati obtemperans minus videbor meminisse constantiae tuae. 2. A te idem illud peto, ut de loco quo deportet frumentum et de tempore Avianio commodes: quorum utrumque per eundem me obtinuit triennium, dum Pompeius isti negotio praefuit. Summa est, in quo mihi gratissimum facere possis, si curaris ut Avianius, quoniam se a me amari putat, me a te amari sciat. Erit id mihi pergratum.

tuo] The mss give *tui*; but such a genitive can only be used if objective, not when it is subjective: see Lebreton, p. 97.

LEG.] = *legato*. Titius was a *legatus* of Pompey during part of the five years in which Pompey held the *praefectura annonae*. Avianius was, probably, a corn-factor, who had for three years (*triennium dum Pompeius isti negotio praefuit*) enjoyed certain privileges as regarded the place, and time of conveyance, and delivering of corn. Cicero now asks Titius to secure to him a continuance of these advantages. His business perhaps was to contract for shipping corn to Rome; *deporto* is used especially of 'bringing home from the provinces.'

2. *Summa est . . . si curaris*] 'The main thing is, that you should, if possible, let Avianius feel,' &c. Such must be the force of *summa est si curaris*. Perhaps Cicero wrote *summa est:* EST *in quo mihi gratissima facere possis si curaris*, 'the main point is this: you have an opportunity of laying me under a great obligation if you can let Avianius know,' &c. Cp. *naviget: haec summa est*, Verg. Aen. iv. 237. It seems to us that *summa est si* is a strange expression, and with the ordinary reading we should have rather expected *facere potes*, though *possis* is defensible.

LETTERS OF THE SEVENTEENTH YEAR OF CICERO'S CORRESPONDENCE.

EPP. CLXXIX.-CLXXXII.

A. U. C. 702; B. C. 52; AET. CIC. 54.

COSS. CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS AND (FOR THE LAST FIVE MONTHS) Q. METELLUS SCIPIO.

THIS year began with much rioting and severe collisions between the partisans of P. Plautius Hypsaeus, T. Annius Milo, and Q. Metellus Scipio, the candidates for consulship. Clodius, who sought the praetorship, was murdered near Bovillae, on the Appian Way, on January 17 or 18. Shortly after Pompey was appointed sole consul. He associated with himself, as colleague, for the last five months of his consulship, Q. Metellus Scipio, whose daughter Cornelia he had just married. Cicero defended Milo *de vi*, but failed to procure his acquittal. He, however, succeeded in procuring the condemnation of T. Munatius Plancus Bursa, a supporter of Clodius, and the acquittal of M. Saufeius, who had taken a leading part on Milo's side in the *pugna Bovillana*, as Cicero calls the fray which ended in the death of Clodius. The letters of this year are few and unimportant. To it are ascribed the treatis *De optimo genere oratorum*, and the inception of the *De Legibus*.

CLXXIX. TO P. SITTIUS (FAM. V. 17).

A. U. C. 702 ; B. C. 52 ; AET. CIC. 54.

M. Cicero P. Sittium exsulantem, excusata litterarum tarditate, consolatur hortaturque ut magno animo vitae suae acerbitatem ferat varia solandi argumenta adhibens.

M. CICERO S. D. P. SITTIO P. F.

1. Non oblivione amicitiae nostrae neque intermissione consuetudinis meae superioribus temporibus ad te nullas litteras misi, sed quod priora tempora in ruinis rei publicae nostrisque iacuerunt, posteriora autem me a scribendo tuis iniustissimis atque acerbissimis incommodis retardarunt. Cum vero et intervallum iam satis

SITTIO] Much uncertainty surrounds not only the date of this letter, but the name of the friend to whom it is addressed, the mss varying between Sittius, Titius, and Sestius. But Sittius is almost certainly right. We cannot do better than quote Dr. Reid's (Introd. to his ed. of the *Pro Sulla*, § 16) account of him: — 'P. Sittius had a remarkable career. He belonged to Nuceria in Campania, and was a Roman knight. Being deeply involved in debt, he favoured for a time the designs of Catiline; but unlike most of the conspirators, who clung desperately to their *possessiones*, he suddenly empowered P. Sulla to sell his landed property, paid his debts, and left Rome for Spain (Sull. 56). It was suspected that he had gone there at Sulla's instigation to further Catiline's designs; but his actions lent no support to the suspicion. He had large business transactions in Spain, which had taken him there on a previous occasion. Moreover he left Italy before Catiline began to make active preparations for a rising. From Spain he went to Mauretania, and, returning to Rome after Catiline's insurrection was suppressed, found himself threatened with a prosecution on account of his connexion with the conspiracy [δικην ἰδίαν οὐχ ὑποστάς is what Appian iv. 54 says]. He left Italy with a military contingent, which he reinforced in Spain; and, passing into Mauretania, played the part of king-maker there for eighteen years. During the war in Africa between Caesar and the Pompeians, he espoused Caesar's cause, and materially aided the victorious party. For his services Caesar gave him a kingdom in Africa, in which he settled his followers; but soon after Caesar's death he succumbed to the treachery of an African prince. (Dio Cass. xliii. 3–12; Bell. Afr. 25, 48, 93, 95; Appian iv. 56.)'

There is nothing in the letter inconsistent with the belief that it was written this year (to which Wesenberg assigns it) if *recenti adventu meo* be interpreted (§ 2) 'just after my return,' 'when my return was still fresh.' Körner, however, relying (it would seem) on these words, attributes it to 697 (57).

1. *superioribus temporibus*] *Prima tempora* refers to the consulship of L. Piso and A. Gabinius, when Cicero was sent into exile: *posteriora tempora* to the more recent incidents of the unpopularity and ultimate condemnation of Sittius; both form parts of the *superiora tempora*, which include the whole period from Cicero's exile to the present time, corresponding pretty well to our phrase, 'of late years.'

iacuerunt] This is a strange verb to

longum fuisset et tuam virtutem animique magnitudinem diligentius essem mecum recordatus, non putavi esse alienum institutis meis haec ad te scribere. 2. Ego te, P. Sitti, et primis temporibus illis quibus in invidiam absens et in crimen vocabare defendi, et, cum in tui familiarissimi iudicio ac periculo tuum crimen coniungeretur, ut potui accuratissime te tuamque causam tutatus sum, et proxime, recenti adventu meo, cum rem aliter institutam offendissem ac mihi placuisset, si adfuissem, tamen nulla re saluti tuae defui; cumque eo tempore invidia annonae, inimici non solum tui verum etiam amicorum tuorum, iniquitas totius iudici multaque alia rei publicae vitia plus quam causa ipsa veritasque valuissent, Publio tuo neque opera neque consilio neque labore neque gratia neque testimonio defui. 3. Quam ob rem omnibus officiis amicitiae diligenter a me sancteque servatis ne hoc quidem praetermittendum esse duxi te ut hortarer rogaremque ut et hominem te et virum esse meminisses, id est, ut et communem incertumque casum quem neque vitare quisquam nostrum nec praestare ullo pacto potest sapienter ferres et dolori fortiter ac fortunae resisteres cogitaresque et in nostra civitate et in ceteris quae rerum potitae sunt multis fortissimis atque optimis viris iniustis iudiciis tales casus incidisse. Illud utinam ne vere scriberem, ea te re publica carere in qua neminem prudentem hominem res ulla delectet! 4. De tuo autem filio vereor ne, si nihil ad te scripserim,

have *priora tempora* for a subject. What he means is, that in the early period he was withheld from writing by the desperate condition of the State and of his own private affairs, while in the later period he was discouraged from writing by reason of the troubles of his friend. What he says is: 'The earlier period was involved in the downfall of the State and of myself; the later withheld me from writing by your troubles.' Possibly we might suggest *tacuerunt* for *iacuerunt*, comparing *tempus . . . mutum a litteris*, Att. viii. 14, 1 (349).

2. *familiarissimi*] i.e. P. Sulla.

recenti adventu meo] 'when my return was recent'; that is, 'just after my return.' For this ablative, see on 131, 4.

inimici] 'those who were the enemies not only of you, but of your friends.'

3. *hominem te et virum*] This passage admirably illustrates the distinction between *homo* and *vir* commented on above, 132, 4.

praestare] 'to be responsible for,' 'vouch for,' 'answer for.' Cicero means that we cannot vouch for the chances and changes of this life; that is, we cannot be sure that chances and changes will not occur. Just in the same way we find in Fam. vi. 1, 4 (538) *simus ea mente ut* nihil *in vita* nobis praestandum praeter culpam *putemus*, 'let us feel that we can only vouch for guilt'; that is 'we can only undertake to keep clear of going wrong ourselves; for the rest, anything may happen.' So *cum id quod ab homine non potuerit praestari evenerit*, 'the *absence* of which no one could vouch for,' Tusc. iii. 34; *impetus populi . . . quos* praestare *nemo posset*, De Or. ii. 124. We find *praestare periculum* in Muren. 3, and in Caes. B. C. iii. 17, 5 *praestare periculum eorum*.

delectet] subjunctive, because the verb

debitum eius virtuti videar testimonium non dedisse, sin autem omnia quae sentio perscripserim, ne refricem meis litteris desiderium ac dolorem tuum. Sed tamen prudentissime facies, si illius pietatem, virtutem, industriam, ubicumque eris, tuam esse, tecum esse duces: nec enim minus nostra sunt quae animo complectimur quam quae oculis intuemur. 5. Quam ob rem et illius eximia virtus summusque in te amor magnae tibi consolationi debet esse et nos ceterique qui te non ex fortuna sed ex virtute tua pendimus semperque pendemus et maxime animi tui conscientia, cum tibi nihil merito accidisse reputabis et illud adiunges, homines sapientis turpitudine non casu, et delicto suo non aliorum iniuria, commoveri. Ego et memoria nostrae veteris amicitiae et virtute atque observantia fili tui monitus nullo loco deero neque ad consolandam neque ad levandam fortunam tuam. Tu si quid ad me forte scripseris, perficiam ne te frustra scripsisse arbitrere.

describes the state of public affairs—'a state of such a kind that no single feature in it can give pleasure to a judicious observer.'

4. *non dedisse*] So Lambinus. The mss give *non cepisse*, but the first hand of G has *non accepisse*. This may possibly be right: 'If I do not speak of your son, you may perhaps consider that I have not been willing to accept as true the favourable reports about him.' C. F. W. Müller wishes to read *intercepisse* for *non cepisse*, 'to have stolen from him,' 'to have deprived him of.'

tecum esse duces] 'regard as being with you.'

quae . . . intuemur] 'the objects of the mind are as much a possession to us as the objects of the senses.'

5. *nos ceterique*] 'we and your other friends, who value you for your real worth, not for your worldly position,' ought to be to you a great source of consolation.

maxime] vulg. *maximae*, which would agree with *consolationi*, understood, the construction being *et maximae* (consolationi debet esse) *tui conscientia*.

consolandam . . . fortunam] 'to soothe.' *Consolari* is often applied to things, as here; 105, 6; Mil. 97.

180. TO T. FADIUS (FAM. V. 18).

A. U. C. 702; B. C. 52; AET. CIC. 54.

M. Cicero T. Fadium, qui quaestor et tribunus pl. fuerat, exsulantem consolatur.

M. CICERO S. D. T. FADIO.

1. Etsi egomet qui te consolari cupio consolandus ipse sum, propterea quod nullam rem gravius iam diu tuli quam incommodum tuum, tamen te magno opere non hortor solum sed etiam pro amore nostro rogo atque oro te colligas virumque te praebeas et qua condicione omnes homines et quibus temporibus nos nati simus cogites. Plus tibi virtus tua dedit quam fortuna abstulit, propterea quod adeptus es quod non multi homines novi, amisisti quae plurimi homines nobilissimi. Ea denique videtur condicio impendere legum, iudiciorum, temporum, ut optime actum cum eo videatur esse qui quam levissima poena ab hac re publica discesserit. 2. Tu vero, qui et fortunas et liberos habeas et nos ceterosque necessitudine et benevolentia tecum coniunctissimos, quomque magnam facultatem sis habiturus nobiscum et cum omnibus tuis vivendi, et cum *tuum* unum sit iudicium ex tam multis quod reprehendatur, ut quod una sententia eaque dubia potentiae alicuius

T. Fadio] T. Fadius was tribune 696 (58), as may be learned from Q. Fr. i. 4, 3 (72): he is mentioned again in Att. iii. 23, 4 (83), in connexion with a *lex* for Cicero's restoration. He was quaestor to Cicero in his consulship, Post red. in sen. 21. He had now incurred the punishment of exile. Cicero consoles him in a letter very like the last.

1. *te colligas*] This is very like our expression 'pull yourself together'; but there is no reason to think that the Latin phrase was tainted with the vulgarism which hangs round the English expression which we have compared. Cp. *collegi me aliquando*, Cluent. 51.

omnes homines] sc. *nati sint*.

non multi homines novi] These words are supplied from this passage by Schwarz at 12, 3.

levissima] The conditions of the exile of Fadius permitted him to live in Italy, and often see his family. *Sis habiturus*, § 2, shows that his immediate restoration was expected.

2. *alicuius*] Pompey. The casting vote against Fadius was *dubia*, 'wavering,' and was supposed to be a concession to the domination of Pompey. The construction is: *cum tuum unum sit iudicium . . . quod reprehendatur ut quod . . . existimetur*, 'since yours is the only one of the many recent trials which is criticised, as being believed to be a sacrifice to the power of an individual, carried, too, by only a single vote.' Mr. Shuckburgh notices that *potentia* here means 'unconstitutional power' in opposition to *auctoritas*, 'legitimate influence.'

condonatum existimetur, omnibus his de causis debes istam molestiam quam lenissime ferre. Meus animus erit in te liberosque tuos semper quem tu esse vis et qui esse debet.

181. TO APPIUS CLAUDIUS PULCHER

(FAM. III. 1).

A. U. C. 702; B. C. 52; AET. CIC. 54.

Appio Ciliciae procos. litterarum brevitatem excusat M. Cicero eo, quod dicit Phaniam libertum omnia et de se et de re publ. accurate enarraturum esse, quem non minus quam alterum libertum Appii Cilicem collaudat. Denique L. Valerium iure consultum lepide commendat.

CICERO APPIO IMP. S. D.

1. Si ipsa res publica tibi narrare posset quo modo sese haberet, non facilius ex ea cognoscere posses quam ex liberto tuo Phania: ita est homo non modo prudens, verum etiam quod iuvet curiosus. Quapropter ille tibi omnia explanabit: id enim mihi et ad brevitatem est aptius et ad reliquas res providentius. De mea autem benevolentia erga te, etsi potes ex eodem Phania cognoscere, tamen videntur etiam aliquae meae partes. Sic enim tibi persuade, carissimum te mihi esse cum propter multas suavitates ingeni, offici, humanitatis tuae tum quod ex tuis litteris et ex multorum sermonibus intellego omnia quae a me profecta sunt in te tibi accidisse gratissima. Quod cum ita sit, perficiam profecto ut longi temporis usuram, qua caruimus intermissa nostra consuetudine, et gratia et crebritate et

Appio] Appius Claudius Pulcher, brother of Cicero's enemy, P. Clodius, had been consul two years before this, and now held as proconsul the governorship of Cilicia, in which he was to be succeeded by Cicero.

1. *quod iuvet curiosus*] 'agreeably inquisitive.' *Curiosus*, without the qualifying words, would be depreciatory.

providentius] more consistent with the wariness which Cicero feels he must use in discussing public affairs.

aliquae meae partes] 'It seems to me that this is a duty in which I, too, must share; for you must know that I regard you with the greatest affection.' There is no reason at all for changing *enim* to *ergo*; for *enim* explains why Cicero will not leave altogether to Phania the task of conveying his good wishes to Appius. These do not seem to be very sincere, when we read the letters of Cicero to Atticus from his province, and note the tone in which he speaks of his predecessor.

intermissa] by reason of the enmity between Cicero and P. Clodius.

magnitudine officiorum meorum sarciam: idque me, quoniam tu ita vis, puto non invita Minerva esse facturum: quam quidem ego, si forte de tuis sumpsero, non solum Παλλάδα sed etiam Ἀππιάδα nominabo. 2. Cilix libertus tuus antea mihi minus fuit notus, sed ut mihi reddidit a te litteras plenas et amoris et offici, mirifice ipse suo sermone subsecutus est humanitatem litterarum tuarum. Iucunda mihi eius oratio fuit, cum de animo tuo, de sermonibus quos de me haberes cotidie, mihi narraret. Quid quaeris? Biduo factus est mihi familiaris, ita tamen ut Phaniam valde sim desideraturus: quem cum Romam remittes, quod, ut putabamus, celeriter eras facturus, omnibus ei de rebus quas agi, quas curari a me voles, mandata des velim. 3. L. Valerium, iure consultum, valde tibi commendo, sed ita etiam si non est iure consultus. Melius enim ei cavere volo quam ipse aliis solet. Valde hominem

sarciam] 'I will make amends for all that lost time': literally, 'I will make good the enjoyment of the time.' In the xii. Tables *sarcito* is explained as *damnum solvito, praestato*, 'make good the loss of,' Fest. p. 322. The word is used with *iniuriam*, Phil. ix. 8; cp. *studium infamiae sarciendae*, Caes. B. C. iii. 74; *aliis te rebus exsarturum esse persuadeas*, xii. 45.

invita Minerva] Cp. *crassa Minerva, pingui Minerva*. *Minerva*, the goddess of the mental powers and feelings, is put for them by metonymy, as *Ceres* for corn, *Bacchus* for wine, &c. See Cic. Off. 110, for his explanation of *invita Minerva*, as meaning *adversante et repugnante natura*.

We may perhaps assume that Cicero proposed to buy a statue of Pallas from Appius, or perhaps expected such a present from him. If this were so, having used the common phrase *invita Minerva*, 'against the grain,' he would go on to play on the word *Minerva*, adding, 'if I get a Minerva from your collection, I will call her not only *Pallas*, but (as a gift of yours) *Pallas Appias*.' He would add a specializing epithet to the goddess indicating the donor. *Appias* is the name of the nymph of the fountain *Aqua Appia* (Ov. R. A. 660); and her statues are called *Appiades* (Ov. A. A. iii. 452): but there cannot be any reference to this signification here. Appius was a well-known patron of the arts, and had perhaps promised Cicero a Minerva for his trouble.

Billerbeck thinks that Appius had asked Cicero to do him the honour of dedicating some work to him, as a return for the compliment he, Appius, had paid Cicero, in dedicating to him his *liber auguralis*, a treatise on the augural discipline. Cicero says he will do this 'with all his heart,' *non invita Minerva*; and that if he selects for the work to be dedicated to Appius the subject which Appius had himself treated (having possibly in mind his *De Divinatione*, which, however, did not appear till some years after the death of Appius), then his Minerva (Pallas) will be *Pallas Appias*, 'an Appian good will.' This is too laboured a pleasantry.

It may be that there is an allusion to the statue of Minerva, which Cicero dedicated on the temple of the Capitoline Jupiter, just before he left Rome an exile: cp. De Leg. ii. 42; Plut. Cic. 31. This might easily have got into the hands of the Claudian family, as Clodius certainly did not spare the property of his exiled enemy. Cicero may have had hopes of getting this statue back.

2. *subsecutus est*] 'seconded.'

3. *ita etiam si non est*] 'without, however, pledging myself for his knowledge of law.' Cicero recommends Valerius the more heartily if not regarded in his capacity of lawyer; then follows the usual pun on *cavere*. Cicero has already made jokes in a disparaging strain of Valerius as a lawyer: cp. 162.

diligo: est ex meis domesticis atque intimis familiaribus. Omnino tibi agit gratias: sed idem scribit meas litteras maximum apud te pondus habituras. Id eum ne fallat te etiam atque etiam rogo.

182. TO M. MARIUS (FAM. VII. 2).

ROME; MAY OR JUNE; A. U. C. 702; B. C. 52; AET. CIC. 54.

M. Cicero M. Mario emptionis negotium ab illo sibi mandatum multum iocans diligenter se curaturum significat. Accipit Marii gratulationem de Planco Bursa sua opera condemnato.

M. CICERO S. D. M. MARIO.

1. Mandatum tuum curabo diligenter. Sed homo acutus ei mandasti potissimum cui expediret illud venire quam plurimo. Sed *in* eo vidisti multum, quod praefinisti quo ne pluris emerem. Quod si mihi permisisses, qui meus amor in te est, confecissem cum coheredibus: nunc quoniam tuum pretium novi, illicitatorem

On the vexed question of the date of the trial of Pompeius Rufus and of Bursa (and thus incidentally the date of this letter), see Mr. A. C. Clark's valuable discussion in the Second Appendix to his ed. of the *Pro Milone*, pp. 129 ff. He thinks it occurred in May or June. He says (p. 132), 'In the general anarchy which prevailed at this period the election of tribunes had become dislocated, and the college of tribunes to which Rufus and Plancus belonged came into office early in 53 B.C., and went out of it at the corresponding time in 52.' A careful reading of Dio Cass. xl. 45 will prove (as Mr. Clark has shown, p. 131) that Pompeius Rufus was in office in the middle of 53: and he certainly was in office at the beginning of 52. So that Mr. Clark's view is very probable, even though intercalation (§ 4, below) was usually applied in February, and the tribunes usually went out of office on December 10. O. E. Schmidt (Der Briefwechsel, p. 71) adopts the view that the trial did not take place until the beginning of 703 (51). But if so (as Mr. Clark, p. 130, shows), we shall have to suppose that Dio Cassius was writing very carelessly when he says (xl. 55), ὅ τε οὖν Μίλων οὕτως ἐάλω καὶ ὁ Ῥοῦφος ὅ τε Πλάγκος, ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐξῆλθον, ἄλλοι τε σὺν αὐτοῖς συγχνοί; if he meant to indicate that Milo was tried in April, the συχνοὶ after him, and the tribunes in the January of the next year. The chief difficulty we feel in the matter is that we should probably have heard more about it, if such an unusual event happened in 53 as that the plebeians were for some time without tribunes. In a very doubtful matter we follow Mr. Clark.

1. *homo acutus*] Marius had asked Cicero to make some purchase for him, probably some work of art, at a sale of the goods of some deceased patron of the arts. But Cicero had been left one of the heirs of this person, so he says to Marius (ironically), 'You were a sharp fellow to entrust the purchase to one whose interest it was that the sale should realise as much as possible. However, you were very knowing [ironically again]

potius ponam quam illud minoris veneat. Sed de ioco satis est. 2. Tuum negotium agam, sicuti debeo, diligenter. De Bursa te gaudere certo scio, sed nimis verecunde mihi gratularis. Putas enim, ut scribis, propter hominis sordis minus me magnam illam laetitiam putare. Credas mihi velim magis me iudicio hoc quam morte inimici laetatum. Primum enim iudicio malo quam gladio, deinde gloria potius amici quam calamitate: in primisque me delectavit tantum studium bonorum in me exstitisse contra incredibilem contentionem clarissimi et potentissimi viri. 3. Postremo—vix veri simile fortasse videatur—oderam multo peius hunc quam illum ipsum Clodium. Illum enim oppugnaram, hunc defenderam. Et ille, cum omnis res publica in meo capite discrimen esset habitura, magnum quiddam spectavit, nec sua sponte, sed eorum auxilio qui me stante stare non poterant: hic simiolus animi causa me in quem inveheretur delegerat persuaseratque non nullis invidis meis se in me emissarium semper fore. Quam ob rem valde iubeo gaudere te: magna res gesta est. Numquam ulli fortiores cives

in fixing a price which I must not exceed. Now, if you had given me carte blanche, I should, in consideration of my regard for you, have made an arrangement with my co-heirs [to make the purchase on the most favourable terms for Marius]: under the present circumstances, as I know your price, I will put up a sham bidder, to raise the price, rather than let it go below the sum named by you.'

2. *Bursa*] T. Munatius Plancus Bursa had been tribune the year before. He had distinguished himself as ringleader in the riots which followed the death of Clodius and ended in the burning of the *Curia Hostilia*. On the expiration of his office, Cicero prosecuted him *de vi*, and secured his condemnation, in spite of the influence of Pompey, exerted in his behalf. This was one of the few cases in which Cicero acted as prosecutor.

nimis verecunde] 'you are too moderate in your congratulations, supposing that I undervalue my triumph because he is such a low fellow.'

inimici] Clodius, recently slain by the followers of Milo at Bovillae on the Appian Way.

iudicio malo quam gladio] 'I would rather [owe the fall of a foe] to a public trial than the sword of a private enemy, and have it attended by the triumph of a friend, rather than his exile': *gloria*, *calamitate*, are *ablativi modi*: see on 131, 4; *iudicio* and *gladio* may be regarded either as *ablativi modi*, or *instrumenti*. Whereas the death of Clodius was brought about by the sword, and with the result of the exile of Milo, this triumph was accomplished in due form of law, and scored a victory for Milo over his unrelenting foe, Bursa. See Adn. Crit.

clarissimi] Pompey.

3. *oderam multo peius*] Cp. *odi male*, very common in the comic drama. Is it not just possible that *male* should be taken with *odi*, not *consularem*, in Att. ii. 1, 5 (27)?

magnum quiddam spectavit] 'he aimed at a big thing,' to overthrow Cicero, even at the peril of the whole State—these are generous words about a fallen foe.

simiolus] 'This ape, just to amuse himself, chose me as the object of his attacks, and persuaded some of my ill-wishers that he would always be ready to be let slip at me.' *Emissarius*, which generally means 'a spy,' 'scout,' here and in Fam. viii. 8, 3 (223) bears a different signification, such as is given above. Wieland (iii. p. 65) understands *emissarius* in the way which we prefer; his words are *sie würden ihn, so oft es ihnen beliebte, auf mich anhetzen können*.

fuerunt quam qui ausi sunt eum contra tantas opes eius a quo ipsi lecti iudices erant condemnare. Quod fecissent numquam, nisi iis dolori meus fuisset dolor. 4. Nos hic in multitudine et celebritate iudiciorum et novis legibus ita distinemur ut cotidie vota faciamus ne intercaletur, ut quam primum te videre possimus.

a quo ipsi lecti] No doubt Pompey selected the panel in this trial in the same way as he did in the trial of Milo, when he named from the senate, *equites*, and *tribuni aerarii* 300 jurymen, from whom 81 were then chosen by lot; the prosecutor and the accused were then allowed to challenge five jurors each from each of the orders, which left a panel of 51 to try the case.

4. *celebritate*] 'the crowds which throng the court.'

novis legibus] 'the new procedure,' introduced by Pompey: cp. Mommsen, R. H. iv, p. 225 (ed. 1871).

ne intercaletur] If the intercalary day were now inserted by the pontifical college, it would put off the holidays in which Cicero hoped to visit Marius.

ADDENDA TO THE COMMENTARY.

NOTE I.

ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF ATT. IV. 9, 10, 11.

The chronological arrangement of Att. iv. 9, 10, 11 is much disputed. It may be taken for granted that the date on which Cicero received the letter from Atticus, *a. d. quintum Kal.* (26th April) mentioned in 11, 1 is correct, not only because M has *quintum* written in full, but also because *cum is Romam venerit* would point to a time when the consuls had not yet returned to Rome. Now, Pompey was to meet Crassus at Alba on the 27th, and forthwith proceed to Rome (11, 1): so that they would be in Rome on the 28th and 29th. Accordingly the alteration of the above date to *a. d. ii. Kal.* (Manutius)—a very rare variation of *prid. Kal.*—is to be rejected. Wesenberg and Hirschfelder wish to add <*datas*> or <*scriptas*>. But everything conspires to show that 11 was written on the 26th. It would reach Rome about the 28th, when the arrival of the consuls was imminent, and when the Floralia (April 28 to May 3) were just beginning (cp. 11, 2, *quid primus dies, quid secundus*).

So far Körner (pp. 29–31), admirably. But the arrangement of the letters which he proceeds to sketch necessitates alterations in the data which he acknowledges are hard to explain. He supposes that Cicero called on Pompey at Cumae on the 22nd (10 fin.): that Pompey returned the visit on the same day, and went with Cicero to Naples (9, 1). Cicero went on to Pompeii on the 23rd, returned on the 24th, and had another interview with Pompey at Naples. On the same day, or the next, Pompey set out for Alba. It will thus be seen that he supposes 9 was written from Naples on the 23rd. This will necessitate the change of *v* to *viiii* and *iiii* to *viii* in 9, 2—the former a decidedly violent alteration.

Perhaps a simpler view to take would be that 9, 2 is a separate letter, and that 9, 1 was written on April 24. The order of events then will be—

April 21. Pompey arrives at Cumae.
,, 22. Cicero writes 10, and then calls on Pompey.
,, 23. Pompey returns the visit. Both these visits are mentioned in 9, 1.
,, 24. Cicero writes 9, 1.
,, 24 or 25. Pompey leaves for Alba.

April 26. Cicero writes 11 in the morning. As Atticus had, in the letter Cicero received that morning, spoken of excitement at Rome as to what would happen during the next few days, Cicero told him about Pompey's movements. He did not deem it necessary to speak of them, when he was writing 9, 1 before receiving the letters of Atticus.

In the afternoon of the 26, Cicero left Cumae, and passed the night at the house of Paetus in Naples.

,, 27. Cicero writes 9, 2 in the morning before starting for Pompeii. Probably Cicero remained there for some time; for if it was a mere flying visit of inspection, there would be little point in his telling Atticus about it, unless he added some reason why his visit was of such brief duration.

NOTE II.

(A.)

(FAM. VII. 23, 3, EP. 126.)

TRAPEZOPHORUM.

STARTING from the passage in the Digest, 33, 10, 3, pr. (suppellectili legata haec continentur: mensae, trapezophora, delficae, subsellia, &c.), where the furniture of a house is in a way inventoried, we find mention of three kinds of tables—mensae, trapezophora, and delphicae. Now, *mensae* are big dining-tables, and *delphicae* are round tables on three legs: for one example, among many, to prove this, take Procopius de bellis Vandalorum, i. 21, quoted by Marquardt (iv. 311): *ἐν παλατίῳ γὰρ τῷ ἐπὶ Ῥώμης, ἔνθα συνέβαινε στιβάδας τὰς βασιλέως εἶναι, τρίπους ἐκ παλαιοῦ εἱστήκει, ἐφ' οὗ δὴ τὰς κύλικας οἱ βασιλέως οἰνοχόοι ἐτίθεντο. Δέλφικα δὲ τὸν τρίποδα καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐπεὶ πρῶτον ἐν Δελφοῖς γέγονε.* These might require plenty of discussion, but such would be our conclusion.

Turning to *trapezophora*, its derivation is 'table-bearer'; but that it can be also used for a 'table' is plain from Pollux, x. 69: *ἔξεστι δὲ τὴν τράπεζαν ἐφ' ᾗ τὰ ἐκπώματα κατάκειται, τετράπουν τε τράπεζαν εἰπεῖν καὶ μονόπουν καὶ εἴ τις βούλοιτο φιλοτιμεῖσθαι πρὸς τὴν καινότητα τῆς χρήσεως* ('to go in for the elegance of the new style') *τραπεζοφόρον*. And indeed also from the Digest (*l. c.*); for it is quite impossible that Paulus should have omitted such a common article of furniture as the *abacus*, which he has plainly comprehended here under the term *trapezophora*, for in strictness trapezophoron is the support of the abacus. Now, *abacus* in all its meanings (tablet of a pillar, baker's tray, draught-board, calculating-board, wall-panel, or tile in tesselated pavement) signifies a rectangular flat surface, with, perhaps, a rim round it: cf. coronae mensarum in Dig. 34, 2, 19, 14, where the Greek translation gives *τὸ κύκλον τῆς τραπέζας*. In its sense of 'table' abacus was supported sometimes by four legs, sometimes by one (see Pollux, *l. c.*); the legs were usually of

marble or ivory (Juv. 11, 122), but sometimes of bronze (Marquardt, *l. c.*). The fashioning of these legs was a distinct branch of sculpture: cf. Juvenal, 3, 203:

> Urceoli sex
> Ornamentum abaci: vel non et parvulus infra
> Cantharus et recubans sub eodem marmore Chiron.

The Chiron was the τραπεζοφόρος. Examples are also found in museums of sphinxes and griffins. The δελφινὶς τράπεζα of Lucian, Lexiph. 7, probably had a dolphin for the τραπεζοφόρον. The object of the abacus was to expose plate and ornaments (Cic. Verr. iv. 35, and indeed passim: cf. Mayor on Juv., *l. c.*, but he does not distinguish sufficiently sharply between the abacus and the delphica, which, though used for the same purpose, were quite different in shape), and therefore varied according to the size of the room, just like the cabinets for the same purpose nowadays in drawing-rooms. Sidonius, 17, 7, says of them:

> Non tibi gemmatis ponentur prandia mensis,
> Assyrius murex nec tibi sigma dabit,
> Nec per multiplices abaco splendente *cavernas*
> Argenti nigri pondera defodiam.

What these *cavernae* were is disputed. E. Guillaume, in Daremberg and Saglio's "Dictionnaire des Antiquités," Art. Abacus, gives a picture (fig. 7) of one with *shelves*, which he thinks the *cavernae* to have been. "Des vases sont rangés sur deux tablettes; d'autres sont placés au-dessous. Les cavités formées par l'intervalle des tablettes sont peut-être ce qu'un poète . . . a appellé *cavernae*"; but he goes on—"à moins que l'on ne doive entendre par ce mot des casiers fermés, de veritables armoires comme celles qu'on voit sur le devant du meuble représenté plus haut (fig. 5)." This last is the view of Marquardt, iv. 310, note 6, who refers to a picture of such a one, given by Stackelberg, Gräber der Hellenen (ii. 42), which is, no doubt, a regular cupboard, with opaque doors. The difficulty one feels about such a view is that, while no doubt the word used by Sidonius, *defodiam*, points to 'cabinets,' not mere tables with shelves, like our afternoon tea-tables, yet such cabinets would require glass doors, to let the ornaments be seen; and, as far as we can find, there is no proof at all that any had such. That transparent window-glass did exist is, no doubt, certain (cf. Lactantius, De Officio Dei, 8, 11: Et manifestius est mentem esse quae per oculos ea, quae sunt opposita, transpiciat quasi per fenestras perlucente vitro aut speculari lapide obductas); yet most Roman window-glass admitted light, but was not transparent. Transparent glass was very expensive. On the whole, however, we are inclined to think that the abaci of the wealthy may have been cabinets, but in poorer establishments they were open tables, with shelves.

The use of abaci came into vogue at Rome after the conquest of Asia by Manlius Vulso, in 187 b. c. (Liv. xxxix. 6, 7). But before this the Romans must have seen them among the Etruscans—of whose abaci, of the fourth century b. c., we have some remains (Guillaume, *l. c.*)—and the Sicilian Greeks.

(B.)

(FAM. VII. 23, 3, EP. 126.)

EXHEDRIUM.

Exhedra, -ae.—Such is the usual form of the word; the diminutive, *exhedrium* (or *exedrium*) is found here and in C. I. G. 2554, 123 τὸ ἐξέδριον τὸ κατανοτιαῖον. The earliest place apparently where the word occurs is Eur. Orest. 1449; but the more usual classical Greek term for the building was παστάς: cf. Pollux, vii. 27 παστάδας δ' ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἅς οἱ νῦν (180 a.d.) ἐξέδρας.

As its derivation seems to show, it was a *sitting-place*. We generally find the occupants sitting (Cic. N. D. i, 15); seldom reclining (De Orat. iii. 17, lectulo posito, points to the proceeding being unusual), built *out from* some main building (Varro, R. R. iii. 5, 8, uses the word for an aviary), chiefly from porticoes. They were generally open buildings, *perflatiles*, as a Low-Latin writer would say; cf. Vitruv. 7, 9 Apertis vero peristyliis aut exhedris aut ceteris eiusmodi locis quo Sol et Luna possit splendores suos immittere. They were often attached to baths, and their semicircular nature may be seen in any ground-plan of Caracalla's baths: see, e.g., Dict. Antiqq. 1[3], p. 281; also to theatres (corresponding to, only perhaps larger than, the splendid foyers in the Parisian and modern London theatres), e.g. that in the theatre of Pompey, where Caesar was murdered, τῆς δὲ βουλῆς εἰς τὴν ἐξέδραν προεισελθούσης, &c., Plutarch, Brut. 17.

Their main use was for conversation, disputation, and the delivery of lectures. They corresponded entirely to our lecture-rooms in Universities and in large cities, *e.g.* Strabo, xvii. 8 τῶν δὲ βασιλείων (sc. of Alexandria) ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ Μουσεῖον ἔχον περίπατον καὶ ἐξέδραν καὶ οἶκον μέγαν ἐν ᾧ τὸ συσσίτιον τῶν μετεχόντων τοῦ Μουσείου φιλολόγων ἀνδρῶν; also Cod. Theod. 15, 1, 53 Exhedras quae septentrionali videntur adhaerere Porticui [sc. Constantinopoli] in quibus tantum amplitudinis et decoris esse monstratur ut publicis commodis possint capacitatis et pulcritudinis suae admiratione sufficere supradictorum [sc. Professorum seu magistrorum] consessibus deputabit [sc. Sublimitas Tua]. Each professor had a separate exhedra, or lecture-room: see Cod. Theod. 14, 9, 3 ita ut unicuique loca specialiter deputata adsignari faciat Tua Sublimitas: ne discipuli sibi invicem possint obstrepere, vel magistri: neve linguarum confusio permixta vel vocum aures quorundam aut mentes a studio litterarum avertat. They were often, too, used for disputations; cf. Vitruv. 5, 2 Constituuntur in tribus porticibus exhedrae spatiosae, habentes sedes in quibus philosophi Rectores [qu. rhetores] reliqui qui studiis delectantur sedentes disputare possint. St. Augustine delivers a lecture in one (Civ. Dei, 22, 8); and he also mentions one adjoining a church (De Gestis cum Emerito Donatistarum Episcopo sub init.), similar to the capitularia in the Monasteries (see Gothofred on Cod. Theod. 15, 1, 53).

Exhedrae, or public lecture-rooms, were a very common form of public building to erect, e.g. Herod (in Josephus, B. J., 1, 16) Βύβλῳ δὲ τεῖχος καὶ ἐξέδρας τε καὶ στοὰς ἀνέθηκε; and often in inscriptions (e. g., Orelli, 3283, where, again, they are joined with porticus), we find their builders notifying the erection.

They appear, then, to have been essentially public; but examples can be found where the word may mean nothing more than our 'sitting-room,' as opposed to

'room' (cubiculum). For example, in a somewhat long title of the Digest (9, 3), where there are copious enactments as regards the liability of people who throw things out of the windows (De his qui effuderint vel deiecerent), Ulpian (law 5) gives us some knowledge of how people lived in lodgings. The passage is interesting, so it may be quoted: Si vero plures diviso inter se cenaculo [i.e. 'flat,' or 'story'; cp. Plaut. Amph. 863, where Jupiter says he is the fellow in superiore qui habito cenaculo, 'who lives in the top story.' Cenaculum later came to mean of itself 'an *upper* story,' and quite early had lost its sense of dining-room] habitent, actio in eum solum datur, qui inhabitabat eam partem, unde effusum est. Si quis gratuitas habitationes dederit libertis et clientibus vel suis vel uxoris, ipsum eorum nomine teneri Trebatius ait; quod verum est. Idem erit dicendum et si quis amicis suis modica hospitiola distribuerit. Nam et si quis cenacularium exercens ('letting out houses in tenements, or flats') ipse maximam partem cenaculi (here = 'upper stories,' τοῦ οἴκου, in the Gk. translation) habeat solus tenebitur: sed si [quis cenacularium exercens *del. Mommsen*] modicum sibi hospitium retinuerit, residuum locaverit pluribus, omnes tenebuntur quasi in hoc cenaculo habitantes unde deiectum effusumve est. Interdum tamen, quod sine captione actoris fiat ('if not prejudicial to the plaintiff') oportebit praetorem aequitate motum in eum potius dare actionem, ex *cuius cubiculo vel exhedra* deiectum est licet plures in eodem cenaculo habitent, quod si ex mediano [so F.: medio cenaculo *other mss*; ἀπὸ τοῦ μέσου, Gk. trans.: maeniano, Anonym. ap. Dirksen: Qu. medio maeniano, the copyist went on at the wrong *i*] coenaculi quid deiectum sit, verius est omnes teneri. Here 'exhedra' may mean 'sitting-room'; but Marquardt is wrong in saying that in Vitruv. 6, 3, 8, and 6, 7, 8, exhedrae must mean 'sitting-rooms.'

Still, in Cicero's time, these exhedrae, in large houses, were special rooms for learned discussion. Only the eminent had them, as only the eminent have at the present time private chapels and private theatres. As is natural to expect, such rooms were adorned with statues (Plut. *l. c.*) and pictures (Cic. Fam. 7, 23, 3). In our passage, then, we may translate the diminutive exhedria 'private lecture-room.'

NOTE III.

(Q. FR. III. 5 and 6, § 7, EP. 155.)

The following learned note on this passage is by Prof. Robinson Ellis in *Hermathena*, xiii (1887), p. 139 f.:—

"*Quattuor tragoedias xvi. diebus absoluisse cum scribas, tu quidquam ab alio mutuaris? et* †ΠΛΕΟC *quaeris, cum Electram et Trodam scripseris?*

"So *M.* I believe this to be a learned mythological allusion to the *varying number of the Pleiades*, which, according as Electra, the least conspicuous member of the group, was visible or not, were reckoned at seven or six alternately. The legend was that Electra, the mother of Dardanus by Jupiter, was so affected by the loss of her son and the destruction of Troy, that she withdrew from the company of her sister Pleiads. Hygin. 192, Schmidt:—*Caeterae sorores* (he has been speaking of the Hyads) *postea luctu consumptae sidera factae sunt, et quia plures erant Pleiades dictae. Nonnulli*

existimant ita nominatas quia inter se coniunctae (quod est πλησίον) adeo autem confertae sunt, ut uix numerentur; nec unquam ullius oculis certum est sex an septem existimentur. Earum nomina haec sunt: Electra, Alcyone, Celaeno, Merope, Sterope, Taygeta, et Maia. Ex quibus Electram negant apparere propter Dardanum amissum Troiamque sibi abreptam.

"Cic. Aratea 27 sqq.

"At propter laeuum genus omni ex parte locatas
Paruas Vergilias tenui cum luce uidebis.
Hae septem uulgo perhibentur more uetusto
Stellae, cernuntur uero sex undique paruae.
At non interiise putari conuenit unam,
Sed frustra temere a uulgo ratione sine ulla
Septem dicier, ut ueteres statuere poetae,
Aeterno cunctas sane qui nomine signant,
Alcyone Meropeque, Celaeno Taygeteque.
Electra Steropeque, simul sanctissima Maia.

"I would therefore write the passage—

"*Et πλείους quaeris cum Electram et Troadam scripseris?* 'And after writing an *Electra* and a *Trojan woman* ask for one Pleiad more?' i.e. are not contented with the number of tragedies you have written, but, after your *Electra* and *Troas* have proved the existence of the last member of the group, still look for the missing Pleiad?

"Quintus Cicero had written an *Electra* and *Troas*, in which he seems to have described two stages of the tragic story of Electra; the latter describing her as a Trojan woman, mourning the downfall of Troy and the extinction of her son Dardanus. 'After thus proving your familiarity with the seventh Pleiad, how can you,' says Cicero, 'talk as if she were out of sight? Yet this is what you do when you complain that the number of your tragedies is still incomplete.'

"I write *Troadam*, as this would be the earlier Latinized form of the Greek accus. *Troada*. Neue Formenl. I., p. 333 (= 497, ed. 3) gives many similar instances: *lampadam, hebdomadam, Palladam, Iliadam, Briseidam, Chryseidam, Amazonam, Syringam, Tritonidam.*"

NOTE IV.

(ATT. IV. 19, § 1, EP. 158.)

Prof. Ellis has also written the following note on this passage with his accustomed learning in *Hermathena* (xiii, 1887, p. 136 ff.):—

"*Sed, nisi fallor, citius te quam scribis uidebo. Credo enim te putasse tuas mulieres in Apulia esse, quod cum secus erit, quid te Apulia moretur? Nam Vestorio dandi sunt dies et ille Latinus* †TTIKICMOC *ex interuallo regustandus. Quin tu huc aduolas, et inuisis illius nostrae reipublicae †germanae.*"

"There are two words in this vexed passage which are corrupt, TTIKICMOC and *germanae*. Both require emendation: but by some unfortunate accident, a very questionable correction of the former has found universal acceptance; while a most admirable restoration of the latter, dating from the time of Poliziano, has been

generally rejected. I shall begin with this first. I have printed above *germanae*, the reading of *M*; but Bosius, in his note on the passage, quotes two variants: 'Tornaesianus, *germa*; Decurtatus, *gerina*.' Now Pius, cited in Orelli's note, states: 'Legebat Ang. Politianus, ex prisco, ut praetendebat, exemplari γεράνδρυον.' Lambinus accepted this, and both sense and palæography strongly confirm it. Sense: for it explains, what is otherwise obscure, *illius*, 'why don't you come and see the rotten remains of our old tree of state?'; palæography: for *gerina* and *gerandria* γεράνδρια (for so I would modify Poliziano's correction) are sufficiently close to each other to make it probable that the former is the truncated remnant of the latter. Hesych. τὰ παλαιὰ δένδρα γεράνδρυα. That the word was used metaphorically is shown in Dindorf's Stephanus, *s. v.* He cites Aristaen. II. 1 δίδου τοῖς σοῖς ὀπωρώναις τὴν ὥραν τρυγᾶν· μετ' ὀλίγον ἔσται γεράνδρυον. Dindorf also observes that the word is often written in mss with an ι, γεράνδριον. This leads me backwards to the other corrupt word: for which the accepted reading since the beginning of cent. XVI. is ἀττικισμὸς. Such is not the conclusion of a student of palæography. By all ordinary rules, TTIKICMOC should represent εὐτυκισμός or εὐτυχισμός. It seems possible that some lurking allusion to the freedman whom Atticus had recently enfranchised under the new name of T. Caecilius Eutychides (Att. IV. 15, 1) is intended; more probably, Cic. means a reference to a character particularly familiar to Roman play-goers (Rosc. Am. XVI. 47 *cum . . . nemo magis uobis notus futurus sit quam est hic Eutychus*) under the name of Eutychus. Eutychus was one of two brothers, whom the comic writer Caecilius introduced as living an exiled and retired life in the country, while his more favoured brother Chaerestratus was allowed to share his father's society in town (Rosc. Am. XVI. 46). The whole passage, then, may be paraphrased: 'You have no cause to stay in Apulia, as your female relations are not there. You must give up some few days to the society of Vestorius (a *faenerator* at Puteoli), and after a period of absence must taste once more the homely life of the rustic Eutychus in Caecilius' Latin version of the Greek comedy'; for such, I suppose, would be the meaning of *ille Latinus*; the *ille* pointing to an allusion which, as Cic. tells us in the passage above quoted from the *pro Rosc. Amerino*, would be familiar and intelligible to most Romans of the time. Then, after thus advising Atticus to submit to a short period of *rustication*, he turns suddenly, *Quin tu huc aduolas*, 'what am I saying? You must hasten to Rome directly, and see how we are getting on in this rotten old country, with our constitution quite on its last legs.'

"I add, as a contribution to the question between ἀττικισμὸς and εὐτυχισμὸς, the following highly illustrative passages of Alciphron. In II. 4, 4, Glycera writes to the comic poet Menander δῆλος ἦν ὁ βασιλεὺς τἀμὰ πεπυσμένος, ὡς ἔοικε, περὶ σοῦ, καὶ ἄτρεμα δι' ὑπονοιῶν Αἰγυπτίοις θέλων ἀττικισμοῖς σε διατωθάζειν, where the *Aegyptian atticisms* form, no doubt, a very close parallel to *Latinus atticismus*. Again, Alc. II. 4, 1 καὶ γὰρ παρὰ σοὶ ἐδείπνησε πολλάκις καὶ ἐπήνεις αὐτῆς τὸν ἐπιχώριον ἀττικισμόν, where the *native atticism* of a woman born in Attic territory is no doubt intended to contrast with the *hybrid* atticism of the Egyptian king. But these instances do not, to my mind, outweigh the palæographical objection as stated above to this reading."

NOTE V.

ON THE TRANSPOSITION OF LEAVES IN *M* IN Q. FR. II. AND ATT. IV.

There are few departments of Roman history on which the genius of Mommsen has not shed light; and in the case of the Epistles of Cicero, which are of such capital importance as authorities for the last stage of the Republic's career, he has performed a most signal service. He has in a most simple way introduced order and cohesion into the confusion which the manuscripts present in the Second Book of the Epistles to Quintus, and in the Fourth Book of the Epistles to Atticus. In two very masterly articles in Hermes (xxxix. (1904), pp. 383–418, and xl. (1905), pp. 1–49), Sternkopf has most carefully examined the Mommsenian arrangement over again, and satisfactorily established its correctness in all essentials; and it would seem as if the order which has thus been fixed will be no longer questioned.

To take the dislocation in the Epistles to Quintus first. The manuscripts present the following order; and each section, as we shall see, consisted probably of two folia of the archetype:—

1. Epistolam (ii. 1, 1) . . . intellegere. Dixit (ii. 1, 1).
2. [cupiant]* omnes vident (ii. 2, 3) . . . superiores ipsius† (ii. 3, 4).
3. [Dixit] Milo.† Coepit (ii. 1, 1) . . . cupiant (ii. 2, 3).
4. [Latiar erat] exiturus (ii. 4, 2 fin.) . . . iacentem (ii. 5, 2).
5. [ipsius] copiis (ii. 3, 4) . . . Latiar erat (ii. 4, 2).

6 ff. [iacentem] A. d. viii. Id. Apr. . . . end of book.

Such being the order as given in the manuscripts, *if we transpose sections* 2 *and* 3, *and sections* 4 *and* 5, an order will issue in which the sequence of ideas and events becomes explicable and clear. This is Mommsen's simple suggestion; and it

* The words which we have given in square brackets [ ] do not occur at the place where they are so enclosed, but have been added in order to show at a glance the way the several folia are connected with one another. The numbers given above in round brackets ( ) represent the letters according to the numeration now generally adopted, and given in our text. The numbers given in square brackets *in our text* indicate the numeration in Orelli's edition.

† Sternkopf (Hermes, 1904, p. 393 f.) has made the ingenious suggestion that *Milo* really belongs to fol. 2 of the archetype, and was originally *Milonis*. The whole passage in Q. Fr. ii. 1, 1 (93) would then run: *Dixit. Coepit dimittere. Tum Marcellinus*, 'Lupus concluded his speech, and was proceeding to dismiss the meeting when Marcellinus said,' &c.; and the passage in Q. Fr. ii. 3–4 (102) would read thus, *in ea multo superiores ipsius Milonis copiis. Sed magna manus ex Piceno et Gallia exspectatur*, 'For the Quirinalia we are far superior (to Clodius) by Milo's own forces; but a large contingent (of Pompey's followers) is expected from Picenum and Gallia.' For Pompey's influence in Picenum, Sternkopf refers to Vell. Pat. ii. 29, 1.

has met with almost universal acceptance. The various sections are of about the same length: 2 is equal to 55 lines of Orelli's text, 3 to 54, 4 to 54, and 5 to 50. The number of lines in 5 is slightly smaller than that in the other portions; and it is possible, as Sternkopf suggests (p. 409), that a few lines may have been lost before 'Αμφιλαφίαν *autem* (ii. 4, 3, (105)), as *autem* comes in somewhat abruptly.

Very similar is the case with regard to the dislocation at the end of the Fourth Book of the Epp. ad Atticum. The manuscripts give the following order:—

1. Occupationum mearum (iv. 16, 1) . . . non mihi ut (iv. 16, 5).
2. [nunc cociace] quod iam intellegebamus (iv. 17, 3) . . . absolutum Gabinium (iv. 19. 1); that is, iv. 17, 3, iv. 18, and iv. 19, 1.
3. [mihi ut] – detur esse valiturum (iv. 16, 5 fin.) . . . nunc cociace (iv. 17, 3).
4. [Gabinium] dictaturam fruere . . . tuis maneas (iv. fin.).

If we transpose 2 and 3, an order results in which the matters treated of become explicable.

Section 2 above contains about 90 lines of Orelli's text; and section 3 contains about 58. The latter is slightly in excess of the number of lines in the sections of the Epistles to Quintus, but not sufficiently so to preclude the conjecture of Sternkopf that those sections and section 3 here each consisted of *two* folia, each folium containing what was equal to 27 to 28 lines of Orelli's text; and that section 2 here consisted of *three* folia of approximately the same length. This will accord with the tradition that the Epistles to Atticus, Quintus, and Brutus were united in the archetype.

ADNOTATIO CRITICA.

ADNOTATIO CRITICA.

Ep. 90 (Att. iv. 1).

1. nec etiam] *me etiam* Hofmann.
pro praeterita mea in te observantia] Bosius; *propter* (vel *propterea*) *meam in te observantiam* codd; *propter meam in te inobservantiam* Madvig.
potius] Stephanus; *totius* codd.
timoris] Pius; *rumoris* M; *moris* Z (?).
2. si umquam] Meutzner; *tum quam* M^1; *nunquam* M^2s ON Bardt.
3. optaramus] Man.; *optamus* M.
4. scribam] ENO^1; *inscribam* O^2PMs; *tibi scribam* coni. Wes.; *ipse scribam* coni. Lehmann.
a] NOP; om. Ms.
gratulatione celebrata est] C; om. ΣΔ.
III] Schmidt; VI codd.
cum Brundisi essem] Zl NOPI; om. Δ.
honestissimis] codd.; *honestissime* Faernus, fort. recte; *honestissimis decretis* Or. Vide Comm.
5. se inimicos esse] del. Corradus.
infimo] Lehmann; *infima* codd. Vide Comm.
dies Nonarum] suspectum. Vide Comm. fort. ex *Non.* ortum.
6. continuo cum more] Btr.; *continuo more* codd.; *cum contio more* Man.
populus] add. Ascensius Crat., sed ante *more*; ante *plausum* Boot.
meo nomine] *in meo nomine* Zumpt.
omnes] *quam omnes* Wes. ex cod. Ursini.
7. frequens et] *frequens*: *et* Btr.
ad omnia] EOP; *omnia* NMs; *omnino* Reid.
adiungit] Crat.; *adiunxit* M.
responderunt] F; *responderant* codd.
demolientur] Vide Comm.

Ep. 91 (Att. iv. 2).

2. nunquam] I; *unquam* codd.
doloris magnitudo] I Rav.; *dolor et magnitudo* NHO^2MS; *doloris et magnitudo* O^1; *doloris et rei magnitudo* Gulielmus; *doloris et magnitudo odii* Lehmann coll. Deiot. 30.
deberi] Vict.; *debere* codd.
3. POPVLI IVSSV] I; *populuus* (vel *populus*) codd.
EAM] Δ; IAM Σ.
AREAE MIHI] *arae emi* M; *aree emi* s; *areatim* P; *aree* N; *areae* O^2. In N et O^2 *mi* est omissum; *AREAE M.T.* Ursinus, ingeniosissime; sed vide Comm.
dubitabat] Corradus; *dubitat* codd.
nuntiat iam] Rom.; *nuntiant iam* codd.; *nuntiante* FA; *nuntiat tamen* Reid; *nuntiat inani* (Bosius) vel *hianti* (Palmer) vel *miranti* (Müller).
vi] Corradus; *ut* codd.
infirmi] *infimi* I, fort. recte.
statueram] codd. Interpunximus ut Lehmann; *statuerem* Meutzner.
4. qui erat] om. Σ.
legis] MsO^2N; *legisse* O^1P; *legis esse* Seyffert, bene.
de lege statuturos cum senatu. Itaque suo quisque] C; *de lege. statuos* (vel *-es*) *quisque* (vel *quisquam*) codd.
horum] *senatorum* Koch.
intercessit. De] add. Vict.
locari] Ascensius; *locare* codd.
tandem] Corradus; *tamen* codd.
tibi] M^1NP v.c.; *sibi* M^2O^2s; *sivi* Madvig; *eis* (ex $\frac{i}{s}$) Reid; *id* L (marg.); *id ei* Or. Vide Comm.
5. porticum] *πόρνην* Gronovius. Vide Comm.
Formianum] *-anam* Seyffert.
num hoc quidem etiam profuisset?] Tyrrell; *nam . . . profuisset* codd; *nam hoc quid etiam profuisset?* Seyffert.
6. a] om. Madvig. Vide Comm.
ut, si] Hofmann; *aut si* codd.
possem] I; *possent* codd.
sumpsissem] A^1C; *sumpsisse* codd.
prope omnium] *pro p. R. omnium* Or.; *p. R. communium* Sternkopf; *prope . . . lucorum* secl. Ern.

lucorum] Bosius ; *locorum* codd.
utilitatis meae] H Sternkopf ; *utilitates meae* codd. praeter H ; secl. Btr.
7. reficitur] Man. ; *reficiatur* codd. vulg.
facile] M^1 ; *non facile* M^2 et ceteri codd. ; ante *suburbano* add. *etsi* Kayser.
praesentes] *nos praesentes* Madvig ; *praesens* Gronovius ; *praesensque* Mal. ; fort. *tui praesentes*. Vide Comm.
Te] add. Man.

Ep. 92 (Att. iv. 3).

1. te] Rom. I ; om. M.
mea] Z ; *ea* codd ; om. Btr.
me scribantur] *me scribuntur* Wes.
nuntientur] I ; *nuntiantur* codd.
verum ut] Man. ; *sed ut verum* M^1 ; *sed ut* M^2.
2. nulli] Lamb. ; *ulli* codd.
demens] Pius ; *vehemens* M.
vero] Σ ; om. Δ.
nolebat] *tollebat* Man., fort. recte ; *volvebat* Madv. ; *valebat* Gurlitt.
poterat] *id poterat* M.
3. curare] Cobet ; *curari* M.
trudi] I ; *videri* M^1 ; *reservari* M^2.
eam quae est in Cermalo] Turnebus ; *meamque ceramio* M.
se in interiora] Or. ; *ex interiorem* M ; *se in interiorem partem* Müller.
et virtute] vett. ; om. *et* M ; *vir ituae* Faernus ; *nutante* Pantagathus ; *vitae tuae* A.
tuae] add. Graevius, ducibus A et Faerno.
Milo] add. Wes.
anteferret] Olim coniecimus *anteferret, nisi anteferret* ; sed vide Comm.
proscripsit] *proscripsit Sestius* Man.
4. campo] cod. Ursini ; *campum* M.
ante mediam noctem] CM^2 ; om. *ante* M^1 ; *media nocte* vulg.
lucos] *duos lucos* Wes. coll. De Div. ii. 40, vide Comm ; *vicos* Iordan.
5. pauci] F ; *paucis* M Vict.
pannosi] *pannosis* Vict.
linea lanterna] Bosius ; *sine alanterna* M.
si se in turba ei iam] Klotz ; *si se uti turbae iam* NCZb ; *si sentitur veiam* M ; *si se in turba ei obviam* Btr.
usurus] Klotz ; *usus* codd.
6. quam] add. vulg.
ne] *et ne* Wes.
respondimus] Klotz ; *-emus* M.

Ep. 93 (Q. Fr. ii. 1).

1. putabamus] *putaramus* Wes.
duo consules designati] post *Glabrio* Schützium secuti transposuimus ; haec verba ante *P. Servilius* stant in M.
praetores . . . fuimus] *pretor . . . fuimus* M ; *praetorii sane frequentes. Fuimus* Holzapfel, Sternkopf (Hermes, xxxix., 1904, p. 386), fortasse recte, procul dubio ingeniose, 'Die *praetores*' inquit Sternkopf 'als amtirende Magistrate können in keiner Weise mit den Consularen und mit den Senatoren überhaupt in einem Athem genannt werden ; die Beamtenqualität suspendirt das senatorische Recht (Lange R. A. ii^3 369 f.). Ueberliefert ist auch nicht *praetores*, sondern *pretor* : es ist zu *praetorii* zu ergänzen und mit den beiden folgenden Worten zu verbinden : *praetorii sane frequentes* (sc. *fuerunt*).'
intellegere. Dixit Milo. Coepit] Mommsen ; *intellegere dixit* ; *illico coepit* Or. ; *intellegere dixit* ; *in illo coepit* Man. ; *intellegere. Dixit* ; *coepit* Sternkopf.
dimittere. Tum] fort. *dimittere, cum.*
2. per praetorem urbanum] *praetor urbanus* Man. ; *per se praetor urbanus* Sternkopf ; sed vide Comm.
C.] add. Btr.
adsensit] M ; *adsentit* Diomedes (ed. Keil i. 381, 26).
3. urbaneque] *inurbaneque* Rom., vix recte.

Ep. 94 (Fam. vii. 26).

1. quom omnis] *quam omnis* M ; *cum omnis* GR.
in quo] Ern. ; *quod* codd. ; *quo* Man. Totum locum hoc modo ingeniose distinxit Sternkopf, *Ego autem cum omnes morbos reformido tum (quod Epicurum . . . turpioris intemperantiae) sane δυσεντερίαν pertimueram.*
στραγγουρικὰ] Or. ; *γγουρικα* M ; ΣΡΟΥΙΚΑ G ; *δυσουρικὰ* vulg.
2. helvellas] M ; *vel viles* GR.
hodie] M ; *eo die* GR.
murenis] M ; *mureis* G ; *mullis* R.

Ep. 95 (Fam. i. 1).

1. quod] G ; *qui* MR ; *quoniam* Crat. ; *quia* Vict.
2. et iam] M ; *etiam* GR.
tibi] *regi* vir doctus apud Corradum ; *tibicini* (i.e. *αὐλητῇ*) vir doctus apud Orellium (Ed. 1). Vide Comm. et Corrigenda.

ratum] fort. *gratum* vel *non ingratum*.
Is] *Is tamen* Reid. Vide Comm.
3. reducas] Vict.; *deducas* codd.
privati sint] Ern.; *privati sunt* codd.
Quae res . . . Volcacio] del. Gurlitt; *nam . . . Volcacio* del. Krauss.
animadvertebatur] Lamb.; *advertebatur* codd.
adsentiri] Crat.; *adsentire* codd.
4. quod tibi] M; *quo tibi* GR, fort. recte; simili enim modo respondent *eo . . . quo* in Att. iii. 15, 4 (73); *quo plus tibi* Streicher.
praesentes tui] M; *praesentisve* GR.

Ep. 96 (Fam. i. 2).

1. tribuni pl.] *tirannii publio lentulo* M; similia in GR; eademque infra, § 2.
permovere] Lamb.; *removere* codd.
cum dicendo] *cum in dicendo* Madvig.
perspexeram] *perfeceram*K lotz, inutiliter.
cui quidem] Lamb.; *cuique* codd.
2. quam consules] *quam consulares* Krauss.
id quod est] Wes.; *id est quod* M; *idemque est* G; *idque est* R.
quamquam] *quam qui* Holzapfel.
Volcacio] ante hoc verbum M^1 habuerat *vi* in fine paginae sed delevit.
non] add. Wes.; eadem ratione fort. *neque id ipsum consulibus invitis.*
cupierunt] MR; *cupiebant* G, fort. recte; *cupierant* Madvig. Totum locum hoc modo ingeniose constituit Sternkopf qui et hic et alias optime de Ciceronis Epistulis meritus est *Perspiciebant enim in Hortensi sententiam multis partibus plures ituros, quamquam aperte <ut> Volcacio adsentirentur multi rogabantur, atque id ipsum consulibus invitis, nam ei Bibuli sententiam valere cupierunt.* Dolemus quod hanc luculentam loci tractationem ante plagulas Commentarii excusas nescierimus. Vide Introd., p. xl.
3. Hac] Crat.; *haec* codd.
dimissus est] Wes.; *dimissus et* codd.
4. posset] M; *possit* GR.
agantur] R; *agatur* MG, fort. recte: cf. Lehmann 'Quaest.,' p. 54.
omnia] *omni* Vict.; *omnia omni* Koch.

Ep. 97 (Fam. i. 3).

1. gratiosissimus] Lamb.; *gratissimus* codd.
2. libertos] R; *liberos* MG.
T. Ampius] *tampius* M; *tam pius* R; *iam Pompeius* G.

Ep. 98 (Fam. i. 4).

1. cum in] Male in textu litteris inclinatis *cum* excudimus; nam verbum in codicibus invenitur.
cum sententia] N Lamb.; om. *cum* codd.
non magna] *in magna* Ern.
id quod] M; *ob id quod* GR.
2. Alexandriam] codd.; *-eam* vett.: cf. 114, 4.
tribunorum] nos; *tiranno* G; om. MR. Vide Comm.
mi provisum] Müller; *improvisum* codd.
possent] MG; *possint* R.
3. vi excepta] vett.; *ut excepta* codd.

Ep. 99 (Fam. i. 5 *a*).

2. eiusmodi] vett.: *eius* codd.
resistimus] MG; *restitimus* R; *resistemus* Crat.
3. causaque regia] del. Man.
neque Selicio] *nec Q. Selicio* Btr.; *neque nomen proprium selicio* R in qua lectione notandum est exemplum glossematis in textum ingressi. Vide ad Fam. iii. 11, 2 (265).
rem] (et postea *delata* pro *delatum*) Martyni-Laguna; *regem* codd. Vide Comm.
ad eum] *ad eum negotium* Wes., bene.
4. positam] corr. ex *possitame* M^1; *se positam* GR; fort. *esse positam.*
Q.] $\bar{q}$ (ex *que*) M; *que* G; *quae* R.

Ep. 100 (Q. Fr. ii. 2).

1. qua] *quamquam* Gulielmus.
vellem] Crat.; *velim* M.
Lentuli] *de Lentuli* Man.
consularia] Btr.; *consulibus* M; *consulum* Vict.
habenti] *habentibus* M.
Ego] Or.; *sed ego* M (*sed* ex dittographia ultimae syllabae in *recogitasse*).
fortassis] forma dubia apud Cic.; *fortasse* I.
omittam] vulg.; *amittam* M.
2. in] add. Wes.
3. videbatur—in . . . fecimus,—sed . . . est] Ita interpunximus; *videbatur. In . . . fecimus, sed . . . extracta <res> est* Wes. Vide Comm.
4. ita expedit] *ista* (sic M^2) *expedisti* F Wes., fort. recte; *ista expedita* coni. Or.
conscendas] Crat.; *commendas* M.

Ep. 101 (Att. iv. 4 *a*).

utique] *utique fac* Btr.; *velim utique* Wes. Vide Comm.
sis] *eris* Striller.

Ep. 102 (Q. Fr. ii. 3).

1. Kal. Febr.] Sternkopf; *a Kal. Febr.* codd. vulg.; sed vide Comm.
Prodicta] Drakenborch; *producta* M.
VIII] Man.; VII M. Vide Comm.
Lentulo] Man.; *lentuli* M.
2. VIII] Man.; VII M.
peregerat] *perfregerat* Gulielmus, Madvig, Sternkopf; *semper egerat* Man.; *semper* Lamb.; *peregit* Kayser; *perseverasset* Gurlitt.
posterum] *posterum diem* Wes., inutiliter.
3. VII] Man.; VI M.
VIII] Man.; VI M.
ei vehementer] M^2; *evidenter* M^1; *ei fidenter* Kayser.
4. contionario illo populo] *a contionario illo* (sc. P. Clodio), *populo* Boot; sed vide Comm.
ea] M Tyrrell; *eo* vulg. Vide Comm.
ipsius] *ipsius Milonis* Sternkopf.
Sed] *Et* Mal.
5. de] add. vett.
ambitu] *ambitus* Btr.; sed vide Comm.
P.] Wes.; *M.* M. Vide Comm.
ad adlegatos] M. De hoc loco in Comm. fusius disputavimus.
ista ei] *instare* Madvig; *Bestiam* Wes.; *Statium* Gurlitt; *itaque rei facti sunt* vel simile coni. Or.
7. ut] add. vett.
lacum] Boot; *lucum* M vulg. Vide Comm.
Liciniana] Man.; *luciniana* M; *Lucceiana* Or.
Ulbiensem] Mommsen ad C. I. L. x., p. 829, Sternkopf: cp. 117, 1; *iubiensem* M; *uibiensem* Rom.; *iubentem* I; *Olbiensem* vulg.

Ep. 103 (Fam. i. 5 *b*).

1. aguntur . . . acta sunt] Kleyn; *agantur* . . . *acta sint* codd.
cognosse] MR; *cognovisse* G; *cognoscere* vett.
inimicorum] Weinhold coll. 102, 3; *nimium* codd; *omnium* Man.
detraxit] MR; *detraxerit* G.
2. praetermittimus] *praetermittemus* Ern.
resistemus] MG; *resistimus* R.

Ep. 104 (Fam. i. 6).

1. in tuis] *ex tuis* Lamb.; om. Wes.
capio] M; *cupio* GR.
2. mea] *mea salus* Aldus coll. 99, 1.
adflicta est] Vict.; *adflicta sit* codd.; *adflictast* Mendelssohn.
unguiculis] MR; *ungulis* G.
es] vett.; *est* codd.

Ep. 105 (Q. Fr. ii. 4).

1. Vatinius] secl. Btr.
2. filius] secl. Man.
ceteroquin] Wes.; *cetero* M; *ceterum* Crat.
Latiar erat] *erat Latiar erat exiturus* M; depravatio exorta est ex praepostera paginarum dispositione; *exiturus* videtur pertinere ad 106, 2. Secuti sumus designationem Mommsenianam huius libri epistularum. Vide Comm. Sternkopf putat *exiturus* ad Crassipidem referendum, cuius ab Urbe profectio sponsalia distulit.
3. Etiam nunc] Haec verba, quae in M ante *non excitem* inveniuntur, a nobis transposita sunt.
Sed et] secl. *et* Wes.
5. Sic] Crat.; *id* M; *ita* Wes.
unus est] M (i.e. optimus est); *unus est optimus* Bücheler coll. 93, 3.
In eam] *In* del. Boot.
6. imprudentia] vett.; *prudentia* M.
Clodio] Man.; *coelio* M.
deterrimo] Bentivolius; *deterrime* M; *teterrimo* Schütz.
ferunt] vett.; *fuerunt* I.
Servius] Or.: vide Comm; *Sevius* M.
comitia] *se comitia* Lamb.
cum populo] I vulg.; *a populo* M; *ad populum* Wes.
7. atque] *atqui* Btr.
Ostiam] Sternkopf; *ostia* M; *Olbia* Man. Vide Comm.

Ep. 106 (Q. Fr. ii. 5).

1. Non] add. vett.
2. iacentem] vett.; *iacentis* M.
Exiturus] cf. adn. ad 105, 2.
VII] Wes.; VI M.
3. Fidem] Vict.; *Idem* M.
Luci eum] Mommsen; *Luceium* M.
Labrone] *Salebrone* Wesseling; fort. *Telamone*. Vide Comm.
simul et] M^1, cf. Reid Acad. ii. 51; *simul ut* M^2 aliique codices; *simul ac* I vulg.
4. VI] Wes.; *y* M.

conscripsi, eramque] Btr; *conscripseramque* M^1; *dictaveram scripseramque* M^2; *conscripsi. Eram[que]* Wes.
Anagnino] *agnino* M.
prodicta] Vict.; *prodita* M.

Ep. 107 (Att. iv. 4*b*).

in] om. M^2.
bibliotheca] M^1; *bibliothecam* Ns; om. Σ (praeter N) et AF.
Et] Σ; *etiam* Δ.
velim] Rom. I; *vellem* M.
σιττύβας] nos; *sillabos* M; *syllabos* Rom. I; σιλλυβους Graevius. Vide Comm.
2. adducere] *adduc* Or.
λόχον] Bosius; *locum* M; *ludum* Ern.
liber esses] Pius; *liberasses* M; fort. *te liberasses.*
diligenter] *agas diligenter* Müller coll. Att. i. 6, 2 (2); ii. 7, 2 (34); *cures* (vel *cura*) *diligenter* Wes. Sed vide Comm.

Ep. 108 (Att. iv. 5).

1. Ain tu?] vulg.; *ain tu an* codd.; *An tu* I; *Ain tandem* Seyffert.
me] *meme* AF.
Quid? etiam] *Quin etiam* Rinkes.
eram] C; *erat in* M.
2. eatenus te suasisse qua] Klotz; *ea tenuisse suasisse quae* M; *ea te monuisse, suasisse quae* I vulg.
labi] *relabi* Pluygers.
a Vettio] Zb; *a Vectio* vel *Avercio* AFNOP; *aut etiam* Δ.
me emisse] Zb; *emisse* M.
Finis sit] Graevius; *finis. sed* M.
3. me asinum germanum fuisse. Sed iam] Corradus et Muretus; *me ast num geram manum fuisset. Iam* M, et ita C sed *germanum* pro *geram manum.*
Tu 'de via recta in hortos'] Tyrrell codices sequens; *Tullia de via recta in hortos* coni. Schütz. Vide Comm.
constructione] M; *constrictione* Hertzberg, frustra. Vide Comm.
sittybis] Vict.; *sit tybis* M^1; *si scribis* M^2 I; *sillybis* Graevius.

Ep. 109 (Fam. v. 12).

1. ostendisti] Ern.; *ostendis* codd.
vivi] M; *tui* GR.
2. Phocicum] Westermann; *Troicum* codd.; *Phocium* Wes.
seiungeres] *seiungere* Ern.
ornes me] *ornes mea* Lamb.
3. suavissime plenissime] hoc habet G, illud MR; ambo verba posuisse videtur Cicero.
deflecti] G; *deflectum* R; *effecti* M; *flecti* Vict.; *affici* vett.
4. in legendo te scriptore (scriptorem G) tenere] GR; *in legem dote scripto retinere* M; *in legendo tuo scripto retinere* Or.
5. evelli] Kayser; *avelli* codd.
Themistocli fuga† redituque retinetur] codd. *Th. f. exituque retinetur* Kayser; *Th. f. interituque retinetur* Ferrarius; *Th. f. reditusque spe tenetur* Boot; *Themistocli exsilio aut Alcibiadis fuga redituque tenetur* Schütz; fort. *Themistocli fuga Coriolani fuga redituque retinetur* cf. Brut. 43; *Aristidi* pro *Themistocli* commendavit Palmer. Vide Comm.
6. multasque actiones] *mutationes* Madvig.
qui quid] Crat.; *quicquid* GR; *quid* M; *qui, qui* Ern.
7. Atque] *Atqui* Martyni-Lag.
Spartiates] vett.; *spatiates* codd.; *superstes* coni. Mendelssohn.
ille perhibendus] codd.; *celeber habendus* coni. Wöfflin.
8. impetraro] Wes.; *impetro* codd.
denique] M; *etiam* GR.

Ep. 110 (Att. iv. 6).

1. non nullo] Lamb.; *non multo* M.
aliquo deorum] E; *aliquid eorum* M^1; *deorum* M^2.
servitutem] C; *virtutem* M.
† fueris nonne†] *frueris nomine* Pius; *uteris nomine* Kayser; *servis nomine* Wes.; *tu eris condicione* Klotz; fort. *frueris. Nonne?*
2. quo dolore] om. *quo* OP.
Nequiquam] Btr.; *nec quicquam* M; *ne id quidem* Reid.
Reliquum iam] Or.; *reliquia* M.
improbem] *ne improbem* Schütz; *probem* Mal.
meliuscule] Vict.; *meliusque* M^1; *melius p.* M^2.
ferrei] M^2; *ferri* M^1; *servi* Vict.; *miseri* coni. Boot; *miserrimi* Klotz; *ferimur* Hirschfelder.
3. in] add. Müller.
qui videor] Lamb.; *quod video* M; *quom videar* coni. Müller; *qui videar* Ern.
occultior] *oculatior* Bosius.
4. nunc quam] Zb; *numquam* M^1; *quam* M^2I.

Ep. 111 (Att. iv. 7).

1. conturbat atque idem] Boot; *conturbaret quidem* M; *conturbat et idem* Bücheler.
2. qui quidem . . .] *quid quidem* M. Vide Comm.
fecit] *fecerit* Lamb., fort. recte.
fecit? Verum] *fecit, virum* Müller.
improbe] corr. in *improbi* M; *improbum* I Wes.
quemquam fuit] *quamquam fuit* vulg. Signa ἀποσιωπήσεως post *ipse* fortasse addenda sunt.
3. Quod superest, etiam] *Quid superest? Etiam.* Man., bene.

Ep. 112 (Att. iv. 8*a*).

1. tuum] *tuum Antium* Lehmann, bene.
εἴη μοι οὗτος] Peerlkamp; ΕΙΗΜΙCΗΤΩ M; εἴη μισητὸς Bosius; εἰ μὴ μισητῷ Thomas.
2. mens] C; *mensa* M.
mi sittybae] nos; *misit* M; *sit tibae* Z; *sit tibi* NP; *mi syllabis* Müller.
Vale] Gronovius; *valde* M; post *valde* add. *laudo* Lehmann, *lepide* Koch.
Et] *Tu* Wes., frustra.
si se gesserunt] Wes.; *sic egisse* M; *si se gessere* Mal.

Ep. 113 (Fam. v. 3).

1. te] R; *a te* MG.
2. ne] om. GR.

Ep. 114 (Fam. i. 7).

1. rarius] M; *minus* GR.
2. memores] *immemores* Or., male.
3. a me] vett.; *a* om. M; *a me* om. GR.
fuerunt] vett.; *fuerint* (*-it* G) codd.
te] vett.; *tuae* M; *et tuae* G; om. R; fort. *et tuae te.*
4. sic] GR; *si* M.
ea] *ea re* Mendelssohn.
scripta] *perscripta* Wes.
5. eventu] *evento* M.
iudicare] vett.; *iudicari* codd.
6. videbitur] MR; *videtur* G.
imperium tuum pecunias] Vict.; *imperii tui provincias* codd.
8. quia . . . favisti] habet schol. Bob. p. 288 Or.
quia] schol.; *qui* MR; *quo* G.
quae] G schol.; *qui* M; *quod* R.
favisti] schol. et Victorius commemorant; *praefuisti* M (man. rec.); om. GR.
9. emoneo] codd. cf. Ellis ad Aviani Fabulas iii. 4; *moneo* Crat.; *ego moneo* Koch; *oro et moneo* Starker; *et moneo et rogo* Wes.
beneficiis] G; *beneficentiis* MR.
reliqua vita] M (man. rec.); *re qua vita* codd.; *re quae vitares* Hirschfeld.
10. perfecisse] codd.; *profecisse* vett.
tamen] codd. Lehmann; *tantum* M (man. rec.); *tandem* Gulielmius.
se] GR; *sed* M; *se posse* Ernesti.
cognovi, tu tuis] M (man. rec.) Wesenberg; *cognovit Utuis* M; *cognovi ut tuis* GR Mendelssohn; *cognovi, tu ut tuis* Or.; *cognovi id ut tu tuis* Lambinus.
11. summae virtutis] GR; *summa virtute* M.

Ep. 115 (Fam. xiii. 6*a*).

1. me et coram P. Cuspio] incertum, cum *coram* adverbialiter a Cicerone semper usurpetur praeter Pis. 12 ubi *et* inserendum esse ante voc. *genero* Reid (Lael. 3) docuit; fort. *me et coram pro P. Cuspio* vel *me et coram cum P. Cuspio et.*
3. incredibili] codd.; *incredibile* Müller, nosque olim ex errore tamquam scripturam codicis H.
4. et potestate] codd.; *et a potestate* Wes.
esses, sed] codd.; *esse, sed* Madvig, fort. recte, vide Comm.; *essem sed* Or.

Ep. 116 (Fam. xiii. 6*b*).

has] add. Or.

Ep. 117 (Q. Fr. ii. 6).

1. Ulbia] Mommsen, cf. 102, 7; *vibia* M.
praesenti] *praesentis* Wes.
Etenim] Mommsen; *est enim* M.
2. nostra erat. Ante quod] Mommsen; *nostra eram ante quod* M; *nostra. Eram Anti. Quod* Man.; *nostra damnant. Quod* Madvig; *nostrorum. Ante quod* Gurlitt.
cenabis] *cenabis cum tuis apud me* Lehmann; similia addunt alii.

Ep. 118 (Att. iv. 8*b*).

1. Apenas] Ant. FI vulg.; *Aperias* M; *Apellas* Turnebus, Müller; cf. Fam. vii. 25, 2 (668).

tibi] codd. praeter Δ ; om. Δ.
2. nostrae] Man. ; *nostra* M.
quod ab iisdem] C ; *quo dabis dein* M.
designatus] *destinatus* coni. Reid.
3. quid ? sinas ?] Man. ; *quid sinat* M. Locum ita refingere vult Schütz, *De poemate, quod eram exorsus, quid si cupiat effugere ? quid ? sinas ? De Fabio Lusco quod quaeris, homo,* &c.
remorit] Ern. ; *removit* codd. ; *removerit* Wes.
4. ἔσω] vulg. ; ΕΩ M ; ἔξω Man. Vid. Comm.

Ep. 119 (Fam. i. 8).

2. conformo] R^2 ; *confirmo* codd.
a quo] R ; *a quo* (supra lin.) G ; *quo* M.
desisterent] GR ; *destiterat* vel *destiterent* M.
3. fuerant . . . tota sunt] Madvig ; *fuerant . . . tota si* codd. ; *fuerat* (ex cod. Amstelodami) . . . *totast* Boot.
5. se] Graevius ; *te* codd.
6. Idque cum] vett. ; *id quecunque* codd.
satis facere possum] vett. ; *satis facere non possim* codd (sed G habet *possum*).
7. pertinebunt] vett. ; *pertinebant* codd.

Ep. ii. 120 (Q. Fr. ii. 7 (9)).

1. nostra Urania] Malaspina ; *non curantia* M ; *nostra curatione* Gurlitt. Vide Comm.
2. per se] *et per se* Kahnt.
ad] add. Man.
3. quam] *contra quam* Schütz. Vide Comm.
idque ita] *idque ita esse* Koch.

Ep. 121 (Att. iv. 10).

1. putabas] M ; *putaras* Wes.
ut] add. Bosius.
voluptatum] Bosius ; *et voluptatum* M ; *et voluptatibus* vulg. ; *et voluptatum taedet* Kayser.
propter] *prope taedet propter* Lehmann.
2. quae] *que* M^1 ; *quoque* M^2 ; *quaeque* M marg.
Cyrea] Vict. ; *cirea* M ; *circa* alii.
quod] Graevius ; *quo* M ; *cum* Baiter.

Ep. 122 (Att. iv. 9).

1. impediant] A ; *impendant* M.
iactans] vett. ; *laetans* M.
hic] *hoc* Reid.
Cumanum a se. Nihil] Man. ; *Cumanum at si nihil* M ; *Cumanum. Etsi nihil* Boot.
2. tecum] Man. ; *secum* M.

Ep. 123 (Q. Fr. ii. 8).

1. interpellare ?] nos ; sine nota interrogandi vulg.
An te Ateius] vulg. ; *ante a te is* (superscr. *uteis*) M ; *An te Statius ?* Lamb. ; *Antiates* Madvig.
videris] Lamb. ; *videbis* M.
insulsa] Vict. ; *infusa* M.
Cicerones] Man. ; *ceteri omnes* M.
2. Video . . . πάσας] Schützio auctore post *de rep.* (§ 4) transposuimus. Hoc modo sententiam refingit Gurlitt *Video te ingemuisse, scilicet* εἰδέναι ἃ ἔζησας, *nunquam enim dicam* ἔδρασας.
Asicianam . . . Asiciano] M Bücheler ; *Anicianam . . . Aniciano* vulg.
portarem] *portarent* Bücheler.
hunc] Man. ; *tunc* M.
3. videbimus] vett. ; *videmus* M.
Hymetto] *Gargetto* coni. Reid.
†araysira] vel *araxita* M ; *araxira* C ; *area Cyrea* (vel *Cyri*) Ern. ; *area Syra* Crat. ; *arce* Ψυρίᾳ (i.e. Arpinum) Tunstall coll. Att. xvi. 13, 2 (802) ; *Abdera* Reid. Fort. *area* (vel *arcula*) *Cyrea*, vel *ab ara Syria*, vel *ab ara Maxima*. Sed vide Comm.
4. nimium . . . doleo] haec verba post *nunquam* . . πάσας ponenda esse constituit Schütz.

Ep. 124 (Att. iv. 11).

1. duas] *duas datas* Wes.
v] ii Man.
eum et se] Lehmann ; *et se* M ; *esse* vulg.
2. γλυκύτερον οὐδέν] nos, ut versus sit senarius primo pede carens ; *ουδεν γλυκυτερον* M.
eduxi] COPF ; *duxi* M.
†abs te opere] *Aristotele magno opere* coni. Orelli ; *Aristotele* coni. Wes. ; *ita ab isto puero* Madvig ; *abs te opipare* Ziehen.
Tu] vulg. ; *ut* M.

Ep. 125 (Att. iv. 12).

Anti] AFH; *ante* M.
praesto esse posse] Lamb., codex unus Malaspinae; om. *posse* codd.
Idibus] Z^1 codices Bosi NOPI; om. Δ.
permanebo] Gurlitt; *promonebo* codd.; *promovebo* Kayser; *Romae manebo* Reid; *praemonebo* Malaspina; *promerebor* Gronovius, Boot, i.e. 'satisfaciam tibi vel omnia faciam ut placeam tibi irato ob Macronem destitutum.'

Ep. 126 (Fam. vii. 23).

FADIO] Pighius; *fabio* codd.
2. sumpsisti] vett.; *sumpsisse* codd.
erat] GR; *erant* M quod ut servarent addunt ἄγαλμα Orelli, *ornamentum* Kayser, alii aliud.
bybliothecae] codd. hic et Fam. ix. 4 (466); sed alibi codd. dant *bibliotheca* Fam. vii. 28, 2 (477), Q. Fr. iii. 4, 5 (152). Utrumque rectum.
felicius] *facilius* Vict.
3. habebo] vett.; *habeo* codd.
Tarracinae] *terracine* G; sed haec forma quae hodie obtinet antiqua auctoritate caret. Latine dicitur aut *Tarracina* aut *Tarricina* C.I.L. x. p. 623.
4. mandaram] Ern.; *mandabam* codd.
facies] GR; *facias* M.

Ep. 127 (Fam. vii. 1).

1. ex illo] codd.; *in illo* Lallemand vulg. Vid. Comm.
Stabianum] MR; *Sabianum* G; *tablinum* Boot, coll. Varrone ap. Nonium, p. 83 s.v. 'cortes'; fort. *istud maenianum.*
sinum] Boot, Wölfflin; *senum* codd.; *Misenum* Lamb. De toto loco vide Comm.
lectiunculis] codd.; *spectiunculis* Klotz.
comminus] Madvig; *communis* MG.
tibi ipse] vett.; *tibi ipsi* codd.
2. decessisse] vulg.; *descessisse* R; *discessisse* G; *decesse* M Mendelssohn.
Clytaemestra] M; *clitemestra* R; *clitemenstra* G.
creterrarum] codd., cf. Nonium, p. 547; *craterarum* vulg.; *cetrarum* Graevius; *cetratorum* (sc. ex equo Troiano exeuntium) Boot (Obs. Crit. p. 13).
3. oleum] MR, cf. Att. ii. 17, 1 (44); *consilium* G.
spectamus] *spectavimus* Ern.
4. ludis scaenicis] del. Vict.
artem] secl. Wes., fort. recte.
desinerem] *deponerem* Koch.
6. praetermisisse] GR; *-misse* M.

Ep. 128 (Fam. xiii. 74).

memoria] H; *-riam* M; *-rie* D.
Tanta mihi] MD; *tanta enim mihi* H.
mihi feceris] MD; *feceris* H.

Ep. 129 (Fam. xiii. 40).

haec ut] M; *haec* HD.

Ep. 130 (Att. iv. 13).

1. Ego, ut sit rata] Cratander, Bosius; *ergo et si irata* M; *ergo ut sit rata* Ascensius; fort. *ego ut sitio rem ita.*
scribas] CNOP; *rescribas* Δ.
potest Valde] vulg.; *pote. Valde* v.c.; *pote. val.* M; *potes. Valde* Rom.
2. item iterum consulem] Bücheler; *item. T. terum cons. s.* M; *iterum consulem* Vict.
atque etiam] add. Schütz.
veniam] M^2; *veniat* M^1 C.

Ep. 131 (Fam. v. 8).

1. a.d. . . .] Klotz; *ad* codd.; *Id.* (= Idibus) Ellis; om. Baiter.
2. dolentium] GR; *dolentium hominum* M.
posset] R; *potest* MG.
eximia] GR; *existimia* M.
consiliis monitis] om. R.
nituntur] *utuntur* Cobet. Vide Comm.
3. interciderunt] codd.; *inciderunt* Madvig.
ea, cum] om. R.
4. eximium] GR; *exium* M.
in Marcum benevolentia pari] Orelli; *in marco benevolentiam pari* codd.; *in Marco benevolentia impari* Ern.
5. quod eius] M; *quod eis* GR.

Ep. 132 (Q. Fr. ii. 9).

2. Magnetibus] Vict.; *mãg.* M; *magis* Rom.
ita sunt, multis] codd.; *ita sunt, non multis* Ern., Lachmann; *non ita sunt multis* Vict.
multae tamen] M, vide Comm.; *multae etiam* Or.
Sed cum veneris] Vide Comm. Totum

locum ita dant duo viri doctissimi, Munro : *ita sunt, multis luminibus ingeni ; multae tamen artis esse cum inveneris, virum te putabo ; si Sallusti*, &c. ; Bergk : *ita sunt : multis luminibus ingeni, non multae tamen artis. Sed si ad umbilicum veneris virum te putabo ; si Sallusti*, &c.

Ep. 133 (Q. Fr. II. 10).

1. pipulo, convicio] Tyrrell ; *populi convicio* codd. vulg. ; *pipulo* [*convicio*] malit Housman, vide Comm. ; *communi* Boot.

sit] M^2 ; *iste* M^1.

2. extorsi . . . erat] *extorsi ei oppidulum quod erat* vel *extorsi oppidulum quod eius erat* Wes.

Euphrati] M, vide Comm. ; *Euphrate* Man.

Zeugmate] cod. Palatinus quidam ; *et Eugmate* M ; *Zeugma* Lamb. ; fort. *Euphrati* ζεύγματι.

3. Quod vult] M ; *Quod non vult* Lamb. ; *Quod nos vult* Schütz.

renovari] Or. ; *renovare* M.

qui Bostrenum] Or. ; *qui Busrenum* C ; *quibus rhenum* M.

ne imploret . . . convocet] Haec verba versus esse putant Bücheler, Haupt.

5. ad Caesarem] om. Lamb.

Locum] M ; *Iocum* vulg. Vide Comm.

Quanquam . . . urerentur] Post *coegisset* (§ 1) haec verba transponere vult Gurlitt.

Ep. 134 (Fam. VII. 5).

1. profectionem . . . tardare] om. R.

2. itfiuium] M ; *idfinium* R ; *idfunum* G ; *Titinium* Wes. ; *Fufitium* Ellis ; *Fufidium* coll. Fam. xiii. 11, 1 (452) Wölfflin ; *Iteum* coni. Mendelssohn ; *Rufum* C ; *Orfium* Vict. ; *Mescinium* (hoc pro *M.*) ; *Rufum* Schütz.

hunc Leptae delega, si vis] (*suus* pro *si vis* G) codd. ; *Leptae legatum* Crat. ; συγκλέπτην *de Segontiacis* coni. Mendelssohn. Vide Comm.

3. pudentiorem] M ; *prudentiorem* GR ; *pudentiorem* <*amicum*> Wes. ; Fort. *prudentiorem adiutorem*.

singulari] GR ; *singularis* M.

Simus] codd. ; *sumus* vett.

putidiusculi] MR ; *putidiunculis* (*s* expuncto) G ; *impudentiusculi* M marg.

quamquam] Ern. ; *quam* codd. Totum locum ita dat Boot *sumus enim putidiusculi, quod per te vix licet, per hunc utique licebit.*

Ep. 135 (Q. Fr. II. 11).

2. taeter et] M^2 ; *te tenet* M^1.

Tyriis] M marg. ; *tyrrus* M^1 ; *Syriis* M^2, fort. recte.

tamen] M ; *etiam* Madv.

L.] Man. ; *Gaius* M.

3. dare] Faernus ; *dari* M.

Omnia . . . deficit] om. M^1 ; add. M^2 in marg.

4. quem . . . sunt] vix delendum ; vide Comm. ; om. *locuti sunt* cod. Mureti.

Siculus] Vict. ; *secutus* M.

de Dionysio] vulg. ; '*De Dionysio*' coni. Wes.

Dionysius] om. Crat., fort. recte.

quod adscribis] vulg. ; *quoad scribis* MI ; *quod scribis* Rom. ; *quod ea scribis* Bücheler.

adgrederisne] codd. ; *adgrediarisne* Rom. Btr.

Ep. 136 (Fam. VII. 6).

1. Corinthum] *Corinthi* Lamb.

2. Britannia] GR ; *brittaniam* M.

137 (Fam VII. 7).

1. adferantur] codd. ; *adferuntur* Crat.

2. Britannia] GR ; *brittania* M.

Habes] ins. Btr. hoc loco ; post *liberalissimum* Vict. ; post *singularem* Crat. ; *invenisti* ante *imperatorem* add. Lehmann ; *nactus es* add. Müller coll. 146, 2, Att. x. 12, 1 (397).

Ep. 138 (Att. IV. 14).

1. putari] Ascensius ; *putare* M ; delere vult Schütz ; *in Apuliam* coni. Pluygers ; *Buthrotum* coni. Boot ; *mature* Fr. Schmidt ; *mane* Müller.

dixeras] Faernus ; *dixerat* M. Levi transpositione usus est Sternkopf, qui legit *Vestorius . . . te Roma a. d. vi Idus Maias profectum esse, putare tardius quam dixerat quod minus valuisses*, quae valde arridet.

2. Tu velim] A. ; *ut velim* M.

Ep. 139 (Q. Fr. II. 12).

1. earum] Lamb. ; *quarum* M ; del. Ern.

ceterum] *ceteris me* coni. Reid.

oblectabam] Lamb. ; *oblectabar* M, fort. recte, si deleveris *me* ut ex *in* ortum.

2. si licet] M; *scilicet* vett. Vide Comm.
sed] *sed et* Rom.
producendo] M; *perdocendo* vett., frustra.
3. per se necessarium] Btr.; *per se* (vel *per se ipsum*) *pernecessarium* Wes.; om. *se* M.

Ep. 140 (Fam. vii. 8).

1. quam . . . esset] M; *perquam . . . esse* Kayser.
2. enim] *etiam* Lamb.

Ep. 141 (Q. Fr. ii. 13).

1. Placentia] Crat.; *-ae* Btr.; *-e* M.
Blandenone] vulg.; *Blandenonne* M; *Laude Nonis* (sc. accepi) Sigonius; *Laude una* mallet Boot si voc. *Laude* quidem esset recipiendum quod negat. Fort. *postridie Nonas datas Laude.*
magna vel] *vel magna vel* M, fort. recte.
eius] M marg.; *tuae* M.
delectarunt] *<me> delectarunt* Or., sed vid. Comm.
2. ardenti quidem studio hoc fortasse] Ita dant codices nonnulli quos sequitur Wes., sed is *quidem* delet, cf. 'Em. Alt.' 69; pro *hoc* dat *ac* M.
cursu] M; *cursus* Pluygers.
vero] M^2; *viris* M^1; fort. *viris vel.*
tu] Orelli; *ut* M; *ut* (cum *probatur*) coni. Wes.
3. M. Curtio] Hic incipit nova ep. in M.
Id et] *Id ipse* Boot; *Id enim* (vel *etenim*) coni. Müller; fort. *et id.*
4. oricula] M; *auricula* vulg. Vid. Comm.

Fam. 142 (Fam. ii. 14).

1. bono] ins. Wes.; Fort. *acri* (=*acuto*) quod vocabulum ante *atramento* intercidere potuit; copula *et* facile caremus.
dentata] M^2; *dum tanta* M^1.
2. ingenue] Boot coll. Fam. v. 2, 2 (15); Att. xiii. 27, 1 (603), bene; *genuine* M^1; *gemine* M^2; *germane* I Or.
advoles ut dixeramus] Kayser; *voles ut dixerimus* M; *advoles ut dixeras* Wes.; *advoles ut dixeris* Schütz.
laborant mei conscientia] *laborant quod mea conscientia* M; *laboramus conscientia* Schütz; *labat antiqua mea conscientia* Madvig; *laborandum de confidentia* Wes. Fort. *nec laborat mea conscientia quod.*
3. e re tua. Nam] Madvig; *etiam* M. Lacunam indicat Wes. ex qua *pertinere ad nostram dignitatem* vel simile quid excidisse putat.
explicationem] Schütz: *exspectationem* M; *expeditionem* Tunstall.
4. bessibus ex triente] Dare notas *S⊐ ex⊐⊐* tentavit M, sed dedit *SZ ex ZZ.*
et consulum] nos, coll. 143, 7; *est quo* M; *ex aequo* Madvig.
utinam vinceret] Tyrrell; *unum vincere* M; *unus studet vincere* Madvig. In margine ed. Lambinianae invenitur haec lectio *quam cum Domitio habuit. Scaurus vult vincere.*
ὑπερβολάς] ὑπερβολικῶς I.
constituunt] *constituerunt* Rom.
praerogativa] *-tivam* Ern.
quingenis] Vict.; *ϙ* M.
potuerit] Faernus, Boot coll. 143, 8; *fuerit* M; *inverit* Or.
omnesque] M^2 in marg.; *que* M^1.

Ep. 143 (Att. iv. 15).

1. gratum est Eutychidem] Bücheler; *gratum si Utichidem* M; *gratum si Eutychides* (cum *cognoscet*) vulg.
tuam . . . benevolentiam] M; *-a . . . -a* Btr.
cognosse et suam] Bücheler; *cognossi iam* M^1.
2. tot tuis] HI; *totius* M^1; *totis tuis* M^2.
praetor] M^1; *p.* (= Publius) M^2; *rhetor* (i.e. Sex Clodius) Bosius coll. Phil. ii. 43.
3. ut conicio] secl. Ern.
fere] Vict.; *forte* M.
4. IIII] Boot; III codd.
debemus] om. AFΣ, sed habet Δ; *debitores* coni. Müller; *eosdem* Hirschfelder.
occidi] Schütz; *occidere* M.
criminans] codd. quos defendit Sternkopf; *criminans me* Madvig. Vide Comm.
offenderem] Man.; *offenderet* codd.
5. siccata et] M; *siccata sed* I; *siccata at* Landsberg.
Rosia] CM, cf. Ribbeck ad Verg. Aen. vii. 712, Plin. H. N. xvii. 32; *Rosea* vulg.
6. in spectaculum] Mal.; om. *in* codd.; *spectatum* Graevius.
tam . . .] add. *ieiunum* Hirschfeld; *inane* Reid.
7. et] add. vett.
8. fore] Baiter; *in fore* M; *in foro fore* Boot.
omnes leges] add. Wes. coll. 142, 4.

9. legarat] Ascensius; *legerat* CM.
10. roges . . . veniat] Vict.; *roges ut te hortetur quam primum venias* M.
possit] Crat.; *possis* M.

Ep. 144 (Att. iv. 16).

1. quod erant abs te] Vide Comm.
Buthroto] Man.; *bruto* M.
crebritate] Lamb.; *celebritate* CM¹; *celeritate* M².
et oratione et re] nos; *ratione et verbis et re* M; *ratione* om. E. Rav. vulg. Vocabulum *verbis* additamentum vel glossema videtur esse.
2. potuit mentio] ϗ (praeter H); *mentio potuit* Δ.
ita] add. Wes.
et] add. vulg.
3. feci idem quod] Klotz; *fecit idem* M²; om. *feci* et *quod* M¹.
habetur] Boot; *haberetur* M.
magis] Ern.; *satis* M¹; *satius* M².
qua eum] Bücheler; *quam* M; *qua* vulg.
ioculatorem] C; *ioculatorie* (*rie* in rasura) M; *ioculatoriae disputationi* I.
4. Piliae] Sch.; *filie* M.
sit] add. Wes. Locum ita interpunxit Sternkopf; *sed* (*scis, qui*) *cum habeat duo faciles nihil difficilius.*
5. quae] add. vett.
dies est dictus] add. Madvig; *Lucretio, iudicibus reiciendis a. d.* Baiter. Fort. addendum nil nisi *dies* post *-dis* omissum.
6. Domitius ut] Sternkopf; *ut domitius ut* M; *ut Domitius* vulg.
non nihil] Wes.; *non* M Sternkopf; *etiam* Schütz; *non minus* Klotz; del. Reid.
Pompei Gallia] M¹, vix ferendum; *Pompei gratia* M²; *Pompeio et Gallia* Reid.
7. cognosce] Cur haec ibi retinenda essent in Comm. indicavimus.
muratos] Iunius: *miratos* M; *munitos* E; *firmatos* coni. Reid.
molibus] *montium molibus* Reid coll. Caes. B. G. iv. 23, 3.
8. texerat] Wes.; *texerit* CM¹Z¹; *texit* M²; *texuit* Btr.; *erexerat* Kl.; *refecit* Boot.
in] add. Bos.
At quid id laboramus? Habes] Wes.; *Ad quid id laboramus* M; *Atqui id laboramus ut habeas* coni. Boot.
† Coctia] codd.; *Plotia* Ascensius; *Clodia* Lange, Sternkopf; *Cincia* Schütz; *Aurelia* Ern.
fiunt] Wes.; *fiant* M.
9. interesset] vulg.; *interesse* M.
ut ab his] Sternkopf; *mutabis* M; *ut abires* vel *ut a tuis* Ern.; *ut a nobis* coni. Muetzner.
tot tuis] Sternkopf, coll. 143, 2; *totiens* M; *tot dies* Muetzner.
egissem] M¹; *egisse* M² Wes.
isti te] Müller; *istic te* Madvig; om. *te* M¹; *is te* M² Sternkopf.

Ep. 145 (Fam. vii. 9).

1. Quinto] *que* codd.
quo] M; *com-* GR.
luctum] add. Vict., coll. 148, 25; *occupationes* add. Crat.; *casum* add. Bergk.
2. Battara] *Vacerra* Vict., cf. 140, 2.
summo . . . filius] versiculum deperditae alicuius fabulae agnovit Schneidewin; sed ille verbum *familiaris* quoque poetae tribuit.

Ep. 146 (Fam. vii. 17).

1. mensum] MG; *mensium* R.
dixerim] G; *duxerim* R; *dixeram* M.
2. detulerim] Lamb.; *attulerim* codd.
ita] MG; *grate* R Streicher, Schmalz; sed vide Comm.
ostendit] fort. *ut ostenderit.*

Ep. 147 (Q. Fr. ii. 15).

1. quidem] add. Orelli.
a propensis] *a* del. Wesenberg. Vide Comm.
et colamur] Man.; *excolamur* M.
3. eram] Lamb.; *aderam* M, fort. recte.
factam] Bücheler, vide Comm.; *actam* M vulg.
4. Athenas noctuam] M; γλαῦκ' εἰς Ἀθήνας Crat.
5. utitur] vulg.; *utimur* M, fort. recte; vide Comm.
scribere] *scribe* I vulg.

Ep. 148 (Q. Fr. iii. 1).

1. cum amoenitate] Post haec verba add. Ern. *tum salubritate.*
2. neque] add. vett.
vel . . . locum] Schütz; *vel honestate* (*honestae* C) *testudinis vel valde boni aestivum locum* M.
ex quo ignis erumpit] del. Ursinus.
autem] *altum* M; *alterum* Lehmann; *aestivum* Ern.
3. nundinis] Bentivolius; *nuntiis* M.

†virdicata] *ridicata* Or.; *vitium ridicata* Kays.; *viridi iuncta* Georges; *viridi auctam* Boot. Vide Comm.

hunc] *nunc* alii.

Bovillanum] Lamb.; *bobilianum* M; *Bombilianum* I.

retinere] Vict.; *re sine re* M; *rescindere* C.

†Calibus] *Caesius* Man.; *Calvus* Crat.; fort. *Camillus*. Vide Comm.

4. passus] Rom I vulg.; *passuum* M.

per] add. vett.

Varro viam] Wes.; *Velvinum* M; *Bellienus* Madvig.

probe] Ern.; *prope* M.

5. constitueras] Ern.; *constituebas* M.

7. mihi] del. edd., perperam. Vide Comm.

educat] Orelli, cf. 151, 4; *ducat* M.

otiosus] Lamb.; *otiosum* M.

8. curamus] Lehmann; *curemus* M.

9. Hippodamis] *Hippodamo* Schütz.

quin abs] Rom; *qui nos* M^1I; *qui non* M^2; *qui non abs* Wes.

10. qui mihi] Vict.; *qui sibi* M; *qui* (om. *sibi*) Man.

11. oratione quod scribis. Miror] Wes.; *oratione. Quod scribis miror* vulg.

omnis] secl. Wes.

institueram] M^2C; *composueram* M^1; *componere instituerat* coni. Wes.

13. paene] add. Wes.

14. vergit] M marg.; *vertit* M.

absum] Lamb.; *adsum* M.

quoniam] *quoniam tu* Wes.

sic] add. Wes.

putem] *puto* Kays.

16. coitionibus] *cautionibus* M.

17. septimo] Bardt; *septembr.* M. Vide Comm.

Sed] *scilicet* Lamb.

18. interiore] *inferiore* Pluygers.

neque] add. Madvig.

Oppium] Madvig; *ad Oppium* M.

Quo consilio nescio] Boot; *Quo consilio* codd. Vide Comm.

19. foris] vett.; *foras* M. Vide Comm.

21. inhumaniter] vett.; *humaniter* M.

Labeoni] *Labieno* Lehmann.

23. coniecta] *conlecta* Madvig, ingeniose; sed vide Comm.

de suburbano] post *sententiam* om. edd. ut ex superioribus introductum.

recordari de epistulis] Schütz, vide Comm.; *recordari de se de epulis* M; *recordari de sedeculis* Madvig; *recordari de s. c., de epistulis* Gurlitt.

κέχρηται, totum] κέχρηται *Totum* Gurlitt.

quasi] γνώσει Gurlitt.

dedidicisse] add. Wes.; fort. addend. ἀπομαθεῖν vel simile verbum Graecum.

24. introierat] Wes.; *introierit* M.

librum meorum temporum] Müller; *librum meorum librorum* M; *meorum librorum* Man.

exercitum] vett.; *exercitus* M.

Ep. 149 (Att. iv. 17).

1. nunc] Pius; *non* M quod defendit Sternkopf. Vide Comm.

mei] C; *tui me* M.

quoniam] Orelli; *cum* M.

cuiquam] Wes.; *neque cuiquam* M; *neque quoquam cuiquam* Klotz, sed vide Comm.

eae] add. Lamb.

quid ne] addidimus; *lepidum quo res cadat* (vel*r ecidat*) Lamb. Wes.; *ne quid unquam excidat* Starker; *ne quid aliquo excidat* Müller; *lepidum quo ne excidat* Ellis.

2. suusque] nos; *suus* M; *et suus* vulg.

fecisset] *fecissent* Man.

qui se] vulg.; *qui sequi se* M.

fuisset] Σ (praeter EH); *adfuisset* M.

3. hoc iacet] Mommsen; *cociace* M; *totus iacet* Reid coll. Mur. 30. Vide Comm.

populo] *populum* Lamb.

erant ex omnibus] Kayser; om. *ex* codd.; fort. *omnibus* transponendum ante *quae erant*. Addit nonnulla Sternkopf hoc modo *ab iis consiliis <quae essent ex consiliis> quae erant omnibus sortita*, ita ut verba *ex consiliis quae erant omnibus* significent *ex consiliis omnibus quae praesto essent*, paullo audacius, ut nobis videtur.

sortita] M; *sorte ducta* Boot. Sed *sortita* vetus est dicendi genus quale in legibus solet esse.

Veiento, Rantius] Bücheler cum M^1; *vietor Antius* C; *victorantius* M^2.

cedit] A; *cidit* MZ; *cecidit* Madvig.

detulerunt] *retulerunt* Wes.

esse e rep.] Iunius; *censere* M; *esse e re* Bosius.

4. partem] Man.: *patrem* M quod defendit Reid; *patronus rem* Meutzner.

legeres] M; *leges* Gronov.

spem] Lamb.; *rem* MZ.

nullam] *non nullam* Boot.

fuerat] *erat* Boot.

Antium] *Rantium* Bücheler.

libere] CNOPA; *liber* Δ.

5. videntur] *videbantur* Ern.

si] add. vulg.

quos tu dilaudas] Vict., cf. Att. vi. 3, 3 (264); *quo studio laudas* CM; *quos studio laudas* Reid.

Ep. 150 (Q. Fr. III. 2).

2. hostium plane] M quod defendi potest, vide Comm.; *hostium plenam* Koch; *hostilem plane in modum* Wes. coll. Att. v. 13, 1 (203).
hostium caesorum] Wes.; *hostiarum* M; *hostium* Rom I vulg. Vide Comm.
inrepsit] C; *in re hesit* M; *mire haesit* Lipsius.
saucius] Tyrrell; *atius* vel *a tuis* M; *actus* Man.; *saeptus* Boot.
me] add. Lamb. sed ante *ab*; sed vide Comm.
accedat] Schütz; *accidat* M, fort. recte: vide Comm.; *commode accidat* Kays.
3. magno] Lamb.; *magna* M.
nomina data] Vide Comm.
recte est: ipsa] Wes.; *recte et ipsa* M.

Ep. 151 (Q. Fr. III. 3).

1. †Sed tua . . . rustica] M; *sed tua paene ad tectum. Iam res rusticas* Lamb.: sed *expolitio* non potest *ad tectum* adduci; *et tua perfecta iam res rustica*, vel *tua paene perfecta. Iam res rusticas* Wes. Vide Comm.
2. Sulla filio] Man.; *Syllae filio* M.
3. quid fiat de Gabinio.] M; '*quid fiet de Gabinio*' Man.
caeditur] M; *laeditur* Madvig, fort. recte: vide Comm.
illi] Man.; *illum* M.
rerum] M; *alterum* (vel *laetum*) Madvig.
4. summe studiosus est] Wes.; *summo studio est* M, fort. recte.
Quare . . . inducemus] Interpunctionem fere Wesenbergianam secuti sumus.
patiamur] M; *patimur* Wes.

Ep. 152 (Q. Fr. III. 4).

1. preces] *precesque* Rom.
tamen] I; *tum* M Rom.
sit] *est* Klotz.
XXXII] cp. 154, 1; XXII M.
Cato] fort. *Cotta*, vide Comm.
diribitis] Man.; *diruptis* M; *diremptis* Sigonius.
3. Alterutrum] *Alterum igitur* Iunius; fort. *Tum alterum.*
6. discendi non lusionis] Fort. ut glossema secludendum.
quom] Wes.; *quam* M; *quamquam* Ern.
IIII] Wes. coll. 154, 4 III. M.

Ep. 153 (Fam. I. 9).

1. diiuncti] vett.; *quod iuncti* M; *quo iuncti* GR.
2. praesentiores] *praestantiores* alii.
4. rerum] Ante hoc verbum aliquid excidit ut *vi* vel *cursu* (Boot), vel *beneficio* (Sternkopf), vel fort. *evento.* Vide Comm. *initio* in *beneficio* mutandum omnibus rebus perpensis praefert Sternkopf.
aliquo] *alicui* Or., male.
ipse] om. codd., add. M^{c} supra lineam.
vidisti] M; *audisti* GR.
6. pristinis permanebam] *pristini* (*-is* R) *spernebam* codd.; *pristini spermanebam* M^{r}.
7. me M.] codices quidam; *meam* codd.; *me eam* M^{r}; *me eam M.* Or.
quo] *qua* Man.
8. putaram] M^{r}; *putarem* codd.
10. tamen] *etiam* Madv.
referebantur] *deferebantur* Or.
osculabantur] M^{r}; *occultabantur* MR; *occultabant* G.
11. sicut et] GRM^{2}; *sic et* M.
Cinneis] codd.; *Cinnanis* vulg. Vide Comm.
cumque] M^{r}; *quaecunque* codd.
12. et Quinto] vulg.; *et que* M; *atque* GR.
hac mente] *hanc mentem* M^{c}, vix recte. Vide Comm.
iacta iam] Btr.; *iactatam* M; *iactata* GR.
13. mirificus senatus] Graevius; *mirifica senatus* M; *mirificus et* GR.
consensus] *consensio* (cum *mirifica*) ed. Neapolitana, Or.
pugnare licuisset] GR; *pugna reliquisset* M.
14. excitatis] M^{r}; *exercitati* codd.
15. illa furia] Bandinelli; *illa furta* codd.; *ille fur* Lambinus. Fort. *illa furia, fur.*
16. est vero probandum] om. Btr.
curarit] vett.; *curaret* codd.
fractum] vett.; *factum* codd.
omnibus] *octo tribunis* Schütz, qui *referente consule* ante *promulgantibus* transposuit, sed hoc parum necessario.
magistratibus] add. Lehmann. Vide Comm.
te ferente] Lehmann; *referente* codd.
hominibus] M; *omnibus* GR; del. Graevius.
17. desciscere me] Schütz; *desciscerem* MG.
a] add. vett.
non] add. Vict.
tum] *tum in* Wes.
sensu] *sententia* Man., male.

18. quem ego . . . tantum] M^r vulg.; *quod* (*quo* P) *ego vehementer auctoremque ortatum* MP; *quem ego vehementer auctoremque sequor ortantum* M^r; *quod ego vehementer optarem te ortatum* (*hortatum* R) GR.

cumque . . . vidisset] a nonnullis iniuria suspectata.

nec nisi cogendo] nos; vide Comm.; om. *nisi* codd.

posse] del. Sternkopf.

cum] *cui* coni. Wes.

iniret] G; *gereret* M^c; *geret* M^1; *in ira* R.

Sic] M^r; *si* codd.

esse cuius] vett.; *essecutus* M; *es secutus* GR.

19. comissatum Pamphilam] *comissatum tu Pamphilam* vett. ex cod. Bembino Terenti 'Eun.' 442. Sed tum existet ῥυθμὸς durissimus *Phaedriam in* | *tro mittamus comissatum, tu Pamphilam.*

20. contrieram] P; *conteram* codd.

superioribus] del. Cobet; sed vide Heindorfium ad N.D. ii. 53.

exarsi] Hic deficit G. Incipit denuo ad Fam. ii. 1, 2 (*quodque*).

me fuisset] vett.; *me fugisset* codd.

significo neque] Madvig; *significationeque* (*-one* R) MR; *nutu significationeque* Ern.

apud me in] M^r; *apud in* M; *apud* R; *paludatus in* coni. Mendelssohn.

21. neque] add. M^r (sed is *nec*).

in] add. Wes.

23. animum] Schmalz; *etiam* codd.; *me iam* Or.

me nunc] Wes.; *me* M; om. R; *me iam* Or.; del. Graevius.

in disputatione ac dialogo] del. Lamb.; om. *in* Wes. Vide Comm.

quia] del. Gronovius. Lacunam posuit Wes. post *nominare*. Vide Comm.

me] add. R^2.

24. de Quinti] vulg.; *deque* M; *que de* R.

te priore] M^r; *et priore* MR.

25. provinciam] *provincias* Wes.

paraturum] codd. quod non sollicitandum. Vide Comm.

quoad] vulg.; *quod* codd.

putant] *putent* Wes., fort., recte.

26. quibus] codd.; *in quibus* edd. plerique; *quibus lectis* Streicher; *ubi* Mendelssohn. Vide Comm.

felicitate quadam] Gronovius; *felicitate a quid* codd.; *felicitate quidem* Vict.; *facilitate quidem* ed. Neapolitana, vulg.

Ep. 154 (Att. iv. 18).

1. ut . . . rerum] *ut Gabinium habeas reum* Mal.; *utut opinionem habes rerum* Kayser; fort. *ut opinionem meam habeas rerum.*

γοργεῖα γυμνά] Bosius; ΠΟΡΠΑΠΤΜΝΑ M; *πρώρα et πρύμνα* Man.; *πορεῖα πύκνα* coni. Boot.

2. non modo] M^2Z^b; om. M^1, cf. Att. iii. 15, 5 (73).

pristinam] *pristinae* Wes.

fers] E; *ferri* M.

isti] Gulielmius, quem sequuntur Boot et Wes.; *ista* M.

trahantur] Mal. coll. Fam. vii. 32, 2 (229); *trahuntur* M.

ἐμφιλοσοφῆσαι] M quod defendit Headlam; *συμφιλοσοφῆσαι* Wyttenbach, vulg.

habitabat] M; *habitat* codices Nonii, 90, 2.

concalluit] Vict.; *concaluit* M et Nonius.

in terris] ΔΕΡΡΙC *in terris* M^1; *δέρρις in ceteris* M^2.

3. fluit] Man.; *fuit* M.

4. e Sopolidis pictoribus] Bosius, cf. Plin. H. N. xxxv. 148; *solidis pictoribus* M; *solidis pectoribus* Rom.

resp.] *reus P.* (= Papia) *lege* Bosius Madvig, qui sedem mendi esse in *dixit* statuit, temere coniecit *itaque eluxit* (= lugere cessavit) *statim respublica legem maiestatis*; quod vertas 'went out of mourning for the (unavenged breach of the) law of maiestas.'

† ΟΥΣΟΙΜΡΙΣΑΜΑΦΙΗΙ] M; *οὔ σ' οἶδ' Ἄρης ἅμα Παφίῃ* Bosius. Vide Comm.

ad portam] *aperte* Rom.

Negant] E; *negat* M.

triumphaturum] M^2; *triumphare* M^1.

nihilum] Siesbye; *nihil* codd.

5. proximis] Boot; *proximo* codd.

imperata] E; *imperat* M.

e] A; *ex* F; *est* N; om. M.

nostri] Man.; *non* M.

ulla] E; *nulla* M.

etiam si] OP; *si etiam* ENHM.

cum dies venerit] M; *quo die veneris* Mal.

Ep. 155 (Q. Fr. iii. 5 et 6).

1. saepe] parvulam suspicionem movet. Fort. *ut saepe*, vel *coepi . . . mittere.*

a me] vett.; *tamen* MRom; *a me tamen* I.

P. Rutili] add. Wes. coll., 144, 2.

in republica] seclusit Baiter.

ea visum iri ficta esse] M marg.; *ea visum mirifica esse* M^1; *ea visu mirifica esse* M^2.

quod esset] M; *qui essent* Wes.

2. tecum] fortasse secludendum.

refictos] nos; *redditos* M; *relictos* M marg. et vulg.

3. perscripsti] Bücheler ; *perscripsit* M.

tamquam] Billerbeck ; *quam* M ; *quamquam* Rom ; *quasi* Ursinus, fort. recte.

4. †ΑΜΠΩΕΙC] διατυπώσεις Bücheler ; ὑποθέσεις vulg. ; ἀνατυπώσεις Orelli ; fort. ἐμπνεύσεις.

debebat] Man ; *debet* M.

ὑπείροχον] Rom I vulg. ; ὑπείροχος M.

vellet] *velit* Wes.

5. viderent] *viderunt* Wes.

6. exscribuntur] Boot ; *et scribuntur* M.

veneunt] vett. ; *veniunt* M.

†Crebrius] *C. Rebilus* coni. Orelli ; fort. *Cincius*, cf. 148, 6.

adiurat] M ; *adnuat* C. Locus nondum sanatus, de quo vide Comm.

renuntiant] *te nunc iactat* Boot.

De] Boot (Obs. Crit. p. 38), cf. 152, 5 ; *ab* M.

7. Hic novam ep. incipit M.

†ΠΑΕΟC] M ; χρεος C ; κλέος M marg. ; πάθος Usener ; πλείους Ellis. Vide Addenda, n. 3.

†Trodam] M ; *Troadam* Ellis ; *Troadas* Wes. ; *Troilum* Fritzsche ; *Aeropam* Bücheler.

verum etiam] M marg. ; *vetat iam* (superscriptum *vult iam*) M.

ad] add. Ursinus.

156 (Q. Fr. III. 7)

1. et Appia] *Appia* vulg. ; *ex Appia* Btr. ; *in Appia* Wes.

alluvies] Vict. : vox tamen haud Ciceronis est ; *luvies* M¹ ; *proluvies* M²RomI ; *eluvio* Boot. Vide Comm.

2. lucem] add. vett.

Ep. 157 (Fam. VII. 16).

1. in extremo] Haec verba addimus ad versiculum. Vide Comm.

Primas] *Primum* Crat.

sat] M ; *at* GR. Fortasse haec verba poetae cuidam attribuenda sunt.

deinde . . . Quod] nos ; *deinde quod* codd.

in Britannia] codd. ; τῶν Βρετάννων Mendelssohn, quod Trebatius non in Britanniam transierat.

nimis] Politianus ; *minus* codd.

φιλοθέωρον] *philoteorum* codd.

iniectus] (i.e. vestem iniectus) M, quod bene defendit Reid ; *intectus* Schottus ; *nive tectus* C. F. Hermann ; Fort. *in tectis*. Sed vide Comm.

3. videbo] G ; *videbunt* R ; *video* M ; *videro* vett.

negent] codd. ; *negant* Schütz, male.

Ep. 158 (Att. IV. 19).

1. δέρρεις] ΔΕΡΡΙC M ; *terrores* coni. Reid. Vide Comm.

cum] *quoniam* Wes., frustra ; cf. Comm.

num] Pluygers ; *nam* M² ; om. M¹.

germanae] nos, vestigiis Wesenbergii insistentes ; *germane* M ; *germanam* Man., vix recte ; *germanae ne umbram quidem* coll. vii. 11, 1 (304) vel *germanae imaginem* coll. Rep. ii. 52, Wes. ; *germanas gerras* coni. Reid.

nostrae . . . Gabinium] haec verba ita transponenda esse ad 154, 1 ut ibi *habeas* sequantur, et *verum* ibi legendum pro *rerum* putat Gurlitt ; tum hic *illius* esset *Pompei*.

† putavi . . . inde] *peti vide . . . palam, vide* Man. ; *disputavi . . . palam, inde* Madvig.

† dictaturam fruere] *dictatum fluere* Z^{b} ; *dictaturam fervere* Mommsen ; *remp. in dictaturam ruere* Madvig. De ratione ingeniosa qua locum refingit Sternkopf, vide Comm.

2. † ludum et] *lauda meam* Boot.

Felicianae unciae] Sic temptavimus, coll. 160, 8 ; *Seleuciane provincie* M ; *Selicianae unciae* C. Vide Comm.

Hiberna legionis] Nipperdey ; *hibernam legionem* codd. Sternkopf, coll. Suet. Cal. 8 ; *Hiberna legionum* Ernesti.

Quintus] Σ (praeter H) ; om. MH.

adventus] M ; *adventu* Bosius.

accedet] Crat. ; *accedit* M.

tu] Faernus ; *ut* codd. ; *fac ut* Müller, sed cf. ep. 101 fin.

Ep. 159 (Q. Fr. III. 8).

1. quod] Man. ; *quid* M.

Labieno] M ; *Labeoni* Ziehen ; *Labieni tabellario* Schiche.

qui] vett. ; *quia* M ; *quae* Rauschen.

emendum] M ; *merendum* Lamb.

petebamus] vett. ; *putabamus* M.

in pecuniis] M ; *petimus* C.

struentur] M ; *reserventur* M marg. CI.

3. accepi] M ; *cepi* Btr., fort. recte.

4. mihi etiam] vett. ; *me* (superscriptum '*al. metu*') M.

Caelium Vinicianum] Man. ; *Crassum Iunianum* M. Vide Comm.

6. Cottae] Hoffa ; *gutae* M¹ ; *Guttae* M² vulg. ; *Hypsaeo* Boot.

illo] Ern. ; *in illo* M ; *in illum* Lamb., fort. recte.

postulatos] C ; *postulatus* M.

vel quia magister] del. Schütz.

Ep. 160 (Q. Fr. III. 9).

1. lenissime] M; *levissime* I.
2. in quo] M^2; *et quo* M^1; *eius: in quo* Wes.
ccccıɔɔɔ] Wes.; cccɔ M; ccciɔɔɔ Lamb.
inconsiderantiam] Man.; *considerantiam* M; glossema expulisse vocabulum Graecum v. c. *μετεωρίαν* vel *ἀβλεψίαν* putat Orelli, coll. Suet. Claud. 39.
4. mihi] M marg.; *nihil* M.
in] add. vett.
6. absolvam] fort. *absolvam poema*.
accidat] Vict.; *accipiat* M; *accidat ei idem* Wes.
Erigonae tuae] C; *ergo nactus* M.
quoi] Vict. (sed is *cui*); *quod* M.
7. caementum] I; *canem tam* M.
haberem] M; *habeam* Lamb.
deturbarem] Wes.; *deturbem* M.
Caesaris] fort. *Caesi*, cf. 148, 2. Vide Comm.
adibimus] Man.; *adhibemus* M.
8. De Felicis] vett.; *deficilis* M.
querare] M^2; *querere* M^1, quod si retines lege *scies*.
Quas] vett.; *duas* M.
† in quibus . . . tenes] Vide Comm.; *in quibus in unciis firmissimum* (sc. *est*), *levis* Gurlitt.
eas] add. Wes.
†Porcia non] *Pomponia* Vict.; om. *Porcia* Man.; *a Porcia non* Ellis; *in Porcianam* (sc. *domum*) Wes. Vide Comm.

Ep. 161 (Fam. VII. 10).

1. sapere] G; *aspere* M: *sperare* R.
te] add. vett.
2. andabata] Schottus; *andabatam* codd.
4. aut consilio] om. GR.

Ep. 162 (Fam. I. 10).

revisas et] R; *revissa esset* M^1; *revises et* M^2.
istinc] Graevius; *isti nunc* M^1; *istinc nunc* M^2.
tu ut] R Streicher; *tam* M^1; *tamquam* M^2 Müller.
cognosces tuorum neminem] *cognoscere* (ita Orelli) *tuorum nemini* Klotz; sed vide Comm.

Ep. 163 (Fam. XIII. 49).

consuerit] *consuevit* D; *consueverit* H.

Ep. 164 (Fam. XIII. 60).

1. bonam] del. Klotz; vide Comm.
2. commendare] HD; *commendari* M.

Ep. 165 (Fam. XIII. 73).

1. fuissem] HD; om. M.
2. nisi] *nisi quod* Ern., sed nihil inserendum. Vide Comm.
A] add. vett.
quin] vulg.; *quid* codd.

Ep. 166 (Fam. II. 1).

1. quom] *quam* M; *cum* R.
mihi] Hic incipit Fragmentum Freierianum (S).
in scribendo] RS; om. *in* M.
condemnabo] S; *commendabo* MR.
2. quodque] Hic denuo incipit G; vide ad 153, 20.
conformatus] M; *confirmatus* M^rGRS.
revertare] M^rS; *revertere* MGR.
nisi] S; *ni* G; *ut* R; om. M.

Ep. 167 (Fam. VII. 11).

3. praecipio] vett.; *precio* M; *praetio* R; *praecor* G.

Ep. 168 (Fam. II. 2).

a vita] GRM^c; *amavita* M^1; *vita* S.
discederet] *decederet* Wes.
Tibi . . . fortunent] a Nonio (109, 16) prolata.
dei] MGS; *dii* R; *di* Nonius.

Ep. 169 (Fam. II. 3).

C. Curioni] Post *C.* hic et ad Epp. 175, 176, sex fere litterae erasae sunt in M; unde collata subscriptione libri primi scriptum fuisse *consuli Curioni* suspicatur Baiter; quae sententia confirmatur subscriptione quam exhibet G ad Fam. ii. 4 (175) *Cicero imperator Curioni consuli sal. dicit*.
1. meam quidem sententiam] SN; *equidem sentiam* M^1R; *equidem quid sentiam* M^c Müller; *equidem sententiam* G; *equidem sententiam meam* Kayser.
eam] MGS; *ea* R Vict.
ad] R: *aut* M^1G; *in* M^c Baiter.
2. Summa] *summam* G.

te in] M^r; *in* codd.; *summam tui exspectationem* Or.
plurimis] SM^r; *plurime* codd.

Ep. 170 (Fam. vii. 12).

1. tuebare] Lamb.; *intuebare* codd.; *tu tuebare* Klotz.
Selius] Klotz; *zeius* M; *zeus* GR; *Seius* Vict.
2. quonam] R; *quoniam* G; *quodam* M.
bonus est] Wes.; *est bonus* Man.; *est* codd.; *potest* Klotz; om. Orelli.
quom] *quam* M; *cum* R; *cum e* G.

Ep. 171 (Fam. vii. 13).

1. arbitrare] Madvig; *arbitrarere* codd.
ulla] om. GR.
accipis?] Wes.; sine nota interrogativa ceteri.
2. manum] codd. et duo codices Orationis pro Murena, § 30; *manu* ceteri codices Orationis et paene omnes Gelli (xx. 10. 4).
QVO] Beier; QVOD codd.
aere, argento, auro] Mendelssohn, cp. Leg. iii. 6; Digest. i. 2, 2, 30; *auro aere argento* MR; *argento auro aere* G. Fort. Cicero scripsit A. A. A.: cp. Mommsen *Staatsrecht* ii², 587, 4.

Ep. 172 (Fam. vii. 14).

1. effluo] *effluam* Lamb.
2. cognoscerem] *cognoscere* Klotz (ed. 1).

Ep. 173 (Fam. vii. 18).

1. ut] add. Wes. praeeunte Crat. qui ut post *non* iam inseruerat.
militiam] *malitiam* G.
2. chartula] M forma recta; *cartula* GR.
non] add. vett.; *quam haec scribere* seclusit Ern.

Ep. 174 (Fam. vii. 15).

1. 'Quam . . . amant] typis separatis scripsimus quibus indicaremus verba ex poeta aliquo desumpta.
2. Quom] Mendelssohn; *quam* codd.; *Quod* vulg.

Ep. 175 (Fam. ii. 4).

1. multa] *tria* S.
certissimum] codd.; *tritissimum* Bake, sed vide Comm.
Huius] GRS; *In huius* M; *Tu huius* Or.
tuarum . . . domesticos] Lallemand; *tuarum enim rerum domesticarum* GR Müller; *domesticarum enim tuarum rerum domesticos* S; *domesticarum enim tuarum enim rerum domesticarum* (sed *domesticarum enim* eiecit M^2) M; *tuarum enim rerum domesticos* Ursinus et Sternkopf, bene.
Atqui] Kayser; *atque* codd. S.
quae . . . ea] add. Madvig.
2. adamaris] Hic desinit S.
elaborandum] Baiter; *laborandum* GR (et fere M).
sententiam] om. GR.

Ep. 176 (Fam. ii. 5).

1. sita est] Ern.; *sita sit* codd.
2. debilitata] M; *debilitate* GR.
et] add. Vict.; post *prope* M^r; *ac* add. Klotz.

Ep. 177 (Fam. ii. 6).

1. verecundius] M; *verecundia* GR.
2. innumerabilia] *innumerabilia beneficia* N Wes.
tuam] GR; *tam* M^1; *tantam* M^c Btr.
cumulare atque] GRM^r; *cumulando atque* M; *cumulandoque* Ern.
3. quantae] vett.; *quanti* codd.
mihi sit] MR; *mihi* G; *mihi est* C.
studia] MG; *posita studia* R.
4. a] R; *ad* MG; *abs* Wes.
T. Annio] *.i. anno* R; *tuo animo* G.
5. qua mente] Boot; *quam in te* codd.
quantum] R; *quam tum* G; *quantus* M (*-um* M^r); *quantum onus* Martyni-Laguna.
quanto] *quantoque* C.
tuo] M^1G; *tui* M^cR.

Ep. 178 (Fam. xiii. 75).

2. ut de loco] *ut et de loco* Lamb.
quo] vett.; *quod* codd.
isti] HD; *isto* M.

Ep. 179 (Fam. v. 17).

SITTIO] Btr.; *sistio* M; *sestio* GR, Willems. Vide Comm.

1. iacuerunt] Fort. *tacuerunt*, cf. Att. viii. 14, 1 (349).
2. Sitti] M ; *sesti* GR.
in tui] om. *in* Kayser.
3. duxi] G ; *dixi* M.
4. non dedisse] Lamb. ; *non cepisse* (ex *non accepisse* G) codd. ; *intercepisse* coni. Müller. Vide Comm.
5. maxime] *maximae* Martyni-Laguna.

Ep. 180 (Fam. v. 18).

FADIO] *fabio* GR.
1. te praebeas] GR ; om. *te* M.
nos nati] Rost ; *notati* M ; *nati* GR.
2. coniunctissimos] M ; *iunctissimos* GR.
quomque] Mendelssohn (*cumque* vett.) ; *quamque* MR ; *quamquam* G.
sis] GR ; *si* M.
tuum] add. Martyni-Laguna (sed post *unum*).

Ep. 181 (Fam. iii. 1).

1. tibi narrare posset] om. GR.
quod iuvet] R ; *quod viget* G ; *quo diuet*, i.e. *quod iuet* M fort. recte : cf. Catull. 66, 18 'Non, ita me divi, vera gemunt, *iuerint*.'
3. etiam] *te etiam* Crat.

Ep. 182 (Fam. vii. 2).

1. potissimum] vett. ; *dotissimum* M ; *doctissimum* GR.
cui] R ; *qui* MG.
in] add. Wes.
2. gloria . . . calamitate] *gloria potius mea amici quam calamitate* Boot (Obs. Crit. p. 13) ; *gloria propria potius quam amici calamitate* Pluygers (Mnem. i. 62) ; *gloria potius mea quam amici calamitate* idem (Mnem. ix. 116).
3. habitura] *aditura* Lamb.
4. celebritate] *crebritate* Wes.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS,

ESPECIALLY THOSE USED IN *ADNOTATIO CRITICA*.

---

corr. = *correxit*; corr. Vict. means Victorius suggested the emended reading which appears in the text.

fort. = *fortasse* (i. e. perhaps the right reading is "so-and-so"); *qu.* indicates a less degree of probability.

om. = *omisit*.

coni. = *coniecit* or *coniectura* (in all its cases).

lect. = *lectio* (in all its cases).

Comm. = *Commentarium* (in all its cases), that is, the English foot-notes.

Adn. Crit. = *Adnotatio Critica* (in all its cases).

del. = *delevit*.

ins. = *inseruit*.

M = codices Medicei; in Epp. ad Fam. 49, 9: in the other Epistles 49, 18. (See Introduction to Vol. I^3., pp. 94 ff., 101 ff.)

M^1 = codices M *a prima manu*.

M^2 = codices M *a secunda manu*.

marg. = codices M *secundum correctionem marginalem*.

M^c = corrections in M (49, 9) made from tenth to twelfth centuries.

M^r = corrections in M (49, 9) made after 1389.

G = codex Harleianus 2773, formerly belonging to Graevius. (See Introd. to Vol. I^3., p. 96.)

R (in Fam.) = codex Parisinus 17812. (See Introd. to Vol. I^3., p. 96.)

T = codex Turonensis, 688. (See Introd. to Vol. I^3., p. 97.)

H (in Fam.) = codex Harleianus 2682. (See Introd. to Vol. I^3., p. 97.)

F = codex Erfurtensis, now Berolinensis. (See Introd. to Vol. I^3., p. 98.)

D = codex Palatinus Sextus. (See Introd. to Vol. I^3., p. 99.)

C = codices Cratandrini. (See Introd. to Vol. I^3., pp. 100 and 113.)

Crat. = Cratander.

E = codex Ambrosianus, E 14.

N = codex Florentinus, n. 49.

H (in Att.) = codex Landianus, n. 8.

π = codex Parisinus (Nouv. Fonds, 16, 248).

O = codex Taurinensis, i. v. 34.

P = codex Parisinus, 8536.

R (in Att.) = codex Parisinus, 8538.

Rav. = codex Ravennas.

s = codex Urbinas, 322, bibl. Vatic.

Σ = agreement of ENHOP or of EOR or ORP. (See Introd. to Vol. I^3., pp. 107–112.)

Δ = agreement of M and s.

v. c. = codex (perhaps the Tornesianus) referred to in the margin of the second ed. of Lambinus.

Z = codex Tornesianus. (See Introd. to Vol. I^3., p. 114.)

Zl = codex Tornesianus teste Lambino.

Zb = codex Tornesianus teste Bosio.

Ant. = codex Antonianus.

F = codex Faërninus.

codd. = agreement of either all or most of the principal codices.

vett. = the older editors.

vulg. = the reading adopted in most editions.

Rom. = editio princeps Romana (Rome, 1470).

I = editio Iensoniana (Venice, 1470).

Asc. = Ascensius (Paris, 1522).

Vict. = Victorius (Venice, 1536–1571).

Mur. = Muretus (*Variae Lectiones*, Venice and Paris, 1559–86).

Mal. = Malaspina (Venice, 1564).

Lamb. = Lambinus (Paris, 1546; 2nd, 1584, with notes of Orsini).

Man. = Manutius (Ald. 1575; Ven. 1579).

Bos. = Simeo Bosius (*Epp. ad Att.*, Limoges, 1580).

Graev. = Graevius (Amsterdam, 1677).

Gron. = Gronovius (Lyons, 1692).

Ern. = Ernesti (Leipsic, 1737).

Sch. = Schütz (Halle, 1809).

Or. = Orelli (Zürich, 1845).

Kl. = Klotz (2nd ed., Leipsic, 1869, 1870).

Hofm. = Hofmann, Ausgewählte Briefe (6th edition, ed. Lehmann, 1892: 7th edition, ed. Sternkopf, 1898).

Boot = I. C. G. Boot (*Epp. ad Att.*, Amsterdam, 1865: ed. 2, 1886).

Boot, Obs. Crit. = Boot's *Observationes Criticae ad Cic. Epp.* (Amsterdam, 1880)

Btr. = Baiter & Kayser's ed. (Leipsic, 1867).

Kays. = Kayser.

Büch. = Bücheler (*Q. Cic. Reliquiae*, Leipsic, 1868, and *Mus. Rhen.* xi.).

Madv. = Madvig (*Adversaria Critica*, vol. i., ii., Copenhagen, 1871–73; vol. iii., 1884).

Wes. = Wesenberg (Leipsic, 1872, 3).

Em. Alt. = Wesenberg, *Emendationes Alterae*, Leipsic, 1873.

Lehmann = Lehmann (K.), Quaestiones "Quaest." Tultianae, 1886.

Lehmann "Att." = Lehmann (K.), De Ciceronis ad Atticum epistulis recensendis et emendandis, Berlin, 1892.

Marquardt = Marquardt (J.), Römische Staatsverwaltung (ed. 2), 1881.

Lange = Lange (L.), Römische Alterthümer (ed. 2), 1876.

Lebreton = Études sur la langue et la grammaire de Cicéron, by Jules Lebreton, 1901.

Körner = De epistulis a Cicerone post reditum usque ad finem anni A. U. C. 700 datis Quaestiones chronologicae, by A. A. Körner, 1885.

Rauschen = Ephemerides Tullianae rerum inde ab exsilio Ciceronis usque ad extremum annum LIV. gestarum, by Gerard Rauschen, 1886.

ORDER OF LETTERS.

I.

PART IV. — fin.

This Edition.	Vulg.	A. U. C.	B. C.	Year of Cicero's Life.	Place at which written.
90	Att. IV. 1	September, 697	57	49	Rome.
91	,, IV. 2	October, ,,	,,	,,	,,
92	,, IV. 3	November 23, ,,	,,	,,	,,
93	Q. Fr. II. 1	December, ,,	,,	,,	,,
94	Fam. VII. 26	Month uncertain, ,,(?)	57 (?)	49 (?)	Tusculum.
95	,, I. 1	January 13, 698	56	50	Rome.
96	,, I. 2	,, 15, ,,	,,	,,	,,
97	,, I. 3	,, middle, ,,	,,	,,	,,
98	,, I. 4	,, ,, ,,	,,	,,	,,
†99	,, I. 5*a*	February 2-6, ,,	,,	,,	,,
100	Q. Fr. II. 2	January 17, ,,	,,	,,	,,
101	Att. IV. 4*a*	,, 20, ,,	,,	,,	,,
102	Q. Fr. II. 3	February 12-15, ,,	,,	,,	,,
103	Fam. I. 5*b*	,, middle, ,,	,,	,,	,,
104	,, I. 6	,, ,, ,,	,,	,,	,,
105	Q. Fr. II. 4	March, ,,	,,	,,	,,
106	,, II. 5	April 8, ,,	,,	,,	,,
107	Att. IV. 4*b*	April (end) or May (beginning), ,,	,,	,,	Antium.
108	,, IV. 5	,, ,, ,,	,,	,,	,,
109	Fam. V. 12	,, ,, ,,	,,	,,	,,
110	Att. IV. 6	,, ,, ,,	,,	,,	,,
†111	,, IV. 7	April, ,,	,,	,,	Arpinum.
112	,, IV. 8*a*	May, ,,	,,	,,	Antium.
113	Fam. V. 3	Month uncertain, ,,	,,	,,	Spain.
114	,, I. 7	July, ,,	,,	,,	Rome.
115	,, XIII. 6*a*	Middle of, ,,	,,	,,	,,
116	,, XIII. 6*b*	Month uncertain, ,,	,,	,,	,,
117	Q. Fr. II. 6	May (middle), ,,	,,	,,	,,
118	Att. IV. 8*b*	November, ,,	,,	,,	Tusculum.
119	Fam. I. 8	Jan. or Feb., 699	55	51	Rome.
120	Q. Fr. II. 7 (9)	February, ,,	,,	,,	,,
121	Att. IV. 10	May 22, ,,	,,	,,	Cumae.

† These letters are left in the place in which they stood in the first edition, in order that the references throughout the succeeding volumes of our edition and our Index may not prove untrustworthy.

PART IV.—*continued.*

This Edition.	Vulg.	A. U. C.	B. C.	Year of Cicero's Life.	Place at which written.
122	Att. IV. 9	May 26, 699	55	51	Cumae.
†123	Q. Fr. II. 8 (10)	April or May, ,,	,,	,,	,,
124	Att. IV. 11	May 27, ,,	,,	,,	,,
125	,, IV. 12	May, ,,	,,	,,	,,
†126	Fam. VII. 23	693 (probably)	61	45	Rome.
127	,, VII. 1	Sept. or Oct., 699	55	51	,,
128	,, XIII. 74	Month doubtful, ,,	,,	,,	,,
129	,, XIII. 40	,, ,, ,,	,,	,,	,,
130	Att. IV. 13	November, ,,	,,	,,	Tusculum.
131	Fam. V. 8	January, 700	54	52	Rome.
132	Q. Fr. II. 9 (11)	Feb. 10 or 11, ,,	,,	,,	,,
133	,, II. 10 (12)	February 13, ,,	,,	,,	,,
†134	Fam. VII. 5	April, ,,	,,	,,	,,
135	Q. Fr. II. 11 (13)	February 14, ,,	,,	,,	,,
136	Fam. VII. 6	May, ,,	,,	,,	Cumae.
†137	,, VII. 7	May or June (?) ,,	,,	,,	Rome.
138	Att. IV. 14	After May 10, ,,	,,	,,	Cumae.
139	Q. Fr. II. 12 (14)	May (middle), ,,	,,	,,	,,
†140	Fam. VII. 8	August, ,,	,,	,,	Rome.
141	Q. Fr. II. 13(15*a*)	June, ,,	,,	,,	,,
†142	,, II. 14(15*b*)	July 27, ,,	,,	,,	,,
†143	Att. IV. 15	July 27, ,,	,,	,,	,,
144	,, IV. 16	July 1 or 2, ,,	,,	,,	,,
†145	Fam. VII. 9	October, ,,	,,	,,	,,
†146	,, VII. 17	,, ,,	,,	,,	,,
147	Q. Fr. II. 15 (16)	August, ,,	,,	,,	,,
148	,, III. 1	September, ,,	,,	,,	Arpinum and Rome.
149	Att. IV. 17 (18)	October 1, ,,	,,	,,	Rome.
150	Q. Fr. III. 2	October 11, ,,	,,	,,	,,
151	,, III. 3	October 21, ,,	,,	,,	,,
152	,, III. 4	October 25, ,,	,,	,,	,,
†153	Fam. I. 9	December, ,,	,,	,,	,,
154	Att. IV. 18	October, ,,	,,	,,	,,
155	Q. Fr. III. 5 & 6	,, ,,	,,	,,	Tusculum.
156	,, III. 7	Oct. (end) or Nov., ,,	,,	,,	,,
157	Fam. VII. 16	November (end), ,,	,,	,,	Rome.
158	Att. IV. 19	,, ,,	,,	,,	,,
159	Q. Fr. III. 8	,, ,,	,,	,,	,,
160	,, III. 9	December, ,,	,,	,,	,,
161	Fam. VII. 10	,, ,,	,,	,,	,,
162	,, I. 10	Month uncertain, ,,	,,	,,	,,
163	,, XIII. 49	Year uncertain, ?	?	?	,,
164	,, XIII. 60	,, ?	?	?	,,

† These letters are left in the place in which they stood in the first edition, in order that the references throughout the succeeding volumes of our edition and our Index may not prove untrustworthy.

PART IV.—*continued.*

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165	Fam. XIII. 73	Year uncertain, ?	?	?	Rome.
166	,, II. 1	First half, 701	53	53	,,
167	,, VII. 11	January, ,,	,,	,,	,,
168	,, II. 2	First half, ,,	,,	,,	,,
169	,, II. 3	,, ,,	,,	,,	,,
170	,, VII. 12	February, ,,	,,	,,	,,
171	,, VII. 13	March 4, ,,	,,	,,	,,
172	,, VII. 14	March (?), ,,	,,	,,	,,
173	,, VII. 18	April 8, ,,	,,	,,	Pomptinum.
174	,, VII. 15	June (?), ,,	,,	,,	,,
175	,, II. 4	First half, ,,	,,	,,	,,
176	,, II. 5	,, ,,	,,	,,	,,
177	,, II. 6	July, ,,	,,	,,	,,
178	,, XIII. 75	Month uncertain, ,,	,,	,,	,,
179	,, V. 17	,, ,, 702	52	54	,,
180	,, V. 18	,, ,, ,,	,,	,,	,,
181	,, III. 1	Beginning of ,,	,,	,,	,,
182	,, VII. 2	May or June, ,,	,,	,,	,,

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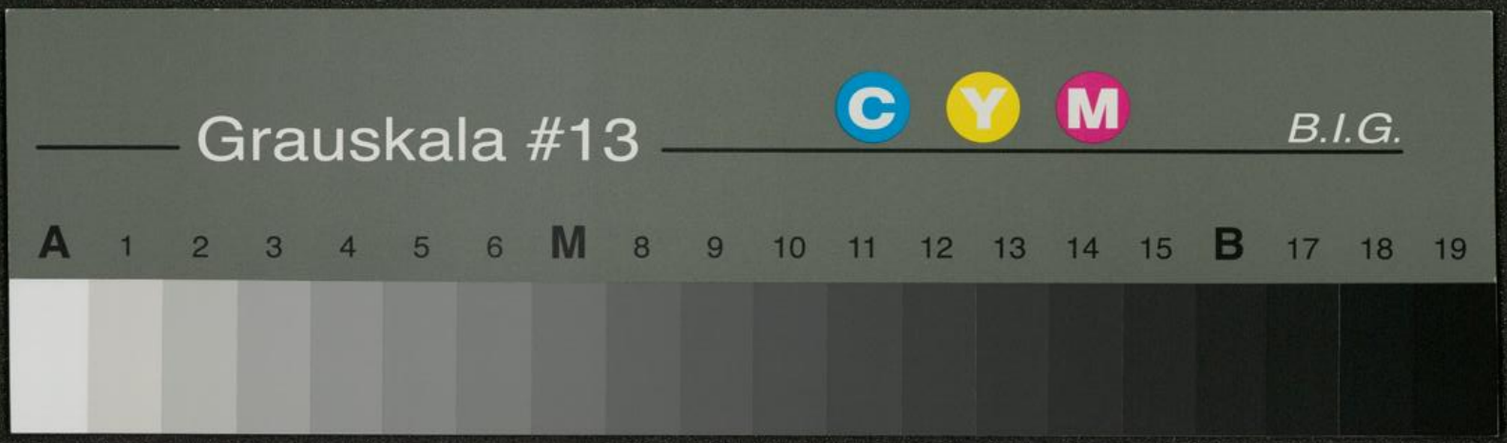

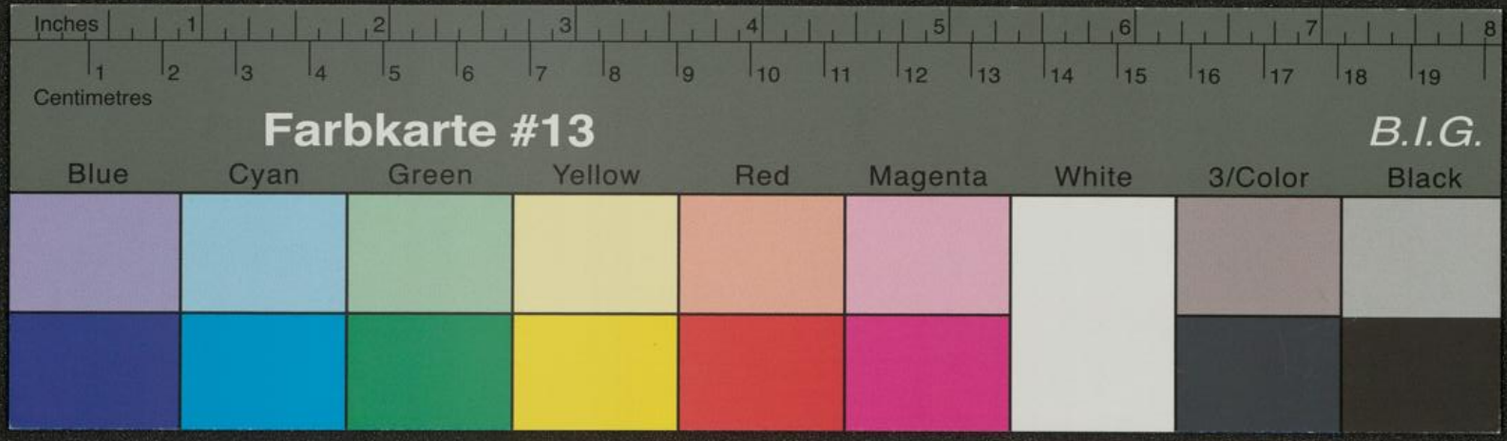

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